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ABSTRACT

Hearings of the Special Subcommittee on Indian Education--held on Dec. 14-15, 1967, in Washington, D.C., and on Jan. 4, 1968, in San Francisco, Calif.--are recorded in this document. As noted, U.S. Senator Robert F. Kennedy and 5 other senators served as members of the subcommittee, which was designed to conduct the hearings and the field investigations of school districts across the nation having substantial American Indian populations in an attempt to make a complete study of all matters pertaining to the education and related problems of Indian children in Federal and public schools. Presented in 3 parts (Part 2 is RC 003 557; Part 3 is RC 003 558), proceedings of the hearings record the subcommittee's interviews relating to American Indian education. Part 1 of the hearings presents statements by people involved with Indian education and assistance programs in such states as Alaska, Arizona, California, Colorado, Florida, Idaho, New York, New Mexico, South Dakota, and Washington. Part 1 also contains a collection of overviews of various publications on the American Indian. (EL)

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INDIAN EDUCATION

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON INDIAN EDUCATION

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE UNITED STATES SENATE

NINETIETH CONGRESS

FIRST AND SECOND SESSIONS

ON

THE STUDY OF THE EDUCATION OF INDIAN CHILDREN

Part 1

DECEMBER 14 AND 15, 1967, WASHINGTON, D.C. AND
JANUARY 4, 1968, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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INDIAN EDUCATION

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 14, 1967

U.S. Senate,
Special Subcommittee on Indian Education,
Committee on Labor and Public Welfare,
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 9:40 a.m. in room 4232, New Senate Office Building, Senator Robert F. Kennedy of New York, chairman of the subcommittee, presiding.

Present: Senators Kennedy of New York (presiding), Yarborough, and Fannin.

Also present: Senator George McGovern, of South Dakota.

Committee staff present: Stewart E. McClure, chief clerk; Adrian Parmeter and John Gray, professional staff members of the subcommittee.

Senator Kennedy of New York. The subcommittee will come to order.

STATEMENT OF HON. ROBERT F. KENNEDY, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK

Senator Kennedy of New York. Today we begin our hearings on Indian education. Our hearings begin here in Washington, but we expect to have field trips across the United States over the period of the next 12 months.

The resolution authorizing this special subcommittee will be printed in the record.

(The resolution referred to appears on p. 2.)

90th CONGRESS
1st Session

S. RES. 165

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

August 30 (legislative day, August 29), 1967

Mr. Kennedy of New York, from the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, reported the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration

---

RESOLUTION

Resolved, That the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized under sections 134(a) and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, and in accordance with its jurisdictions specified by rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, to examine, investigate, and make a complete study of any and all matters pertaining to the education and related problems of Indian children.

Sec. 2. For the purposes of this resolution the committee, from September 1, 1967, to January 31, 1968, inclusive, is authorized (1) to make such expenditures as it deems advisable; (2) to employ, upon a temporary basis, technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants: *Provided,* That the minority is authorized to select one person for appointment and the person so selected shall be appointed and his compensation shall be so fixed that his gross rate shall not be less by more than $2,300 than the highest gross rate paid to any other employee; and (3) with the prior consent of the heads of the departments or agencies concerned, and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to utilize the reimbursable services, information, facilities, and personnel of any of the departments or agencies of the Government.

SEC. 3. The committee shall report its findings, together with its recommendations for legislation as it deems advisable, to the Senate at the earliest practicable date, but not later than January 31, 1968.

SEC. 4. Expenses of the committee under this resolution, which shall not exceed $35,000, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. The stimulation for the establishment of this subcommittee came from my colleague, Senator Fannin, of the State of Arizona, who has always been interested in Indian education. He is particularly interested in the Senate being involved in this matter. So I am delighted to be with him in this endeavor, and I look forward to the hearings and the report that we will file with the Senate over the period of the next 12 months.

The American vision of itself is of a nation of citizens determining their own destiny; of cultural difference flourishing in an atmosphere of mutual respect; of diverse people shaping their lives and their children's. This subcommittee today begins examination of a major failure in this policy; not in some distant land, but within our own borders here in the United States.

We begin today a look at the education of American Indian children in the United States. We have chosen a course of learning as obvious as it has been ignored: we are going to listen to the Indian people speak for themselves about the problems they confront, and about the changes that must be made in seeking effective education for their children.

The American Indian, despite folklore, is not a "vanishing American." There are now almost 600,000 Indians in the United States; while that figure only represents one-half of 1 percent of our population, it is also the fastest growing of any ethnic group. Indians can be found in every State of our Nation—my own State of New York has the eighth largest Indian population in the country. Moreover, the Indian—despite the pressures of the majority—has retained his cultural identity. Nearly 300 separate Indian languages and dialects are still spoken in this country and at least 45 of these languages are spoken by more than 1,000 Indians. Various estimates—there are no accurate statistics—suggest that more than half of the Indian school-age population retains the use of their native tongues.

The responsibility for the education of these children has been primarily in the hands of the Federal Government. Of the 150,000 Indian children in schools—public, private, mission, and Federal—one-third are in federally operated institutions. The nature of these schools is diverse; ranging from temporary trailers on Navaho reservations to large off-reservation boarding schools housing more than 1,000 children each.

But our responsibility—and our concern—does not stop here. The Federal Government has partial financial responsibility for two-thirds of the Indian children enrolled in public schools. Under the Johnson-O'Malley Act of 1934, the Secretary of the Interior was authorized to contract with States for Indian education, and to permit State use of Federal facilities for this purpose. Last year, more than 56,000 Indian children were covered by this act. We have, moreover, committed ourselves to helping Indian education under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, and have included Indian children in the impacted aid formulas under Public Laws 874 and 815.

To a substantial extent, then, the quality of Indian education is a test of this Government's understanding, and this Government's commitment. We have at least provided schools for Indian children—nine out of 10 Indian children are now in school today, compared to one out of 10 60 years ago. But the real question—the question which has brought us here today—is, what happens to these children once they enter school? How long do they remain in school? Do they, in fact, receive an adequate or even a satisfactory education? What happens to them after they leave? The few statistics we have are the most eloquent evidence of our own failure:

> Dropout rates are twice the national average;
>
> The level of formal education is half the national average;
>
> Achievement levels are far below those of their white counterparts; and
>
> The Indian child falls progressively further behind the longer he stays in school.

These children are taught, it now appears, by many who are indifferent about the fate of these children; and this indifference finds its way into the hearts of the children themselves. As the Coleman report on equal educational opportunity revealed in 1966:

> Only 1 percent of Indian children in elementary school have Indian teachers or principals.
>
> One-fourth of elementary and secondary school teachers—by their own admission—would prefer not to teach Indian children.
>
> Indian children, more than any other group, believe themselves to be "below average" in intelligence.
>
> Indian children in the 12th grade have the poorest self-concept of all minority groups tested. These children often abandon their own pride and their own purpose and leave school to confront a society in which they have been offered neither a place nor a hope. And the consequence of this inadequate education is a life of despair and of hopelessness.
>
> The average Indian income is $1,500—75 percent below the national average.
>
> His unemployment rate is 10 times the national average.
>
> He lives 10 years less than the average American.
>
> The death rate for his children is twice as high as the national average.
>
> Tuberculosis rates are seven times higher than the average American's.

These facts are the cold statistics which illuminate a national tragedy and a national disgrace. They demonstrate that the "first American" is in fact the last American in terms of employment, education, a decent income, and the chance for a full and rewarding life.

This subcommittee does not expect to unveil any quick and easy answers to this dilemma. But clearly, effective education lies at the heart of any lasting solution. And it must be an education that no longer presumes that cultural difference means cultural inferiority.

It was almost 200 years ago that the leaders of Virginia, having signed a treaty with six Indian nations, offered to educate six of their sons. The chiefs, although responding with thanks, rejected the offer, citing a previous experiment with white man's education. Their children had come back from the white man's schools, said the chiefs, "bad runners, ignorant of every means of living in the woods; unable to bear the cold or hunger; they knew neither how to build a cabin, take a deer, or kill an enemy; spoke our language imperfectly; were therefore neither fit for hunters, warriors, or counselors; they were totally good for nothing."

Perhaps, the Indians said, the Governors would send a dozen white children to learn at the hands of the Indians. "We will take great care of their education," promised the chiefs, "instruct them in all we know, and make men of them."

We can no longer, it seems to me, ignore the lesson of this exchange; if we are to teach, we must also learn. The purpose of these hearings is to begin that learning.

I now turn the hearing over to my colleague, Senator Fannin. But before I do, I want to welcome also Senator Yarborough, who has been tremendously interested in the work that is going to be undertaken by this committee. I think those of us in the United States who have worked with him know that his interest in the Indians and the problems of minority groups who are facing special problems, is as much as or more than any of our colleagues in the United States. So I welcome Senator Yarborough of Texas here today.

STATEMENT OF HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF TEXAS

Senator **Yarborough**. Thank you, Senator Kennedy. I must go to another committee meeting for about 15 minutes, but I will be back to join you in this hearing.

I must say I do not know who was the first member of my family in America to become interested in Indian affairs, but one relative of mine was an official translator for the Virginia Colony in the 1600's. They were signing a treaty that had been negotiated with the Six Indian Nations. They were signing it in Albany, N.Y., which was quite a trip from Virginia in those days. This relative of mine went with the commissioners to Albany and was the official interpreter for the Six Nations with the Colony of Virginia, the two groups who signed the treaty.

Afterward he came back and the House of Burgesses of Virginia voted to pay him in tobacco for the services he had rendered at the signing of that treaty. So, I know that my family has been interested in and involved with Indians for some time.

For myself, I lived in El Paso. I was a lawyer there for three and a half years. In that time, I made numerous trips into New Mexico, where I had an opportunity to observe Indian life there. So I do have a great personal interest in Indian affairs.

I compliment the chairman on this very fine opening statement. It shows a real study of this problem. I consider it a privilege to be on this subcommittee, of which you are chairman, and which the distinguished Senator from Arizona, Senator Fannin, who is a great student of Indian affairs, is ranking member of the minority side.

It is going to be a great pleasure for me to serve with you and Senator Fannin on this important subcommittee.

STATEMENT OF HON. PAUL J. FANNIN, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF ARIZONA

Senator **Fannin**. Thank you, Senator.

I want to note in the record what Senator Yarborough has done in the bilingual program, the special committee to assist our many citizens that are not privileged to speak in this language, and the program he has inaugurated to bring about a Federal education system in our public schools, especially for our Mexican-Americans that have had great difficulty in assimilating themselves into our Society.

Mr. Chairman, I would hope that this morning we might set some minds at rest, as well as setting others in motion. Since August of this year when the Senate established this Special Subcommittee on Indian Education, it has become apparent that some members of various Indian tribes have viewed this action as a new effort to terminate the tribal relationships with this Federal Government. Nothing could be more incorrect.

This subcommittee was established because Senator Wayne Morse, chairman of the Education Subcommittee, and Senator Lister Hill, chairman of the full Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, agreed with and backed my recommendation to give Indian education special attention in the U.S. Senate. Senator Robert F. Kennedy aided immeasurably by accepting the chairmanship. Through his leadership, I am confident this committee will pursue this problem to a solution.

No one who is even the least informed on this complex subject has advocated that the education of the American Indian does not need such attention. In my letter to Senator Morse of July 10, 1967, I listed some of the frightening statistics we face. The chairman has brought out others here this morning:

Sixteen thousand school-age Indian children not in school;
A 50-percent dropout rate before 12th grade;
A 30-percent illiteracy rate among the Navahos;
An overall educational level among all Indians of 5 years; and
A birth rate double the national average.

This subcommittee is, therefore, concerned with but one objective: finding the answers which can some day obliterate the causes of those statistics and give to the Indian child an education of unparalleled excellence.

Uppermost in our minds is the resolve to search for these answers among the Indians—to ask for their opinions, their advice. If this takes the subcommittee to the remote and rugged plateaus and canyons of the Southwest, the lonely plains of the Midwest, the frozen ice of the Alaskan frontier, then all the better, our chairman has a reputation of following this procedure. It is the Indians' attitudes we want, not confirmation of our own.

We cannot presume to know all the causes for what is admittedly a national disgrace. But we do know this: of all children in the United States, no one group has been more subjected to educational inattention than the children of our Indian citizens.

But if this task would seem difficult, it is beset with obstacles far more imposing than topography. I speak of the non-Indian public's attitudes toward the Indian. By and large, with fortunately some notable exceptions, the general public thinks of the American Indian, if at all, as either a forgotten "problem" or worse, merely a subject of tourism curiosity. The public exhibits either unconcern or amusement.

As if this were not tragic enough, I have found a third attitude which even dwarfs the other two. All too often the white man merely shakes his head in disbelief when he hears that many Indian families still sleep only on sheepskin against bare dirt floors.

He sniffs in disdain when he hears of sacred mountains, ceremonial dances, the healing practices of the medicine man. To this "enlightened" citizen, the Indian represents a society of unfortunate illiterates who need only the light of the white man's knowledge to be free of their ignorance. How sad is this blindness. Cast aside are available facts which demonstrate the average Indian intelligence to be equal, and with some tribes, higher than the average non-Indian level—which demonstrate artistic abilities of exquisite sensitivity—which demonstrate a love of their land that brings forth in their poetry and writing an ability to condense in a few words the mind's most complex searchings.

These public attitudes have done more to suppress the Indians' will than all the cavalries combined. To be thought of as irrelevant is the worst of public insults. Who can be surprised if the American Indian is reticent to freely express his attitudes and give to us the great benefit of his wisdom?

If my statement sounds forebonding it is because I have no illusions about the depth of the Indians' crisis. Nor do I delude myself that the solution will be simple.

I represent a State which comprises almost 20 percent of the total American Indian population and almost one-half of the Indian lands in this country, and while their best interests have been my concern throughout my life, I do not presume to have the answers yet to their problems of education. And I know I can speak for every other member of this subcommittee when I say that we begin this search with no preconceived notions of what those answers will be.

The education of the American Indian is a personal commitment of mine. I am grateful that my distinguished colleagues on this subcommittee feel likewise.

So we begin. And, as we do, we ask our Indian citizens to give us their trust; that in so educating us, we may in turn educate the public and the Congress, and in return lift the spirit of education for our Indian countrymen.

Mr. Chairman, I ask that my July 10 letter and memorandum to Senator Morse be made a part of these hearings immediately following my testimony.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. It will be done.

(The letter and memorandum follow:)

WASHINGTON, *D.C., July 10, 1967.*

HON. WAYNE MORSE,
Chairman, Education Subcommittee,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: As you know, I have been soliciting the establishment of a Special Subcommittee on Indian Education under your permanent Subcommittee on Education. I am attaching to this letter a memorandum which briefly covers this complex problem. The facts presented in this memorandum illustrate how Indian education is wholly unlike the other educational problems of our citizens.

I am most hopeful that this Special Subcommittee can be established so that the Senate can begin in a careful and professional manner to examine the unique educational needs of the American Indians and as a result create the legislation to bring the Indian the advantages the Federal government has historically promised.

Sincerely,

PAUL J. FANNIN, *U.S. Senator.*

Attachment.

JULY 10, 1967.

MEMORANDUM ON NEED FOR SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON INDIAN EDUCATION BY SENATOR PAUL J. FANNIN

This memorandum is to briefly state the need for a Special Subcommittee on Indian Education.

While infrequent studies have been made by various individuals, there is no single repository of information which accurately and thoroughly presents in concrete terms the plight of Indian education.

Almost without exception, the experts in this specialized field have pleaded for a thorough study of Indian education by an independent agency, that is, independent of the BIA. The 83rd Congress authorized such a study (Public Law 83-702) but to date no funds have been appropriated. The purpose last year in limiting for one year BIA coverage of titles I, II and III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act was specifically to encourage such a study by the Congress. Still, no such study has been made.

What few statistics there are present a bleak tableau. For example, of the 142,000 Indian children in school, 50% drop out before the 12th grade. In 1966, it was determined that at least 16,000 school age Indian children did not attend school at all. In one study, it was found that aggressive behavior, insecurity and personality problems have been the by-products of those Indian children sent to boarding schools. Among the Navahos, our largest tribe, it is estimated that 40,000 are illiterate and cannot speak English. The overall educational level of all Indians under federal supervision is five years. The Indian economic plight which naturally follows from their educational deficiency frames a likewise drastic picture:

50% are unemployed;
Housing is 90% substandard;
Average life span is 42 years (compared with the national average of 62.3 years);
Infant mortality rate is double the national average;
1 in 5 deaths result from infectious diseases;
Incidence of T.B. is 7 times the national average.

As if these statistics were not tragic enough, a somewhat overlooked fact is that the birth rate for American Indians is more than double the national average, thereby indicating that the Indian's education, health and economic problems will become worse before they get better.

But more troublesome than the statistics we do know are those we do not know. By and large, Indian education has been administered in the Bureau of Indian Affairs by taking the children from their families at an early age to attend boarding schools, oftentimes hundreds of miles from home. How has this forced separation affected the Indian family? How has this separation affected the child's learning process? What has been the effect of segregating these children in the non-Indian communities? Are there alternatives? For example, would it be wiser to set up schools on the reservations run and controlled by the Indians rather than the federal government? Can adult education be effectively combined with the education of the Indian child?

We may find some answers as a result of an innovative school located in a remote area on the Navaho Reservation—the Rough Rock Demonstration School. Funded by OEO and BIA, but organized independent of the government as a private nonprofit corporation, the Rough Rock School is operated and controlled by the Indians. The School is under the Directorship of Robert Roessel, a pioneer in this field whose hope it is to involve the Indian in the educational process. The example set by this unique school may help us find the pattern for future methods of Indian education.

In addition to the need for more information concerning the effects of educational environment and methods of teaching Indian children, there remain such vexing questions as the amount of emphasis the curriculum should give to Indian languages, history and culture. As a matter of just simple communication, we face different languages with each tribe and often different dialects within a single tribe. Of even more fundamental importance, we must examine the best way to train teachers for these students.

Further, we have existing Acts which in various ways attempt to aid Indian education, such as the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the Johnson-O'Malley Act, the Economic Opportunity Act, etc. We must ascertain how effectively this legislation has worked and whether new approaches are required or a different emphasis desirable. These and innumerable other questions remain.

If nothing else, the aforementioned facts should be evidence that the problem of Indian education is unique and needs special attention by the Senate.

Since 1968, when some Jesuit priests in Havana, Cuba, organized the first school for Indians from Florida, we have grappled with the educational problems of the American Indians. Our efforts have not been in vain, but they have too often been inconclusive.

We cannot legislate in the dark. A Subcommittee on Indian Education would serve to assemble testimony, document facts and professional opinion, and in an enlightened fashion proceed to draft the legislation our Indian citizens so badly need. I urge the establishment of this subcommittee.

Senator Kennedy of New York. I call the first witness, then, Senator George McGovern, chairman of the Subcommittee on Indian Affairs of the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

STATEMENT OF HON. GEORGE McGOVERN, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF SOUTH DAKOTA

Senator McGovern. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I am pleased to appear this morning before this Special Subcommittee on Indian Education. I cannot trace my interest and involvement in Indian affairs as far as Senator Yarborough did a few minutes ago, but I have had a deep interest in this subject for a good many years. I come here this morning as a Senator from a State with a significant Indian population and also as chairman of the Subcommittee on Indian Affairs of the Senate Interior Committee.

I share the concern of this subcommittee in the welfare of the Nation's Indian citizens, and I applaud the initiative that this special subcommittee is taking in reviewing the weaknesses and the problems in our educational program as it relates to Indian citizens. I think it is a tragic fact that there is no group in this country any more impoverished or neglected than our Indian citizens.

I think, as a matter of fact, it is the most neglected, the most tragically neglected group of Americans in the Nation. There are conditions of poverty and neglect among Indian Americans that compare in their seriousness with anything that one will find in the underdeveloped parts of the globe—Asia and Africa, and Latin America.

I am particularly impressed with the proposition that if we are going to maintain Federal schools for the Indian children, they ought to be exemplary schools. They ought to be the best. They are dealing with people who have the most serious problems of any in our society. They require the best of teachers; they require the best techniques and the clearest support if we are going to correct those very difficult problems.

I think if one accepts that proposition, he must also accept the proposition that to deal with that problem, we are going to have to come forward with bold and imaginative new thinking. I look forward with great expectation to the findings and the recommendation of this committee.

I think this subcommittee is especially fortunate in having the services of deeply committed and concerned Senators. I am thinking particularly of the chairman of the subcommittee, Senator Kennedy of New York, who was interested in the problems of Indians long before he became a Member of the Senate. I well remember during the time he served as Attorney General of the United States the special interest that he demonstrated in the welfare of our Indian people and have had the opportunity on several occasions to discuss this matter with him.

I am thinking, too, of the ranking minority member of the subcommittee, Senator Fannin of Arizona, who has discussed with me and other Members of the Senate his own very keen interest in the problems of our Indian citizens.

And we have already heard from Senator Yarborough, the distinguished senior Senator from Texas, whom I also commend. I want to wish every member of this subcommittee well in his endeavors.

I have noticed, Mr. Chairman, among your witnesses, the name of Father John Bryde, superintendent of the Holy Rosary Mission School, in Pine Ridge, S. Dak. I think you are going to find that he is one of the best informed and most deeply concerned witnesses you will hear from in the course of these deliberations. I have followed with interest for many years his leadership and his enlightened service to the Pine Ridge Reservation, and I feel certain that he will have valuable contributions to make at these hearings.

It is also notable that you have chosen to hear from a number of Indian spokesmen in your first hearings. I see the name of Mr. Ben Black Elk, from South Dakota, on your list. Here again, you will find a man who speaks from conviction and from long experience, firsthand, about the problems of his people.

Let me just say in conclusion, Mr. Chairman, that as chairman of the Subcommittee on Indian Affairs of the Senate Interior Committee, I see this subcommittee as an important new addition to efforts being made to assist our Indian people. I look forward to working very closely with the members of this subcommittee. I want to express my best wishes for the success of your hearings this week and for your work in the coming weeks. I hope it will be possible for this subcommittee to come to South Dakota, where we have some 35,000 Indian people.

If the committee makes a judgment to come there, it will be welcome, and I think it will find problems of special interest.

If I may be permitted one further word, I want to commend the chairman of the subcommittee and the ranking minority for selection of an able staff. Mr. Adrian Parmeter, one of the members of the staff, happens to be a respected native of South Dakota. He was not only a star athlete, but a star student, and a very able member of the U.S. Government. I am glad to see him backing up the effort of this subcommittee.

Thank you very much.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Thank you very much, Senator. That is very thoughtful. I hope you will sit in on our hearings any time you are able to.

Senator **McGovern**. Thank you.

Senator Fannin. May I commend Senator McGovern for his assistance in getting this hearing underway and for his very great cooperation. Of course, he is my subcommittee chairman for the Subcommittee on Indian Affairs of the Interior Committee, and I very much appreciate the opportunity of serving with him, as well as with you, Senator Kennedy.

Senator McGovern. Thank you.

Senator Kennedy of New York. At this point I would like to read into the record an important statement by one of the outstanding leaders in the field of Indian education, Dr. Robert A. Roessel, director of the Rough Rock Demonstration School, Chinle, Ariz.

I regret that Dr. Roessel could not be with us today to testify himself but the severe snowstorm in Arizona forced him to cancel his appearance. Also I ask that the excellent article on Dr. Roessel's demonstration school be included in the record following his statement.

STATEMENT OF ROBERT A. ROESSEL, JR., DIRECTOR OF ROUGH ROCK DEMONSTRATION SCHOOL, CHINLE, ARIZ., AS READ BY SENATOR KENNEDY OF NEW YORK

It is indeed an honor to appear before this newly created Subcommittee on Indian Education. Perhaps those of you serving on this committee do not yet fully realize the potential of your committee. In my estimation nothing has happened in the last 40 years in Indian affairs that has greater possible significance than does the creation of your subcommittee. It provides now, for the first time, a new vehicle and a new route for Indian education and it, for the first time also, recognizes this area of Indian affairs worthy of the specific attention of the Senate of the United States.

I would like to compliment the Subcommittee on Indian Education for the excellent staff they have acquired. Both Adrian Parmeter and John Gray combine experience and aggressive concern which are so essential if this committee is to realize substantial breakthroughs in Indian education.

I. LOCAL CONTROL

I would like to direct my remarks at a discussion of some of the major problems and needs in Indian education, at least insofar as I see them. The No. 1 need, in my estimation, can be characterized by the problem of local control. The Indian people today enjoy most rights to which other citizens of this great Nation are entitled. However, they have in almost every instance been denied the right to be wrong. In the past and in most schools educating Indians today, the professional and the expert are the ones who direct the future of the Indian people and are the ones who determine the character as well as the objectives of Indian education. In my part of the country this is done for the reason that Indian people are felt not to have yet the proper quality and quantity of education to allow them to make intelligent decisions. These experts, who hold this position, feel that the time is not yet ripe for the Indians to be given this increased responsibility and they feel it is not possible for them to direct or control their education in any significant manner. The professionals hope that the day will soon arrive when the Indian citizen can take his place in the decisionmaking body politic of this Nation, but the Indians are not ready yet.

A quick review of history would show that these kinds of people were singing the same tune during the early colonial days and these people are of course saying the same thing today. In my estimation it is time for education to be given back to the Indian people. Without meaningful local control by the Indians themselves, no sense of responsibility and no adequate system of Indian education can ever be implemented.

For a minute, let us look at the matter of local control with reference to the two basic types of schools educating Indians today. In the first place, there are Bureau of Indian Affairs schools which nationwide enroll something approximating 36 percent of the Indian students. These schools are of course operated and controlled by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, not the Indian people. Employees at these schools are civil service personnel and therefore are protected by civil service tenure. This makes, upon initial examination, an apparently impossible situation with respect to giving local Indian people the right to hire and fire; without which I seriously doubt whether Indian people will really believe they do have meaningful control over the education of their children.

It should be pointed out that in discussions with members of the Civil Service Commission and in discussion with some of the top people within the Bureau of Indian Affairs the civil service obstacle is not insurmountable. These individuals point out that within the job description of an individual employee can be written ability to relate and to be accepted by the local community. In addition, those whom the community do not desire to remain at a location any longer could be transferred if their work is adequate and if their work is inadequate of course they should be terminated. Civil service was not designed to protect the inefficient.

The second type of school which nationwide enrolls nearly 60 percent of Indian students are the public schools. The problem with the public schools lies not primarily in the legality of hiring and firing and local control but rather in its implementation.

On the Navaho reservation, for example, public schools which reservationwide enroll over 80 percent Navaho students are in every instance controlled by school boards whose membership is over 50 percent non-Indian.[1] Even if a public school board on the Navaho reservation were to have a majority of Navaho membership, this would not in and of itself assure direction and leadership by the Navaho community. There have been in the past several examples where either a majority of the school board were Navaho or, in one instance, every member was Navaho without having real Navaho direction and control.

This basically is due to the fact that the Navaho school board members are not aware of their potential responsibilities and areas of influence. The superintendent plays the dominant role and meetings are characterized principally by Navaho acquiescence and very little participation.

Therefore, the problem of local control in public schools is not so much making it legally possible for Navaho representation on school boards. To achieve effective local control, a real effort must be made on the part of the professional school administrators to educate all school board members into their responsibilities and functions. The problem of the control of public school education being vested for all intents and purposes in a superintendent is of course not unique to the Navaho reservation. Its consequences are both visible and vivid inasmuch as Indian people have in many instances taken the position of "letting the school do it." They have relinquished the responsibility of their children to the school because they feel they have no voice in the school, its program, and its policies.

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[1] On the Navaho reservation 57 percent of the Indian students are enrolled in Bureau of Indian Affairs schools while 40 percent attend public schools and the remainder are in mission or private schools.

On the Navaho reservation the problem of local control can be best illustrated by stating in Navaho the words for the different types of schools operating on that reservation.

Bureau of Indian Affairs schools are called "Washingdoon bi oltka" which means "Washington's schools."

· Public schools on the Navaho Reservation enrolling up to 90 percent Navaho students, are called "Beligaana bi oltaka" which means "Little white man's schools."

It is interesting to present the name of a third type of school which has just recently been introduced to Indian education and presently operates at Rough Rock in the heart of the Navaho Reservation. This is the only school that is honored with the name "Dineh bi oltka" which means "The Navaho's school."

Let us look for a minute then at why at Rough Rock it has been possible to realize local control and obtain real involvement and leadership. What is the composition of the school board there? One does not find a professional and educated school board which one would think would be necessary to have functional local control. At Rough Rock on a seven-member school board only one has even been to school, and that individual for only 4 years. This is not the time to go into depth concerning Rough Rock but it should be fully realized we cannot understand Indian education today without understanding the significance of Rough Rock.

It would be well to state for the record that the best programs presently in operation at Rough Rock, by the evaluation of literally thousands of people who have visited the school during the past year, many of whom are leading educators of this Nation, are not the programs developed by people like myself who like to claim the role of expert or at least the role of professional educator, but rather the best programs are those originated by this so-called uneducated school board. Perhaps the words of James Russell Lowell's "The President Crisis" are appropriate here:

> New occasions teach new duties;
> Time makes ancient good uncouth;
> They must upward still, and onward, who would
> keep abreast of truth;
> Lo, before us gleam her camp fires
> We ourselves must Pilgrims be.
> Launch our Mayflower and steer boldy
> through the desperate winter sea,
> Nor attempt the Future's portal with the
> Past's blood-rusted key.

At Rough Rock the community is no longer content to be told that they are not yet ready to assume responsibility to have a controlling voice in the education of their children. The results at Rough Rock are, and will continue to drastically alter and revolutionize Indian education.

It is the hope of the Navaho Tribe and the hope of the Rough Creek School Board and community that the Senate subcommittee will soon see fit to visit and to learn for themselves what is taking place at Rough Rock where truly education has been given back to the Indian people with miraculous results.

II. SENSE OF IDENTITY

A second major problem area in Indian education is the lack of a positive self-image on the part of many, many Indian youth and adults. On the Navaho Reservation education in the past has been designed to be of the "either-or" variety. By that I mean the Indian child in school has been in one very real sense required to make a choice of whether he should be an American and a success or an Indian and a failure. My wife, who is Navaho, always makes the point that while she was attending an Indian school located on the Navaho Reservation, she learned ancient history, American history, European history, French history, English history, but never history of the Navaho or the history of the Indian people. We know today only too well, from such people as Dr. Karl Menninger and others who are concerned with the mental well-being of people, that a person must have a sense of identity which allows him to answer in a positive manner the question, "Who am I?" Dr. Menninger has stated that one of the greatest failures Indian education has suffered in the past has been its inability on a sustained basis to make Indian children proud of being Indian as well as proud of being an American.

This approach of teaching positive elements of both cultures is called the "both-and" approach to Indian education. Here Indian children are deliberately and consciously taught in the school to be proud of being both Indian and American. The positive elements of both ways of life are presented so that the choice of the road down which the Indian is to follow and which he must make for himself, is made on the basis of confidence. It begs the question of whether you are educating the Indian to live on or off the reservation. The "both-and" approach attempts to provide the Indians with the tools to make wise choices.

This philosophy perhaps was best illustrated by the very man who spoke to you this morning, John Dick, school board member from Rough Rock. Several months ago an education professor from one of the leading universities of the Nation visited Rough Rock. This individual had read several articles about Rough Rock and had arrived with certain preconceived notions about the school and its program. Without waiting to see, this individual went to a school board meeting and proceeded in a very real manner to chastice the school board in words such as this: "Don't you know you are living in the 20th century? You are actually damaging your children because you are educating them for a life that no longer exists. You are educating your children for the 19th century and this kind of education can do nothing but bring havoc and hardship on your children.

John Dick answered this individual in these kind of words: "In one way you are right. We are not educating for today; we are educating for tomorrow. The way a person can live successfully in tomorrow's world is to have confidence in himself and have an inner strength which comes only from a positive picture of himself. We are not wise enough to know what the future will be like 10, 20 or even 30 years from now. We do know that our children, if they have the tools to make intelligent choices, will be able to live in tomorrow's world successfully. This school is designed not to teach the children to walk down this road or that road but rather to give them the tools to make intelligent choices."

Several years ago I had the problem of one's self-image clearly and tragically brought to my attention. George Harris, a Northern Cheyenne boy, married to a Navaho, was working with me at the Indian Education Center at Arizona State University. He had just been discharged from the Marine Corps and was helping me prepare for our annual Indian education conference. George's wife was attending Arizona State University while George himself was unemployed and not going to college. He and I worked the better part of a day getting the program ready and doing all the many tasks involved in preparing for a conference. That night the phone rang and I was asked to go to an apartment where a Navaho girl was hysterical. When I arrived there I found a police car in front with George's wife inside. I was told that he had committed suicide earlier that evening. That night my wife and I took Roberta Harris to our home to spend the night. In the morning, before leaving for the conference, she asked if I would ask the conference delegates if they would change the theme of the conference from "Values To Grow On" to a new theme "Values To Live For."

Roberta Harris went on to say that her husband had nothing to live for. He was a person with a high school education, a person who was an outstanding basketball player; he was a person well liked by nearly everyone, and yet he had nothing to live for. Roberta explained that her husband didn't know who he was and in the process of acquiring this excellent education, lost himself—in fact was ashamed of his Indian heritage.

This often is the price an Indian child must pay in order to get an education and in order to gain the accolades of the dominant society. It is interesting to note that in a study conducted by the Indian Education Center at Arizona State University for the U.S. Office of Education, it was determined that the most successful college students are not the ones who come from the most acculturated homes. In this largest study as to the reasons for success and failure of southwestern Indian students in college, it was found that Indian students who come from homes where no English was spoken and Indian students who come from the most unacculturated homes succeeded best in college. Further research clearly suggests that this is because these people have a positive self-image and are not lost between two worlds.

III. TEACHER TRAINING

A third major problem facing Indian education is teacher preparation. Fortunately, today there are some universities in parts of Indian country which are developing specific training programs designed at preparing teachers for work with Indian children. Too often, a person without any understanding of Indian culture or the particular ways of the tribe in that area, have been asked and required to teach Indian children. We know today from the experience and research accumulated in the area of educating the disadvantaged, that it is extremely important for the teachers as well as for everyone working with the children in the community, to understand the culture, language, and the family life of the children they are involved in educating. There are a number of institutions that have developed specific and complete programs, in at least one instance leading to a master's degree, for teachers working with Indian children. This approach must be expanded. In my experience on the Navaho Reservation and in visiting almost every reservation in this Nation, a teacher to be maximally effective must have not only courses in methods and materials of teaching Indian children, but also anthropologically oriented courses to understand the culture and the ways of the particular tribe, or tribes, with which that teacher is involved.

I certainly should like to see the day when States such as Arizona and New Mexico, where you have the largest concentration of Indian population in the Nation, require teachers who teach Indians to have a certificate which indicates they have had a minimal number of courses in Indian education. In special education we have special requirements for teachers. In the teaching of reading, in the teaching of arithmetic, and so forth there are all specific special requirements which we have before an individual can teach children in that area. Surely the same logic ought to hold with regard to teaching children who come from a culture that may be radically different and who accept values which may actually, in certain cases be in conflict with values of the dominant society.

IV. CURRICULUM

A fourth major problem area is that dealing with the curriculum used in Indian education. One of the greatest concerns I have with regard to the entire area of curriculum and Indian education, is that we too often oversimplify the ways in which the problems can be resolved. Today, Indian education is on a TESL (teaching English as a second language) kick. By that I mean we in Indian education now look upon TESL as the key which solves all problems in Indian education: one pill eliminates all our troubles. Surely TESL is important and in the past we have used hit-and-miss methods in teaching English to Indian students. But to say TESL is the total answer makes equally poor sense. Again, using the Navaho Reservation as an illustration, last spring in a period of just a few months over a million dollars was spent to hold an expensive workshop for teachers in giving them the rudiments of English as a second language. The solution to Indian education, in my estimation, does not lie with TESL nor with any other specific method or individual area of concern. We must tackle problems broadly and with vigor. We must not delude ourselves into thinking all problems can be solved with a specific educational technique.

An area which today is highly neglected is the area of reading materials dealing with the life, history, traditions, as well as the present and future of Indian tribes. Books must be developed which present Indian biographies, history, current problems and programs, as well as presenting the knids of stimuli and challenges which lie ahead of

Indian youth. Here again it would be foolish to think that merely by emphasizing this to the exclusion of all other areas that problems in Indian education will disappear. We must be careful to keep a balanced attack yet we must certainly place in a position of greater prominence the area of preparing materials dealing with Indian life and culture. Indian language has a right to be taught to Indian students, and to others if they wish to learn, just like German and French are taught to students who are interested in learning those languages. The world is moving so rapidly that educators are becoming increasingly aware that in the future American children must become bicultural and bilingual.

I believe the greatest needs in Indian education lie not in developing new or even better teaching techniques, recognizing that there are needs and improvements both possible and necessary in this area; but rather in a whole new attitude which brings the parents, their life, and language, into a partnership with the school, where Indian parents look upon Indian education as theirs, and not someone else's; when in the culture the parents and the children are united in realizing the kind of education that makes each child a confident, contributing citizen wherever that individual may choose to reside.

V. BOARDING SCHOOL VERSUS DAY SCHOOLS

A fifth problem facing Indian education deals with boarding schools as opposed to day schools. One of the problems facing Indian education which has been resolved at the philosophical level but has not yet been resolved on the action level, is the entire matter of sending children away from their homes to receive an education. In the past, the desirable type of Indian education was the one which removed the child from the "harmful" influence of the home and placed him far away in a boarding school where he could learn undisturbed English and other of the trappings of civilization. Surely no one any longer accepts that type of reasoning but we still find boarding schools enrolling significant numbers of Indian students. Last year on the Navaho Reservation in Bureau of Indian Affairs schools 92 percent of the students were enrolled in boarding schools.

Today our most frequently voiced argument supporting the necessity for the operation of boarding schools is that the roads are of such poor quality and become so impassable during the winter months that day school operations cannot be achieved. This is true in many cases but it would be interesting to check and determine during the past 40 years how much money was spent on boarding school construction and the extra cost of boarding school operation. It would be interesting to use that figure and see how many miles of all weather roads could have been constructed. If that money had been spent on road construction, I believe you would find today very little need for and boarding schools. Unfortunately even today the bulk of school construction moneys are going for boarding school construction. This makes no sense to me.

Cipriano Manual, the former chief judge of the Papago Tribe, often relates his great concern over what boarding schools have done to Indian people. He believes they have, in his own words, "Created a monster." He points out that on the Pagago Reservation the second generation of children are growing up who have never had the opportunity of living in a normal home year round. The parents today were children who attended boarding schools and never had the opportunity of being home to see the role of a mother or father on a continuing basis. Rather the adults of today, those who received an education, were in boarding schools far removed from home and in many instances got home at best once a year. They now have children of their own but since they did not have the opportunity of growing up in a normal home they do not have the pattern which could help them in handling the problems of their own children.

Here again research shows us the added personality and behavior problems created by boarding schools. In another study in which I was involved for the National Institute of Mental Health, we found that the anxiety level, the hostility level, and in the area of aggression, boarding school students scored significantly higher than did day school students. Furthermore, we found the adults attending these boarding schools as children had a greater number of personality and behavior problems than did those attending day schools or no school.

One of the very real problems of Indian education is to keep our actions consistent with out words. I do not believe that one can find much fault with what experts and others mouth and say about Indian education. Here you will find noble platitudes about the importance of community involvement, the school shall serve as a community center, and children should attend schools as close to home as possible. The facts of the matter are, however, that actions often belie those words. Indeed, the significance of the subcommittee may very well lie in assisting all aspects of Indian education to come to grips with putting into practice what we so nobly preach.

VI. PUBLIC SCHOOL VERSUS BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS SCHOOLS

A sixth major area of concern lies in the ever-present problem of Federal versus public school for Indians. One of the very real difficulties lies in always placing in opposite corners public school education and Bureau of Indian Affairs education. Too often we have been interested in trying to measure which type of education is most effective. In fact even now this type of a study is being undertaken under the able leadership of Dr. Robert Havighurst from the University of Chicago. Unfortunately, I feel money spent to judge the comparative effectiveness of type of school is often wasted. Not in that the results will not be important but rather in that we already know the results. And the results in and of themselves are misleading. Every research study over conducted shows that Indians in public schools do better than Indians in Bureau schools. But it is totally wrong to say that therefore public schools are better than Bureau schools. In the first place, the Indians attending the Bureau schools are usually the fullbloods and those who have not had the opportunity of speaking English and becoming acquainted with the ways of the dominant society.

The Indian students in public schools are usually the mixed bloods, the ones who may have limited Indian blood quantum but are not Indian in their thinking or in their actions. It may be desirable that we move toward public school education for Indians but it should not be on the basis that today public school education produces superior achievement and better results in Indian students.

In considering this problem area, one cannot discount the possibility of a third alternative to public and Bureau education. This is the alternative now provided by the Rough Rock demonstration school. Here we find a school controlled by the tribe through the community. Perhaps in the future it will be desirable to have the Indian tribes themselves play a more prominant role in educational leadership on their reservations.

VII. TERMINATION

The seventh and last area of concern which I will mention permeates and contaminates all aspects of Indian education and this is the matter of termination. Termination was a policy enunciated in House Concurrent Resolution 108 which stated that as soon as practical special Federal services to Indian tribes should be terminated. In recent years we have had two major tribes terminated with equally disastrous results. Both the Menominee tribe of Wisconsin and the Klamath tribe of Oregon were terminated and we find today an increase in problems rather than a decrease as had been hoped prior to termination. While termination may not be the vocal policy of the legislative branch of government today, certainly many of the actions taken by the Senate and the House support the suspicion of Indian tribes that termination is still the policy Congress supports.

Recently I was a member of President Johnson's Task Force on Indian Affairs. That task force recommended the transfer of the entire Bureau of Indian Affairs to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The report submitted to the President indicated that it would be useless and, in fact, harmful to suggest the proposed transfer unless two prior conditions were met.

First, the legislative and executive branches disavow by word and deed termination as policy, and second, Indian people then have an opportunity to vote to accept or reject the proposed transfer. For reasons unknown to me, the first condition was ignored and Indian people heard of the proposed transfer and predictably almost without exception opposed it. If one were to read the report, there is very clearly stated that Indian people would oppose the transfer unless Congress and the President first disavowed termination as policy. There was no disavowal and Indian people did oppose the transfer as had been foreseen.

Indian people look at almost everything as a move toward or away from State control and a loss of their Federal relationship. This thinking colors Indian action on each and every program. In other words, I am suggesting that this subcommittee will be judged in a very real way by Indian people as being a move toward or a move away from termination. If you are looked upon as being a tool which leads toward termination, then your effectiveness, I feel, will be totally destroyed. It is important that this committee recognize the pervasiveness of this fear on the part of Indians throughout the Nation and act to clarify the issue.

I appreciate this opportunity of presenting my remarks to this group. I hope your interest in Indian education will deepen as your knowledge increases and you become aware of the very acute needs facing our first Americans.

(The article referred to previously follows:)

[From the Saturday Review, Sept. 16, 1967]

INNOVATION AT ROUGH ROCK; LEARNING TO BE NAVAHO-AMERICANS

(By Estelle Fuchs, cultural anthropologist who is an associate professor in the Department of Education, Hunter College, and author of "Pickets at the Gates")

At first glance, an isolated tract of dusty washland in northeastern Arizona hardly seems the likely place for a bold, innovative program in education. Yet here, at Rough Rock, in the heart of the Navaho reservation, several of the most basic questions confronting American education are being enthusiastically explored. Can, for instance, a relatively uneducated, unsophisticated poverty group successfully assume control over the formal education of their children and that of the total community? And secondly, can a truly pluralistic education that deliberately preserves the identity of a minority peoples and instills pride in their traditional cultural heritage successfully prepare children for the demands of life in twentieth-century America?

Demonstrating an affirmative answer to both these questions and evolving the academic and organizational innovations to do so is a remarkable institution, The Rough Rock Demonstration School. Funded by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) and the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) in 1966, the school provides for the education of more than 250 Navaho children from Head Start through grade six. The school has been stirring up enormous interest during the brief year it has been in operation.

Early plans for the school were first formulated at the Indian Community Action Center at Tempe, Arizona, one of three OEO centers organized to provide technical assistance and training for reservation Indians. Here, Robert Roessel, Jr., at that time director of the center, believing strongly that antipoverty funds should be reserved for and administered by the tribal organizations themselves, helped formulate plans in that direction. Fortunately, BIA recognized the need for new breakthroughs in the field of Indian education, and OEO was willing to underwrite new programs. A new school plant, costing over $3,000,000, had just been completed at Rough Rock, and BIA offered to turn the school and $307,000 allotted for its operation over to the Navahos to be organized and run in a totally new way. In addition, OEO offered $329,000 for a demonstration project in community training and education.

To receive the funds, the Navaho tribe organized DINE, Inc., a private nonprofit corporation. Symbolically, DINE, Inc., (Demonstration in Navajo Education) also stands for the Navaho name for themselves, *Dine*—"the people." In a radical move, the corporation in turn handed over the operational control of the Rough Rock school to a board of education, consisting of middle-aged Navahos, only one of whom had even a few years of schooling who were elected by the Rough Rock community. Bob Roessel was recruited as director and the Rough Rock Demonstration School was on its way.

Rough Rock itself is a community of 1,000 persons living in family groups scattered widely through an area of some 15 miles' radius. Here among the eroded washlands and the rugged terrain of Black Mesa, more than 6,000 feet above sea level, live some of the most traditional members of the Navaho reservation. The area has both the advantages and disadvantages of sheer physical isolation. Sixteen miles of ungraded, unpaved roads separate the community from the nearest hard-surfaced road. The nearest hospital is at Ganado some 80 miles away, and the closest sizable town is Gallup, New Mexico, 100 miles distant. The absence of surfaced roads in the Rough Rock area makes its 15-mile radius appear to stretch endlessly. Sudden seasonal rains turn roads into veritable seas of mud, making even those that exist impassable.

The Navahos of this region are sheepherders and practice the traditional crafts of blanket-weaving and silver work. Their average annual income of $700 places them among the lowest income levels of the American population. Their homes or "camps" consist of the traditional hogan or cabin, a sheep corral, and a lean-to for horses set among the family grazing lands. To some of these homes, water must be hauled from miles distant; there is no electricity or plumbing.

Because they are proud of their homes and families, perhaps the most important aspect of the Demonstration School to the elected Board of Education and the people of the Rough Rock community is that it consciously and purposively regards Navaho culture, history, and language with great respect, and includes these in the school curriculum. The Navaho leaders of the school have not turned their backs to the modern world. They have adopted the philosophy that the choice for children ought not to be either-or, i.e., either learn the white man's way as the only proper life and reject the Indian way, or vice versa. They seek to realize an approach Bob Roessel calls the "both-and" philosophy, a point of view which holds that it is essential for the school to teach *both* ways so that the Indian child can have a positive sense of identity while learning to live successively in the modern world. "We want our children to be proud of being Navahos. We want them to know who they are," says John Dick, a member of the School Board. "In the future they will have to be able to make many choices and do many different things. They need a modern education to make their way but they have to know both worlds—and being Navaho will give them strength."

Thus it is in the area of cultural identification at Rough Rock that an exciting program in pluralistic education is underway. From the moment one sets foot in the school, evidence of the respect—almost reverence—for Navaho life strikes one as setting this school uniquely apart. In the corridors are to be seen the staff, dressed in attire appropriate to most elementary schools throughout the country. But also to be seen are the ever-welcome visiting Navaho parents, many dressed in the traditional costumes still worn in the area—the women in long, pleated calico skirts of dark prints, topped by velveteen blouses in rich hues of blue, green, or wine. Adorned with bracelets, necklaces, hair pieces, and earrings of silver and turquoise, some carry suckling infants. The men dress in Western-style work clothes enlivened by silver and turquoise jewlery, a few sporting the traditional long hair tied in a knot. On the corridor wall the work of the children in "new math" is juxtaposed with exquisite art work depicting Navaho mythology and history. And one is as likely to be greeted by "*Ya-Ta-Hay!*" as "Hi!"

The classrooms, replete with modern educational paraphernalia, TV sets, electric clocks, two-way speaker systems, the newest and best of textbooks, record players, modern furniture, etc., all have, in addition, their Navaho corner. Here are displayed the objects ubiquitous in traditional Navaho homes: a loom, a cradle board, blankets. Here, too, are displayed Navaho words and illustrations of Navaho life.

But the cultural identification program at Rough Rock is not simply a perfunctory display of objects or people. It is a carefully thought-through program and, under the direction of Dillon Paterno, formerly head of the Navaho Tribe Educational Committee, it has embarked on a curriculum development program which holds great promise for Navaho education in general. Working out of the Cultural Identification Center at the school, both Anglo and Navaho specialists provide up to an hour a day of classroom instruction in Navaho history, culture, and language for the children. These lessons include work on the Navaho hogan, its history and the ceremonials associated with it, farming and caring for livestock, lessons on the reservation's facilities, Navaho history and tribal government, as well as lessons on Navaho kinship.

Most of the Rough Rock children have learned no English before coming to school. And though a major curriculum emphasis is developing fluency in the English language using the linguistic approach of TESL (Teaching English as a Second Language), the knowledge of Navaho is still essential to many jobs on the reservation as well as to communication with the older generation. For this reason, as well as the essential relationship between the preservation of language and the preservation of culture, the Navaho language is taught and the children are encouraged to use it. Classes in Navaho are provided for Anglo staff members and their children. In good humor these are referred to as "TNSL" (Teaching Navaho as a Second Language).

To the Cultural Identification Center have been recruited leading Navaho artists and translators. Navaho elders and medicine men have come to record legends, chants, history, and autobiographies. These are then transcribed into English. "Our center has collected materials leading anthropologists thought were extinct," says Roessel proudly. Navaho elders have come from all parts of the reservation to participate in the project, to record, to listen, and check on the accuracy of the collected data. On almost any morning one is likely to see an elderly Navaho medicine man, his neck bedecked with strings of turquoise and coral, turquoise dangling from his pierced ears, respectfully ushered in to the curriculum-center room to listen to recordings of legends and give his expert opinion on the quality of their rendition. Thus a whole team of Navahos are themselves enthusiastically engaged in the recording of traditional culture. In addition, materials on current Navaho programs and progress are being collected. The materials are primarily seen as providing resources for the education of the childen.

Serving a dual function in cultural identification and job training, leading craftsmen from all over the reservation have been recruited to the school. Here they demonstrate for the children and provide adult education as well. The Rough Rock school has embarked on a program to revive and improve the quality of traditional crafts in the adult-education phase of its program. Through the recently organized Navaho Tribal Crafts Centers on the reservation, products of superior quality are becoming a growing source of income to the people of the region.

The enthusiastic response of the community to the school is impressive, particularly when understood in terms of the traditional Navaho's fear and distrust of schools, which he viewed as stealing his children away from "The Trail of Beauty," the Navaho way of life.

The history of federal responsibility for Navaho education goes back nearly 100 years to the treaty concluded by Gen. William Tecumseh Sherman and the elected chiefs of the Navaho tribe in 1868. For four years previous, some 8,000 Navaho had been rounded up and installed at Fort Sumner under the supervision of the U.S. Army. Escaping the fate of being sent to the Indian lands in Oklahoma, the Navaho managed to regain rights to a portion of their ancestral lands in northeastern Arizona, parts of Utah, and New Mexico, and were reunited with their kinsmen who had escaped the federal roundup as well as with those who were released from Mexican bondage by the U.S. Army. Article VI of this historic treaty provided that the Navahos pledge themselves to compel their children, male and female, between the ages of six and sixteen years, to attend school; the United States in turn agreed "* * * that for every thirty children between said ages who can be induced or compelled to attend school, a house shall be provided, and a teacher competent to teach the elementary branches of an English education shall be furnished."

From the very beginning, however, Navaho education has been characterized by gross inadequacy of provisions for schooling, compulsion by authorities, as well as Navaho resistance to the kinds of education being provided. The picture has begun to change only in the last decade.

In 1900, when most children in this country had at least an elementary education, only one out of every ten Navaho children was in school and then for only a year or two. In 1949, one out of every four Navahos was attending school. By 1950, there were schools available for only half the eligible Navaho children. During the last decade the grave educational deficiencies of Indian children have received increased attention and, with increased federal funding of education and antipoverty programs, by 1964 there were 38,117 Navaho children in school, an increase of 23,000 over 14,764 enrolled in 1953. Symptomatic of the deficiency is the fact that among Navahos twenty-five years or older, the average length of schooling has been two years. Although mission education and public schools account for some, most Navaho children attend schools sponsored by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. By the 1960s there was room for almost all Navaho children in school and attention turned from the problem of quantity to that of quality.

Educational deficiency among the Navahos is clearly related to the long history of inadequate financing and provision of schools and teachers. At the same time, however, there is no doubt that the problem of culture conflict has had much to do with Navaho resistance to schools and schooling. The schools were seen as a threat to traditional life. Children were taken to boarding schools long distances from home, given limited visiting privileges, and subjected to teachers and curricula that denied their heritage. Often they were crowded into dismal barracks-like dormitories, sternly disciplined, and emerged fit only for marginal economic life in the white world, and unfit for life on the reservation.

To reduce the gulf between generations engendered by boarding schools, parents and elders at Rough Rock are encouraged to visit both the classrooms and the dormitories. Often coming from long distances, they are invited to stay several days, sleep in the dorms, eat in the cafeteria, and observe the education provided their children. They are welcome to use the laundry and shower facilities. The Board has worked out a plan whereby every five weeks a new team of parents comes to work and live in the dormitories. One of these weeks is spent in being trained by the previous team. Thus every child at school has a real parent or close relative in the dorm with him almost all year.

In addition, parents are encouraged to take children home every weekend, and the youngsters are urged to practice the language and observe ceremonial life. When this plan of home visits was instituted, many cautioned Roessel that the children would not return. But this did not prove to be a problem, and on Monday morning the weekend sojourners had returned to their classes. This is in marked contrast to traditional boarding schools, where the children were not permitted to leave and runaways constituted a perennial problem.

Members of the community are quick to say they like the Rough Rock school because it teaches Navaho culture and allows the children to come home every weekend. Not only do the children receive emotional support from the presence of the parents; they also learn from them in the dorm story hour. The parents learn, too, about the world in which their children are moving. They enjoy TV together and participate in events with the children. The modern, well kept dorms are increasing in attractiveness as the blankets and baskets woven by dorm parents during their stay begin to adorn the walls.

To Roessel, the most exciting aspect of the school is that control is vested in the local Indian community. "When we first came to Rough Rock we said to the community and their elected Board of Education. 'This is your school: it's up to you to run it.' They didn't really believe us. They were not only suspicious of the words, but the very concept itself had never been presented to them. Our beautiful words—I don't think they really believed them. They had to begin to see if they could operate the school."

Fortunately, the thrust of the OEO grant proposal, with its emphasis upon community participation and cultural identification, concerned the Navaho leaders on the local level as well. This is what they, too, wanted, and as confidence in their controlling role developed, they plunged wholeheartedly and conscientiously into efforts to insure that the program would be successful, to provide better ideas on how to implement the program, and to oversee the program's development and progress.

In their first declaration of independence the School Board declined to accept the services of a nationally prominent, voluntary board of advisors, explaining that if this were to be truly a community school, the problems of the school would be best resolved by the persons most expert on the community—the Rough Rock people themselves. Since that time there have been some seventeen other instances of disagreement between the Board and the school administration, each of which, though resolved amicably, was decided in favor of the School Board. In retrospect, Roessel claims that their wisdom was greater than his in each instance.

Most of the professional staff, which includes ten classroom teachers, a remedial reading specialist, a speech and hearing therapist, two guidance counselors, and two TESL specialists among others, were mainly attracted to the Rough Rock school because of association with Bob Roessel or persons close to him at Arizona State University. Because the school is not a public or BIA school, there are no rigid requirements and regulations concerning employment. Twelve VISTA volunteers also participated in the program this year.

One of the strikingly successful teachers of the "beginners," or kindergarten class, is Doris Ardeso, a Navaho who herself is not a high school graduate. Most of the staff, consisting of both Navaho and Anglos, are highly qualified for any school, however. Mrs. Anita Pfeiffer, in charge of the academic program for 1967-68, is a beautiful, young Navaho woman who holds a Masters Degree and has lived abroad in India.

Although the idea of the community school and many of the other principles upon which the Rough Rock school is founded have been official Bureau of Indian Affairs policy for many years, it is in demonstrating how to accomplish and implement the policy in a viable program that DINE, Inc., and the Rough Rock Demonstration School make their greatest contribution. The accomplishments in the short time the school has been in operation are impressive. Trust and cooperation between the community and the school has developed. Education is no longer looked upon as a destroyer of families. By providing jobs and creating jobs for persons who would otherwise have been ineligible because of civil service restrictions, the school has made an impact on the well-being of the total community. It has also demonstrated the feasibility of training for school employment the very able Navahos who do not have formal education, provided high-level jobs for educated Navahos, and created new job models, such as the dorm parents, that can be copied elsewhere.

Rough Rock Demonstration School is not without its problems and critics, however. Some of the staff have found the isolation difficult to bear; others do not enjoy the permissive attitude. The role of the professional in this school is clearly one of service to the community rather than one of the master, and patronizing attitudes are severely frowned upon. Some of the staff feels this represents abdication of professional responsibilities; as a result, a few are leaving and one or two have been asked to leave.

To the critics of the cultural identification program who say the school is fostering a "back-to-the-blanket movement," i.e., preparation for life in the eighteenth century rather than for the present, Roessel responds, "I don't hear the Indians say this! On the contrary, this is education for the future. This is the kind of education to let a Navaho live in the new age, when every person has pride in himself." Increasing numbers of young, educated Navahos are returning to the reservation, not to challenge their elders but to learn the traditions of their people that their schooling denied them. Anita Pfeiffer says, "The best part about this school is that the children are learning who they are. People like myself had to pick up Navaho culture piecemeal." Stating a similar thought, the School Board members stress, "We need to renew acquaintance with ourselves."

Could the school have succeeded without the extra funding provided by the OEO? That the economic boost given the community is a large part of the success of community involvement is certainly true. Yet, money has been spent liberally elsewhere with no positive results. As Gary Witherspoon, director of Community Services at the school and himself a descendant of a signer of the Declaration of Independence, puts it, "You see so many programs that aren't working. Here we feel a real sense of achievement." His sentiments are echoed by the Navahos of the area, who speak enthusiastically about the job training and job opportunities provided.

The answer to the really big question of where the children go from here was temporarily postponed when the School Board voted, responding to a petition by the sixth grade and their families, to add a seventh grade next year. That a high school and junior college carrying on the beginnings made here are sorely needed, there is no doubt.

The accomplishments are impressive and both the school and the antipoverty program here present tempting parallels to be drawn between Rough Rock and the demands for community control in the nation's inner cities. While the vast numbers and the heterogeneity of populations enormously complicate the problems in urban areas, the possibility that new models of educational services can be evolved to promote a mood of optimism and dignity in populations regarded as "apathetic," "hostile," or "disadvantaged" has been clearly demonstrated.

In recognition of this, Dr. Joseph Colmen, Deputy Assistant Secretary (for education) of the Department of Health Education, and Welfare, after a visit to the school, said:

> "There is a great lesson to be learned here, not just for Navahos but for American people in general. I don't know of many places where parents take the trouble and time and interest to concern themselves with the education of their six-year-old as much as you people sitting here do. I think when the chronicles of this program are written, it will have an application far beyond the Rough Rock School to America in general."

Senator Kennedy of New York. Our next witness is Mr. Ben Black Elk, of the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota, and with him is Father John Bryde, superintendent of Holy Rosary Mission School, in Pine Ridge, S. Dak.

STATEMENT OF FATHER JOHN BRYDE, S.J., PH. D., SUPERINTENDENT, HOLY ROSARY MISSION SCHOOL, PINE RIDGE, S. DAK., ACCOMPANIED BY BEN BLACK ELK, PINE RIDGE RESERVATION, S. DAK.

Father Bryde. I would like to render a couple of words of explanation, first of all. I give quite a few talks around the country on Indian education, and with this new look, I get feedback from Catholic people in the audience later on, saying, is this guy in good standing? What is the deal? Referring, of course, to the tie instead of the collar.

This is simply the new look of professionals dealing with their colleagues. They prefer this type of attire, and it is all over the country now, so it is nothing too new.

Before I make my formal statement, I would like to make a few preliminary remarks. When people hear about this Indian educational problem, like typical white people, they think, well, education is like the old educational saw, that for teaching, all you need is a log with a teacher on one end and a student on the other. Well, we have found that it is much more complicated than that when you come to cross-cultural education, because—I will put it like this: 400 years ago, when they first started "working on the Indian" along educational lines, the Franciscan Friars down in Florida, who were first in this, wrote a little description of the Indian personality constellation, and after 400 years of concentrated efforts of Government agencies, public agencies, church agencies, private agencies—after 400 years of that, a modern anthropologist came up with almost a verbatim, similar, description of the Indian character, personality constellation, that was written 400 years ago.

So, after all this effort, we have not made a dent on the Indian mind. Now, in our American culture, we have several myths. One is that everybody has a right to be an individual; every group has a right to live as they want to live. Yet as soon as one group becomes a little different or remains a little different, everybody stands up and screams, "Why can't they be like the rest of us?" So they look at the Indian and see he is not like the rest of us and they say, "Why can't he be like the rest of us?"

People lump the Negro and the Indian problems together, which is a mistake, because the Negro is out to attain middle-class status and the Indian is out to retain his Indianness. It is only recently that the people are studying the Indian world to see what is in that Indian world that is worth retaining, that makes the Indian so Indian, and why he wants to remain Indian.

The white man is also surprised when he finds this out, and I quote this from the American Heritage series, lest you think that I am spinning it off the top of my head. The longest lived race on the face of the earth is the Indian race, having appeared long before the Negro races appeared, and long before the Caucasian race, as both of those are clearly defined races, appeared.

Now, on this premise that a race is only as long lived as its values, then they must have something tremendous in their value system to make them live so long, because if the values of a race or a culture go out, or become corrupt, then that race and that culture will go down eventually. I cite as an example the great Roman Empire, which flourished brilliantly for a thousand years, flourished as long as the old Roman virtues, the pristine virtues of honesty, honor, chastity, truth, and so on, flourished. When these old virtues began to be corrupted, the Roman Empire went down.

So it is only recently that people have been going and looking into the Indian world to see what it is that they want to retain. I, myself, knew very little about it until 5 years ago, because I started out as one of the worst, table-thumping education authoritarians you ever saw, approaching minority groups and saying, why can't they be like me? So we set up an Indian education system presuming that it was going to motivate people from another culture to be like us. And it does not. We just found this out in the last few years in Indian education.

I will make my formal statement and then answer questions about it, if you wish.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Have you submitted your statement?

Father **Bryde**. Yes.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. It is a question of whether you want to submit this statement or summarize it. Otherwise we are going to have a difficult time, coming to Ben Black Elk.

Father **Bryde**. I am not going to read the whole 20 pages. I have boiled it down to two pages. I can summarize the two pages, if you want me to do that.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. No, the two pages will be fine. I was just wondering. The whole statement will be placed in the record, of course, if you could just summarize it.

Father **Bryde**. Which would you like?

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Whichever you would like to work out between you and Ben Black Elk.

Father **Bryde**. The system of rewards and punishments used in one culture does not necessarily work in another culture. We have been using a system of the rewards and punishments in the non-Indian culture which reflects the American culture value system to motivate the Indian and it does not work. We have not used the system of rewards and punishments to motivate the Indian in his own world. We have not looked into the Indian system to see what is in that system that is worthwhile and can be taught.

Secondly, all our needs beyond our basic biological needs and our basic human needs for self-fulfillment, security, and love, all our other needs are learned needs. The need you have to wear a pressed suit and have your shoes shined, those are needs that you learned within your culture. If you were living in the south seas or the North Pole, you would not have those needs. All our needs are culturally induced, learned. If you fulfill the needs of children, as one of the ends of education, you have to consider these culturally learned needs that you have to fulfill.

We have not considered those learned needs, those culturally induced, learned needs of the Indian children when we educate them. We have to, first of all, educate them as Indians within their cultural context. Then, on that, you can build whatever else you want, education for the larger society. But you have to start with the child where he is. Where he is, is as an Indian. You start with his Indian awareness; you build on that within his culture with the Indian child.

Since I have written out my statement here, you can read it at your leisure, and I will take any questions that you want.

(The prepared statement of Father Bryde follows:)

PREPARED STATEMENT OF JOHN F. BRYDE, S.J., PH. D., HOLY ROSARY MISSION, PINE RIDGE, S. DAK.

NEW APPROACH TO INDIAN EDUCATION

Among all the philosophies of education concerning the goals of education, practically all educators will agree that, basically, the over all purpose of education is to turn out happy and socially contributing human beings. This means that, as a result of his education, the student feels that he is on top of his environment, is contributing to its development, and has a joyful sense of achievement according to his ability. This is just another way of saying that the school has met his needs.

The fact that the national Indian drop out rate from the eighth grade to the twelfth grade is sixty percent would seem to indicate that Indian schools in general are not meeting the needs of the Indian student. A drop out rate of this size exhibits not only scholastic, but socially maladaptive behavior on the part of the majority of Indian students. This would appear tantamount to saying that, as a result of eight years of education, the Indian student shows mentally unhealthy ways of responding to the environment in which he now lives and that in which he must live and contribute as an adult. A failure of the schools to prepare the Indian students to meet his environment seems evident.

All of the various agencies or institutions involved in Indian education seem to have revealed their own cultural biases. They appear to have assumed that by offering the American educational system with its culturally determined system of rewards and punishments (values) to the American Indian, that the American Indian student will respond and desire upward social mobility, or achievement in the American non-Indian sense. It would be well to recall that the system of rewards and punishment in one culture does not ecessarily motivate people of aother culture. The findings of modern social scientists would seem to indicate that it would have been desirable to have used the system of rewards and punishments in the Indian culture (their values) to assist the Indian to adjust to the only area in which he must adjust: the modern eight-to-five world that he must face. It would appear that the large drop out rate could be attributed to one thing: value conflict.

The motivation for overcoming value conflict should seem to come only from one's own cultural values,—and not from the value system of another culture. The Indian race, as the *American Heritage Book of Indians* points out, is the longest lived race on the face of the earth. McNickle writes that, even in this country, after four hundred years of being surrounded and pressed by the dominant culture, the Indian personality constellation remains the same, relatively untouched, through all levels of acculturation. Since a culture is only as durable as its values, it would seem desirable to look at the Indian value system in order to see what motivates an Indian. It is only recently that educational researchers have begun to look into the Indian world in order to ascertain what makes the Indian so culturally durable. They are discovering a world rich in its ancient wisdom and comfortable and supporting in its human and natural relationships. It is this world that must be tapped and utilized in helping the Indian to adjust to the wage exchange world of today.

It seems unanimous in the literature of the social scientists that mental health problems usually accompany most culture changes. Inconsistencies in cognitive maps and world views produce painful tensions in direct proportion to daily confrontation. It is a tribute to the durability of the Indian personality constellation that he has resisted as well as he has. However, since the end of World War Two, face to face confrontation with the dominant culture has increased the tension of the American Indian and brought a drastic rise in mental health problems. This increasing confrontation, with its corresponding rise of emotional problems lends a likewise increasing urgency to solutions for the problem.

Adding to the subtlety of the problem is the fact that values, until examined by members of a given culture, usually operate at the unconscious level. For the average Indian student this means that, by teaching or instructing, his values must be brought to his conscious level for examination and prideful evaluation in order to show him "what makes him tick," and to show his how to use *his* values in adjusting to the modern world. It is true, that, in adjusting, he will incorporate some non-Indian values, but, in so doing, he will use his own values as motivation. It is true that a few remarkable Indians, by their own painful effort and unique adaptability, have adapted and achieved a position of eminence in the non-Indian society. It would seem, however, that the schools could have done more for these "success stories," and produced more of such cases on the normal distribution curve. Most of these "achieving" Indians "rose"[1] by their own effort, as we have said, plus the individual attention and encouragement they received from some teacher, friend, or relatives personally interested in them. It would seem that the vast majority, however, have not been assisted as much as they could have been to adjustment and a happy life.

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[1] Put in quotes because it appears debatable whether the Indian should be pushed into the mainstream of American society—admitted by most social scientists to be the most neurotic society in the history of mankind.

Education in harmonizing the Indian and non-Indian value systems must be offered *prior* to the offering of the non-Indian technical, vocational, and liberal education; otherwise these programs (and this would seem to include the war on poverty for Indians) are largely thwarted because of the value conflict. This does *not* mean that one teaches the Indian how to become a white man, then teach him a trade. The cultural approach means that he is taught how *to use* his values (he becomes even more Indian) in taking advantage of vocational or liberal educational opportunities and becoming self-supporting.

The application of the cultural approach for adult Indians—how to use the old values in becoming self-supporting—would involve a very lengthy program roughly resembling a type of large scale therapy. It would be exceedingly time consuming and costly and personnel for such a program would be hard to find.

The time and place to teach an Indian the cultural approach—how to use his values—should be at the time and place when he is most susceptible to learning—when he is young and in school. Teaching an Indian child, from his first day in nursery school, how to use his Indian values in the modern, work-for-money world in which he must live, would equip him with functional, learned responses to cope with the crisis of cultural identification occurring at adolescence. He doesn't stop being an Indian. He is more Indian than ever because he has learned how to *use* his values in a new setting. This approach harmonizes the cultural blocks presently negating the motivational assumptions underlying the offerings of vocational and liberal education. This program approaches the problem through the culture and system of rewards and punishments *of the Indian* and not of the non-Indian.

In short, unless the cultural impasse is resolved and removed first, it would seem that other educational opportunities would not be as effective as they could be.

Recent research by the writer has shown that the problem goes even deeper than Indian and non-Indian value clashing. The Indian youth of today has a serious identification problem of his own. Extensive psychological testing of four hundred and fifteen young Indian people revealed severe disturbances mostly attributable to a lack of proper identification. This problem we shall now consider.

Psychological causes of Indian achievement breakdown

Under an NIMH grant, the writer made a two year study to determine the correlates and possible causes of what is known as the cross-over phenomenon in the educational performances of Oglala Sioux Indian students. Characteristically, these children achieve satisfactorily for awhile, then reverse themselves and show a steady decline in achievement. This has been colloquially termed, "the crossover phenomenon".

Although the central focus of the study was the 164 Indian eighth grade students on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota and 76 White eighth grade students from small communities closest to the Reservation, a total of 415 Indian students and 223 White students from the eighth, ninth, and twelfth grade levels were studied. The achievements and personality measures were examined for the Indian and White group and among three different Indian grade grouping. Personality comparisons were also made among six different White and Indian subgroups and among five Indian subgroups in order to effect as broad an appreciation of potential group differences as possible.

Investigation of school achievement records of the 164 Indian eighth graders revealed excellent performance on the California Achievements tests from the fourth grade to the sixth grade, during which time the performance of these children excelled national norms. At the seventh grade level, the Indian students suddenly "crossed-over" and fell two months behind the norms, and at the eighth grade level were lagging five months. It was hypothesized that psychological conflict during the period of adolescence causes personality problems which block educational achievement and that a comparison of the Indian students with White students would reveal significant differences which reflect such personality turmoil. All subjects were thus given the Minnesota Multiphasic personality Inventory and comparisons were made among the above mentioned groups.

In analyzing achievements, it was found that the Indian group fell sharply behind the White group at the eighth grade level. No significant differences in achievements were found between the Indian boys and Indian girls. When the Indian group was divided by degrees of Indian "blood" into one-quarter blood, one-half blood, three-quarters blood, and full bloods, no significant differences in achievements were found among the blood groups, possibly because of the small numbers in the samples. Similarly, no significant variation was observed between Indian dropouts and those who remained in school. Since the dropout sample was quite small, it was difficult to draw any meaningful conclusions between these two groups.

In comparing the personality variables among the White-Indian groups, the total Indian group, when related to the total White group, revealed 26 significant differences out of the total 28 personality variables.

On each of these measures, the total Indian group revealed greater personality disruption and poorer adjustment. Notable among the more meaningful variables were: feeling of rejection, depression, anxiety, and tendencies to withdraw, plus social, self, and emotional alienation.

The comparison of all Indian boys and all White boys on the 28 personality variables revealed 20 differences significant at the .01 level and two at the .05 level. The Indian boys revealed themselves as feeling significantly more rejected, depressed, dependent, alienated from themselves and others, and were also, more anxious, withdrawn, and paranoid.

The comparison of all Indian girls and all White girls on the 28 personality variables revealed 23 significant differences at the .01 level and two at the .05 level. All differences were in favor of the White girls. The Indian girls thus showed themselves to be more depressed, alienated from themselves and others, withdrawn and with less need for affection, rejected, paranoid, and anxious.

In comparing the Indian eighth grade with the White eighth grade on the 28 personality variables, the Indian pupils showed themselves to be significantly poorer on 20 of the variables at the .01 level and on four at the .05 level. The Indian eighth graders further revealed themselves as feeling caught and carried along by circumstances beyond their control; hence, they were more rejected, depressed, paranoid, withdrawn, and alienated from themselves and others.

Of the 29 comparisons made between Indians and White ninth graders, 23 obtained significance at the .01 level and one at the .05 level—all in favor of the White ninth graders. The Indian ninth graders thus showed themselves to be significantly different from their white counterparts in their feelings of anxiety, rejection, depression, withdrawal, and alienation from themselves and others.

Comparisons between the Indian twelfth graders and all White students revealed fewer significant differences than in any of the other white-Indian matching. Recalling that 60 percent of Indian students drop out before they finish high school, it could be assumed that the Indian student who stayed in school should show better adjustment. Of the 28 comparisons made between the Indian twelfth grade and White students, only seven obtained significance at the .01 level and five at the .05 level. The Indian twelfth graders showed no significant differences between themselves and all White students in feelings of rejection, general depression, hysteria, psychopathic deviation, paranoid, social isolation, need for achievement, ego strength, dependency, notions of external coercion, and emotional alienation. As possible residues of cultural conflict, they were significantly different from all White students in anxiety, psychasthenia, and tendency to withdraw socially.

As was stated, comparisons on the psychological variables were made among five different Indian groups. Comparisons among the eighth, ninth, and twelfth grade Indians were made by a randomized group analysis of variance design. The Scheffe test was then used to locate differences where significant F ratios appeared. The Scheffe test yielded 21 significant gaps at the .05 level and two at the .10 level. On all but two of the variables, the eighth grade produced the significant gap in relation to the twelfth grade, and the eighth grade produced only five in relation to the ninth grade. The eigth grade Indian students in comparison to the twelfth grade showed themselves significantly different in feelings of powerlessness and external influence, rejection, depression, and alienation.

Of the 33 comparisons made between Indian dropouts and Indians who remained in school, four were significant at the .01 level and seven at the .05 level—all in favor of the continuing Indian students. The dropouts apparently feel more rejected, anxious, depressed, psychasthenic, paranoid, self, socially, and emotionally alienated.

Of the 28 comparisons between Indian dropouts and twelfth graders, 18 were significantly different at the .01 level and five at the .05 level. The dropouts responded as withdrawn, rejected, depressed, socially isolated, and showing all the components of alienation. The centrality of the concept of alienation revealed itself in all the groups studied and was most strongly delineated among the Indian drop-outs.

Comparisons of the 28 personality variables were made among degree-of-blood groups by means of an analysis of variance and the Scheffe test. The latter yielded five significant gaps at the .05 level and six at the .01 level. On each of the significant differences, those with the greater degree of Indian blood produced the significant gaps in relation to those of less Indian blood. The more Indian ancestry one had, the more he appeared to feel rejected, depressed, psychasthenic, as having less ego strength, and greater self, social and emotional alienation. He was also more inclined to become a dropout.

In comparing Indian boys and Indian girls, six significant differences appeared at the .01 level and three at the .05 level—all in favor of the Indian boys. The Indian girls evidenced more depression, hysteria, social isolation, anxiety, repression, less ego strength, more dependency, and self alienation.

The final study was between the achievement and personality correlations for the eighth grade Indian students. Of the 28 psychological variables, 21 correlated significantly with achievement at one or all the grade levels. Notable among these relationships were those with feelings of rejection, depression, paranoid, schizophrenia, and emotional and social alienation.

In each of the groups studied, scales measuring tendencies to withdraw, rejection, *social alienation*, self alienation, and *emotional alienation were consistently* higher than the other scales. The centrality of the concept of alienation is suggested as the integrating pattern explaining the behavior of the Indian students studied.

NEW DIRECTIONS [2]

The findings of this study clearly point to a new approach to Indian education. The study sought to identify the psychological causes of the breakdown of scholastic achievement and general performance of Indian youth. Having identified the central pattern—alienation and anomie, with resultant feelings of rejection, depression, and anxiety—it was seen that the Indian youth is alienated from himself and others. He is not effectively identified with his Indian heritage, nor can he identify with the hostile, white world facing him. He is, during the troubled years of adolescence, a "nothing". He has an extremely crippling negative self image. He has no direction to his life and is lost.

Since it is impossible to give each Indian youth the therapy necessary to overcome his emotional problems caused by cultural conflict, there arises the necessity of dealing with the groups and classes (within their various schools) and applying the techniques similar to those of group therapy in developing a mental health course designed to lead the Indian youth out of his anomic condition and to teach him how to achieve emotional stability in the cross-cultural stresses he is suffering. The course would *teach* him how to adjust and could be called "acculturational psychology", "modern Indian psychology", or some similar title.

The findings of this study seem to suggest that the course should be developed along the following general outline.

Since the Indian youth indicates that he is socially alienated, even from his own group, he shows that he is not Indian and has no effective awareness of his historical racial identity.

Since awareness of historical origins is necessary for orientation to any kind of future action, the first part of this acculturation course should consist in teaching him a solid, clear history of his race, designed to give him pride in his racial origin. In current Indian education, the normal American History courses are taught in all Indian schools. Indian youths study about the pilgrims, the early struggles to settle the country, the revolutionary war, etc. However, the Indian youth doesn't identify with these accomplishments because they were the accomplishments of another race and, what is more, some of the major struggles and victories of the white settlers, on the early Atlantic seaboard and later in the West, were against his own race. Since the Indian does not get a sense of historical racial pride from the study of history that a white youth does, the Indian youth should be taught thoroughly and vividly the history of his Indian race first as the primary source and basis for personal identity. This history of his race would be the first necessary part of the course.

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[2] This is a draft—not be to quoted without permission of the author.

The next part of the course would teach the Indian youth what values are and how they historically arise—usually from the economy from which a race makes a living. Having gained a mastery of the concept of values as sourecs of common responses in a culture, the Sioux youth would proceed to a study of the traditional Sioux values. He would be shown why he acts as he does as a Sioux; his subconscious cultural drives would be brought to light and to conscious awareness for understanding and evaluation. Then, having seen what the Sioux values are, he would proceed to a study of the major White-American values. He would be shown how certain major American values clash with his Sioux values and bring about personality tensions and deviations. He would be taught basic, psychological principles of how to adjust to and relieve stress and conflict. He will be shown clearly that acculturational psychology is *not* a matter of ceasing to be Indian. This is psychologically absurd. He is likewise shown that acculturation is not a matter of completely becoming white. This is also psychologically impossible. He will be shown how to take the best from the two cultures, blend and integrate these values within himself with the result that he creates within himself a unique, precious, third kind of personality—which is his enriching contribution to society. His personality would escape the stereotype of both races and enrich society with a qualitatively different personality. He would have the satisfaction of achieving a unique, modern Indian identity and full self actualization.

Ideally, such a course should begin on the pre-nursery level and be taught, in expanding fashion, at each grade level to senior high school. Let the pre-schoolers have their picture books of Mother Goose and the like but then also have their picture and reading books of great people and great legends of their own tribes. Pre-school youngsters can be taught a sense of pride in being Indians without their being aware of it. They will have a pride in their race as an operative value, which will protect them against the adolescent crisis of identification that the current Indian youth is meeting.

The basic course outline would be applied to any Indian youth of any tribe. Within Indian groups, the only differences in the course would be in the sections on tribal history and tribal values. If the vast machinery of all the private, public, and federal Indian schools would teach such courses, vast strides would be made toward the right kind of acculturation.

Senator FANNIN. I would like to ask, Father, about the Indian value system as regards motivation. In your statement, do you have specifics on that? Have you outlined what you recommend in this regard?

Father BRYDE. In detail, sir.

Senator FANNIN. I think that is very important, and I think it would be very helpful.

Is Ben Black Elk going to make a statement, or would he prefer to answer questions?

Father BRYDE. He would prefer to answer your questions.

Senator FANNIN. Of course, I would also like to ask him it he would speak on this Indian value system for motivation, because I think that is very important to what we are involved in. We want to motivate our youngsters to desire an education, to utilize all of their abilities. I am just wondering if he would like to give us some thoughts on what is being done on his reservation and what he might recommend from the standpoint of our endeavors.

Father BRYDE. To what should an Indian youngster be educated, to what ends?

Mr. BLACK ELK. Mr. Chairman, honorable subcommittee, fellow Americans, and also our real Americans, I would like to make a statement concerning education. To start out with, we eliminated Custer. We wiped him out. But in turn, in the years coming since then, the white man has almost eliminated us by all of their methods.

In order to strike back, we have to compete with the white man in education.

We talk about education. What is Indian education? Does it come to reality when he has success in his education, or does it mean that you have to be primarily a white man? That is the question right here.

When we talk about Indian education, Indians on the face of the earth were a prominent people at one time. We knew there was a God and we learned how to worship him. We learned our Indian knowledge, we suffered to gain our Indian knowledge from the world around us, from the air, from the ground. But today, as I see it, Indian education has come to pertain to modifications of learning.

I am an Indian. You take the little Indian boy; he is 5 years old. I see one right here. He is taught the ways and means of gaining in knowledge that are Indian, and the value of knowledge. He is in with the old men. The old man's place is to advise the younger generation. But today, it is not. We have to go back there in order to get the evaluation of the Indian. In other words, I have heard an Indian say this: I am so-and-so, and this is the name of my people. I have come a long way through the centuries. The history has been written. It has been captured by wise men to hand down from generation to generation around campfires.

What I think about it is the Indian way of life is a good thing, because a child of 5 years old has learned the Indian values of knowledge from his parents. But when he goes to school, the white men's evaluation does not come clear at all. So we have to get along with the things that we have with us in order to go into this education.

But speaking about Indian education, when we say that, do we go out to the full extent? That is the main thing I am here for. Do we have to go out to the full extent to educate our children to be among the living standards of the white man?

Senator KENNEDY of New York. What is it that an Indian child is learning to the age of 5 which makes the educational system that we have established unsatisfactory for him?

Mr. BLACK ELK. It is because he is getting an education from the value and knowledge of the old parents that has been given to him when he is 2 years old. Three hundred years ago, among the Indians, the boy belonged to the man. He would take this fellow to the water in the summertime; he is 6 years old. He would hold him underwater, and that little fellow would swim when he was 2 years old, right from the start.

He has to be a hunter and a warrior, so his father makes a bow and arrow and he takes the boy out and tells him to shoot game. He kills a squirrel, a rabbit, anything, but it is game. Then the family makes a big feast and says, "Come on, folks, my son has killed game and he will grow up to be a great warrior."

This story about the war bonnet—there are 32 feathers we Sioux would have to earn, just like we do earn in school the points we earn to graduate high school and go to college. That is the thing I am trying to get in here so it can be used in schools. That is the value of the old man's knowledge; he is wise.

I have here with me—I do not want to delay you too long. I would like to make this short and sweet, because I have the idea that we Indians on the Pine Ridge Reservation would like to build a new school. When we build the new school, in the old school we would like to have a college with a vocational course. I went to school in Carlisle, Pa. I went up to the sixth grade and took 4 years' course in vocational agriculture. I think it is a very good thing at home, because the Indian has to stay there.

When you educate an Indian, he is not prepared to meet the life of the white man, so they all come back to the reservation, or to the Indian area. And there are a lot of dropouts. So I have here the things we want.

We have to have more teachers; we have to have more schools, more adequate schools, in order to educate our children. I say, when we say we compete with the white man's education, I really mean it, in certain ways. We have to find ways and means. This has been going on a good many years.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. How are the schools that teach your children now? Do you think they are good schools?

Mr. **Black Elk.** Yes; we have good schools all right. But they are getting away from our culture so fast it is not funny. We would like to establish the old wise man's knowledge in them so they can carry out, so when, suddenly, you find out you are Indian, that is it, you see.

Senator **Fannin.** Mr. Black Elk, I would just like to ask, what should be the goals of the Indian education program? Really, that is what we are trying to see. We must arrive at the goals if we are going to have the proper kind of program and be able to educate the Indian child so that he can reach those goals.

You speak of the competitive spirit and feel that it is engrained in the Indian children at an earlier age than it is in non-Indian children, and of the Indian child's self-confidence. But I have still not determined what values are different.

Mr. **Black Elk.** I do not think there is any value difference. They have to stick with the values of their parents and the old wise men.

Senator **Fannin.** The values are different between the Indian children and non-Indian children?

Mr. **Black Elk.** Yes; but when he goes to school, that is wiped out.

Senator **Fannin.** Of course; but what is wiped out? In other words, they have this competitive spirit that you instill into the children at an early age. Do you mean that is wiped out?

Mr. **Black Elk.** Yes.

Senator **Fannin.** In other words, they do not have the same desire to go forward that they have during the earlier years?

Mr. **Black Elk.** It is in us. It is nature. We learn it by nature. Nature teaches us a lot of things with the Great Spirit. We would like to retain that with our education.

Senator **Fannin.** We must consider the education of the Indian child from the economic, social, and cultural standpoints. You have spoken of both the physical and spiritual needs of the child. All of this enters into the design of a program to really effectively carry out the educational objectives of Indian people. I am afraid we have too often overlooked the cultural and spiritual needs of the child—the need to be an individual human being and a proud member of a group that has contributed much to our heritage.

Mr. **Black Elk**. Now, our desire is to change the whole works—not the whole psychology, but to add on the Indian culture, the knowledge and the wise man's advice, to go along with it. Let them know they are Indians.

And I talked to one just before I came. He had a daughter going to the University of Denver in Colorado. He is a Pueblo, but her mother is mixed. She looked white. She has been going for 2 years now. Then they found out that she was Indian. They found out she was an Indian, so she talked to other students. One day, one said, "Can you talk Indian?"

That was a slap in the face; she did not know a word of Indian.

There are things we want to retain as we go along. The culture we have of our own, which is respect, for instance—today, in modern times, we do not have that because our children are taught different.

Senator **Fannin**. Father Bryde, you, too, have brought this out in your statement, I understand.

Father **Bryde**. Yes; I would like to say one thing. You were trying to get specifics about the learning at home that is negated at school.

Senator **Fannin**. Yes.

Father **Bryde**. I think I could articulate this a little bit, because I learned this from Mr. Black Elk and all the old gentlemen on the reservation. Values operate at the unconscious level until examined. These kids are learning their values at home unconsciously and operating them at the unconscious level. Then they come to the non-Indian school where the non-Indian values are also taught unconsciously, and there is a conflict.

One specific example I have. Indian motivation is not for personal aggrandizement or for personal, self glory, but Indian motivation is that whatever you do you do for the group. So the Indian youngster at home is taught to be unobtrusive. He works with the group. He adjusts to the group. And then he is brought to the school and he is forced to compete on an individual basis.

Indian youngsters by nature do not compete among themselves, whereas, if they knew their value, they would compete as a group. As a group, they compete. As individuals, they compete for the group.

At home, the Indian is taught to be unobtrusive, quiet; at school, he is taught, compete, get ahead, beat the other man down. At school, he should be taught how he can compete and achieve for the group.

Another quick answer is this: In the Indian system—kids learn this unconsciously at home—Indians do not judge things by their exteriors, by how they look. In the Indian world view, the whole world is one. It is all related and it is holy, and God is in it. They do not just go by appearances, they go by looking into things. So they judge people and things by what they are instead, and not by what they have, which is a non-Indian system, where you judge a man by the size of his house, by his car, everything like that. So the Indian youngster at home does not get cues like this, that somebody has nice big house and everybody exclaims about it, that this is good, this is important.

He does not get cues like that at home. The cues he gets to admire are the people who are old, the people who are good, the people who are kind, the people who are generous, and the people who are wise. It is cues to appreciate these qualities the child gets at home. So he learns to judge people by what they are, not by what they have.

Then he is sent to school and he is caught in the cultural conflict right there. The dominant value in American culture is material achievement, and the schools are geared to that, reflecting the values of our society. So again, the youngster is plopped into this thing, whose values diametrically oppose the Indian system—material wealth, personal aggrandizement, things like that.

This is what he is taught at the unconscious level in school, and he gets more conscious of this as he gets older. He looks around him, he sees all the norms by which the dominant society measures success, he sees that he does not have them; he is not wanted; so why go to school, because this school is the means to an end that is impossible or undesirable to him. These are the things in a nutshell. I could spend 2 weeks developing that.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Why does that happen? Reading your statement, and from what I know of the situation, why is this particularly acute at the time the Indian child is at the seventh or eighth grade? Evidently, one of the phenomena of all this is that the child does well up to the sixth or seventh grade, and does as well as any child, in some cases, far better. And then he gets to the seventh or eighth grade and falls drastically behind.

Then that continues, that falling behind.

Father BRYDE. Not only behind, but studies show that they feel alienated, socially unacceptable, all the other things that kids normally feel at that age anyhow.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. You have some rather interesting details about that. Could you discuss a little bit why this crossover occurs?

Father BRYDE. Why, you say?

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Yes. First, that it does take place—there is no question that it does take place?

Father BRYDE. Oh, undoubtedly. There are data for it.

It is hard to boil it down to a couple of minutes. You see the Indian youngster starts out, his first contact with a non-Indian world, which is nice and warm and comfortable at home; his first awareness of a non-Indian world is when a parent relays to the child the fears that the parent has gotten from his ancestors. And the bogieman term the Indian first hears is the white man is going to get you and take you home. This frightens the child. Our mothers wish these bogieman terms on us. But we find out that they are fantasy.

However, the Indian kid looks out the window and there is the bogieman going down the street, or standing in the schoolroom. So this is something to be feared.

Now, this goes underground for awhile. As he get to know you, and you, and you, as individual white persons, he modifies his cognitive map. You are exceptions, he feels, but that inner area still remains hostile and something threatening to him. He comes to school and he meets Miss Smith, Miss Jones, Sister So-and-So. He performs from the sheer love of learning, I think, from the third grade to the sixth grade. Then, suddenly, at the age of adolescence, at the age of identification, he starts looking around for more identification as an adult.

He sees the norms of the dominant society which are material achievement. He sees that he is poorer, that he drives a poorer car, that he lives in a poorer house. He does not live up to the expectations of the dominant society, and he is therefore a failure in their eyes.

This is his perception of it. Consequently, he starts looking around to see the causes of this feeling. He sees in the Indian group, papa is the reason I am in this mess. Grampa is the reason; people like that. So he starts disliking his own Indian people as a cause for the mess he is in. They cannot go forward, they cannot go backward, they are lost. So they are completely alienated at that age, hostile—it is terrible.

One of the reasons is that they have not been taught their values as they are taught their religion, at their mother's knee, so these become operative, conscious values, in them as they are growing up. So when they meet this age of adolescence, they will be taught how to handle this value conflict.

It is like religion. We learn our religion at our mother's knee. We believe what our parents taught us, and when we grow up, that is our religion.

So when the child is taught, look, son, we judge people by what they are, not what they have. Now he is an adolescent; he looks around and sees all of the affluence around him, he sees all the "haves", of which he is not one. He has learned, we judge people by what they are, not by what they have, so this will insulate him against failing in the eyes of the dominant culture, where people are judged not by what they are but by what they have.

Is that too shocking?

Senator KENNEDY of New York. No; no. What follows from that in the educational system that has been established by the Federal Government? Has it been satisfactory in teaching the Indian child?

First, explain what school system you have in the area you work in, in the area Ben Black Elk works in. Do you have boarding schools?

Father BRYDE. Our school system is very much like the Federal school system. Grades 1 to 8; then grades 9 to 12.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Just public schools?

Father BRYDE. Except for mine—I am from the Holy Rosary Mission School. I am with the Jesuits and the Franciscan Sisters.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Is there a public school system?

Father BRYDE. Oh, yes, there is a public school system. There is a Catholic school system on the reservation.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. What is the percentage of Indian children and the percentage of white children?

Father BRYDE. The vast majority are Indian kids, yes.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Are there any white children?

Father BRYDE. Yes, but mostly children of employees on the reservation, Government people, and a few white ranchers. The most of them are Indian, about 95 percent, yes.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. How effective have those schools systems been?

Father BRYDE. When you consider the dropout rate, our dropout rate and the public school dropout rate are the same. The national rate is 60 percent. We have basically the same educational system. All we do is teach a little more religion than the Federal schools and the public schools do, but pedagogically, it is practically the same. We have made the same mistake that everybody else in education has made, I think.

So when I criticize Indian education, I am criticizing my own system which I lived in for 19 years. I hope I am working my own way out of it now by getting some solutions.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. What are they doing now that is wrong? What should they be doing?

Father **Bryde.** You have to start with the youngster where he is. The Indian youngster is an Indian. You have to start with his Indian awareness and build on it. We have been starting with the Indian youngster where the non-Indian kid is. We have been starting with him as a non-Indian kid. We should be starting with him as an Indian kid, teaching him values, and teaching him, first of all, to be an Indian. Then to be Indian-American, within the larger culture.

So we are making a pedagogical mistake. We have been making a psychological mistake, we have been making an anthropological mistake, we have been making all kinds of mistakes, according to the behavioral sciences.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. What does that mean as far as specifics are concerned? What are we doing wrong now that we should be doing differently, specifically?

Father **Bryde.** Now, I am showing my bias. It is a bias derived from what I think is my objective research in this, that an Indian youngster must be taught at each grade from preschool on up, his foundation course should be his Indian culture course. This should be more important to him than his English, his arithmetic, or things like that.

Each year, from the first grade on up, he should be taught the Indian value system, and how to use it, and how to reach self-fulfillment as an Indian. At the same time, he should be taught as much of the non-Indian curriculum as is pertinent to him as an Indian.

I have outlined the course in detail in my statement—what should be taught, how to teach it, things like that.

Senator **Fannin.** Father, I would like to determine what you have done at the Holy Rosary School to meet this crossover problem. What percentage of Indian children are at the Holy Rosary School?

Father **Bryde.** What percentage? Oh, 99.9 percent. We have two or three white children, that is all.

Senator **Fannin.** What have you done in this Indian culture course.

Father **Bryde.** I have done this, Senator. I did not arrive at this conclusion until 1965, so I put them to work in the school year of 1966–67. I ran in this school, this course on an experimental basis on the ninth grade level. That is the age the kids need it most; because they have the scars on their souls. I wanted to see how they would react. The reaction was wonderful.

These are just feedback sheets. I told them to write down what they thought of the course, told them, do not put your names on the paper or anything like that.

Answers like this came back:

"I never realized Indians had values and were proud of them until I took this course."

"I think this course of the Indian psychology is great."

"I learned a lot of things that the white man's books did not know, or tell us."

"This course helps me to lead a better life."

"This course helps me because I know my values now. Now, I am glad to be an Indian. Before, I was ashamed of it."

"I think if all Indians, I mean, kids and teenagers, had a course in this they wouldn't even be bothered by the dominant group any more. It becomes a real help after being shut off by other people for so long."

"This course in itself was something completely different from anything I have ever had before. For one thing, it gets down deep in the heart of Indian culture, and it helps one understand and get a better insight of things."

"I think this course, if it were possible, should be taught to every American so they could derive a better understanding and be more proud of their Indian heritage."

This one fellow says, "Now, I don't have to go around like a dog with my tail between my legs any longer because I can hold my head up and be proud of being an Indian."

When they are taught their value system, they are shown how it compares with other value systems, and how it can't be beaten by any other value system on the face of the earth.

Anyway, I hope I answered your question—verbosely, as usual—it has been tried and succeeded.

Senator Fannin. It is a case of attitude and circumstances, you are saying, that determines the progress that the students make, whether or not they stay in school. You have spoken about the material attainments and that they rebel when they observe that they have not these material attainments, and still 95 percent of the students you are talking about are Indian children, and only 5 percent—and that 5 percent is represented by the children of the employees on the reservation—only 5 percent are white. So I am just wondering how to tie together these material attainments and rebellion of the children under those circumstances. I could understand if they were going to public schools, but I am wondering——

Father Bryde. It is not just the 5 percent of the white kids in the schools that they get this resistance from. There is a total universe around them. They get it from TV, from books, from movies, and they get it from teachers. It is only in the last 15 years that they have found out that teachers can actually alienate their students—not only the Indian teachers, but teachers of Negroes and kids in the slums. They downgrade the value systems of the kids. So a lot of this is gotten through the teachers.

Senator Fannin. Mr. Black Elk, I noticed in this data sheet that we were given about you that you do a great deal of lecturing, and that you enter into the educational program continuously.

Do the school authorities accept your advice and counseling?

Mr. Black Elk. Yes.

Senator Fannin. They work with you?

Mr. Black Elk. I work with them.

Senator Fannin. And they accept your advice?

Mr. Black Elk. Yes.

I would like to throw in, these are documents I brought from Pine Ridge on the things that we request. Our schools—when I talk about Indian education, let us go out, come out there to help us get this with a little change, that is all. Right now, some of our schools just generally in need. That is what we are. These are the documents I would like to turn in to you and you may look them over.

Senator Kennedy of New York. That will be fine.

(The documents above referred to, follow:)

EDUCATIONAL NEEDS OF PINE RIDGE RESERVATION, S. DAK., BACKGROUND MATERIAL PROVIDED BY MR. BEN BLACK ELK.

EDUCATION

Need

There is a need for both greatly improved curriculum and staffing patterns for all schools on the reservation. The present system in curriculum and staffing, while making great strides, is in need of revolutionary innovation to meet adequately the challenges of education on the reservation. The general educational level of the population, including those still of school age, is unacceptable if significant improvement is to be made in other problem areas. Less than half of the high school age children are presently attending high school. Although most of the graduates are moving into areas of higher education and vocational training, the reservation is still faced with the serious problem of numerous new graduates who are severely handicapped by lack of basic education. There is a need to move into the area of a performance curriculum at all levels where the focus will be on the individual student and his particular educational problems. New types of curricular organization, such as modular schedules and ungraded systems, need to be instituted on a whole basis. Such projects also need to be open-ended so as to provide for future innovations.

The organization of the school system needs to be improved. The drop-out rate on the reservation is highest during the ninth grade. Although this is partially true because it is the first time a student can legally quit school, it is apparent that something is missing in grades 6 through 8. Many of the present drop-outs come from outlying districts and find dormitory life difficult. A junior high system would make it possible for them to commute to school and thus benefit from parental associations through the difficult period of puberty. Present enrollment statistics indicate that at least three junior high schools should be established on the reservation to meet the need.

Other organizational deficiencies include the lack of nursery schools in each community for four-year-olds and kindergartens for five-year-olds, and the absence of post high school pre-vocational and vocational consultation and training. The services provided the latter organizational pattern could also be made available to the adult population on a continuing basis and could be adjusted to provide the remedial instruction in basic skills.

Dormitory living at the present high school needs an improved approach. Approximately one-half of the present enrollment of Oglala Community School live in school dormitories. Present dormitory staffing patterns and facilities are not comparable to effective home living programs. The present girls' dormitory houses students from 1st through 12th grades and is generally crowded. Additional facilities specifically designed for younger children are needed. The present boys' dormitory, although relatively new, is a barracks type and houses students of all ages. This building needs remodeling and a new structure is needed for younger students. Due to the rural nature of the area, it is felt that dormitories will be maintained for some years. However, this is a policy question. Dormitory staffing patterns need to be changed to provide a low pupil-staff ratio, better training for para-professional personnel and the addition of more professional staff, including counselors. A home living cottage is needed to train older students in urban living.

The needs in adult education are very broad, ranging from consumer education to remedial basic education and vocational education. Extenson services would partially fulfill the present deficiencies. Although extension courses are now offered, the results have generally been poor. As the local schools grow and develop, a system of adult extension courses within each district would mitigate the problems of distance and transportation. As outlined in the manpower development section, there is a definite role for educational courses in a pre-vocational training program. As the development program progresses, the potential for employment, which is not now present, could act as an incentive for adults to seek further education. One of the most important facets of an adult educational program will be to coordinate with the manpower development program to insure that those who indicate an initial interest are provided continuous incentive and personal guidance from basic education through on-the-job training.

A wide variety of programs consisting of remedial education, enrichment courses, work-study programs, work programs and recreational programs could be conducted during the summers. An additional need exists for "make-up courses" at the high school level. Intensive head start programs for pre-school children need to be more broadly utilized on the reservation than they are in urban ghettoes; the isolation of the family and the young child is much more severe. The most common items such as electricity, toilets, stoves, or even stores can be totally absent from the life of a young Indian living in a remote area of the reservation. The severe isolation would also indicate that the concepts of head start need to be broadly applied to older children as well.

Community involvement in education is small and ineffective on the reservation. Parents of children on Pine Ridge, like parents everywhere, are interested in the well being of their children. They want their children to be successful. School, as many whites know it, is not always the Indian's measure of success. Some parents are active in school affairs through service on education committees and Title I committees. The majority of parents, however, are rather passive in their attitude to the schools. Many students, on completion of 8th grade, are allowed to decide for themselves whether they should attend high school. Few parents completely neglect their children as far as school is concerned. They not only lack education themselves, but they lack any concept of the value or need for education. Their apathy is undoubtedly passed on to the children. Their involvement in advising on curriculum, finances, and staff selection could increase the schools' effectiveness, but it could also raise their level of expectation, participation and interest in the importance of education.

Presently four separate school systems operate on the Pine Ridge Reservation: BIA; public schools of Bennett, Shannon, and Washabaugh Counties; church schools operated by the Roman Catholic Church and Seventh Day Adventist Church; and OEO Head Start nursery schools. There is a degree of duplication of services in the BIA and public school systems, particularly in the Pine Ridge community. It appears to be inefficient, for example, to operate two elementary schools in a town the size of Pine Ridge. Services are now fraught with disagreements and split loyalties, which is not only one of the present problems but indicates the nature of the problem of consolidation. It is evident, however, that an efficient and quality education, as well as effective community participation, will require consolidation.

Present Effort

Elementary curriculum.—The present curriculum offered in the elementary schools on the reservation consists of basic skill subjects with some enrichment offerings, organized basically in the traditional manner. Oglala Community Elementary School is presently operating a pilot program in non-grading in grades 1 through 3, and other schools on the reservation will shortly follow suit. Summer programs this year effectively utilized Indian culture as a central theme to build basic skills. Title I of ESEA, which began in Pine Ridge in January 1967, opened the door to the innovation of the para-professional teacher and enrichment subjects of art and music, remedial and special education and attendance improvement programs. Uncertainly in funding of this program and poor timing seriously reduced the effectiveness of the effort and present long-range planning and staff procurement, especially in critical professional areas. Kindergartens are being added under Title I at all day schools. Pupil-teacher ratios are approximately 28:1, which is too high for effective classroom instruction with disadvantaged children.

Secondary curriculum.—The curriculum offerings at Oglala Community High School are typical for a high school of this size (350) in the state of South Dakota, but need to merge for culturally disadvantaged students. Title I presented great promise, but poor timing in funding prevented hiring of first class professional teachers for the program. Only a limited number of enrichment courses have been added. Present BIA salaries for teachers are quickly falling behind the state's, causing serious recruiting problems. An attendance improvement program and additional library funds were obtained under the Title I program.

School organization.—All schools on the Pine Ridge Reservation are presently organized on the 8–4 plan with some variations. All elementary schools have what is called a beginner's grade, which lies in between kindergarten and the first grade. Title I kindergarten programs will eventually eliminate the need for the beginner's grade. Another effective variation is the OEO Head Start program which is operative at all communities on the reservation. The full impact of this program is yet to be felt at elementary education levels. Under the elementary, secondary education Title I program para-professional people have been employed in dormitory living, somewhat bridging the boarding school problems.

Elementary school facilities.—Day school plants generally meet classroom needs, although some sub-standard rooms are being used. New plants and/or additions are in various stages of planning and funding for Porcupine, Kyle, Wanblee, and Loneman Day Schools.

The Oglala Community Elementary School has 24 classrooms for regular use but needs special use rooms for art, music, physical education, etc. If consolidation plans for OCS Elementary and Pine Ridge Public School should take place, and a junior high school plan put in operation utilizing the present high school building, adequate classroom space would be available.

Secondary school facilities.—Oglala Community High School consists of two classroom buildings, two dormitories and a kitchen-dining room. A total of 20 teaching stations are available in the two classroom buildings. This is inadequate even for present enrollments. If present efforts to reduce drop-out rates are unsuccessful, then an entire new senior high building will be necessary.

Adult education.—A large number of agencies are presently involved in various forms of adult education. They include the BIA, OEO, MDTA, PHS, Agriculture Extension Service, Oglala Sioux Tribe, and the VISTA volunteers. During this past year the VISTA volunteers were able to conduct several adult education classes in government. The Community Health Aides have been conducting home nursing courses as well as other educational health programs. The Home Management Aides have been holding home extension classes throughout the reservation. The Ranger Corps have been offering first aid courses in various communities. The State Adult Education Branch, Department of Public Instruction, have expressed an interest in developing Adult Mobile Units on Innian reservations, and preliminary planning has been conducted this past year under the concept that the mobile classrooms can be brought into Indian communities on a regular schedule.

Summer programs.—Summer programs of various types are presently being conducted by the following organizations on the Pine Ridge Reservation:

BIA Schools: Remedial and enrichment education work-study programs, recreation programs.

OEO: Summer NYC, YOP programs.

Shannon County School: Remedial education.

Holy Rosary Mission: Recreation program.

Augustana College: Recreation program, remedial education, education counseling.

Advisory school boards.—Advisory school boards are presently being established. As planned, they will first learn about present school programs and problems and then be involved in decision-making. They will also serve as liaison between parents and school officials. During the past year, OEO, VISTA, and BIA were able to train one Advisory Committee at one day school to learn more about responsibility and duties of the school board. Beginning in September, a nursery school project, known locally as Model School, will be established to serve as a demonstration, training and research center. The basic objective of this project is the involvement of local people and the development of new language skills through a bilingual approach.

Educational planning commission.—An attempt has been made to organize an educational planning commission. In addition to a continuing effort towards coordination of educational programs on the reservation, the Commission should initiate programs which will prepare Indian parents for the assumption of responsibility for the educational system.

Extension courses.—A new nursery school project, in cooperation with Colorado State College, is offering a college extension course for teachers. The Western Educational Center is offering two extension courses for this semester on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation. The Black Hills Teachers College is making its services available to the residents of the Pine Ridge Reservation with college courses starting this fall. The Tribe has discussed the construction of separate extension facilities.

Program Approach

The staff at each of the 6 day schools and at Oglala Community School would be expanded dramatically so that the full range of basic, enrichment, pre-vocational and remedial offerings can be made available to every student. Guidance and counseling services would be available at each day school and would be broadened at the Oglala Community School. Additional staff should include the following:

Day schools: Kindergarten and nursery teachers; music, art, remedial education and physical education teachers; sufficient para-professional staff.

Oglala Community School: Kindergarten and nursery teachers; additional fine arts teacher; practical arts teacher; junior high staff, additional teachers in basic subjects; driver education teacher; additional counseling staff; instructional materials center staff.

A junior high school system would be instituted on the Pine Ridge Reservation. A three-year junior high school would provide a desirable learning environment for young adolescents. The school would provide courses that interest and benefit students in the age range of 11 to 15, inclusive, with flexibility in admission and promotion policies within the school.

The following school facilities would be added to existing school plants:

Allen Day School: Nursery and kindergarten classroom.

Kyle Day School: Nursery and kindergarten classroom (new addition of regular classroom presently planned for Kyle).

Loneman Day School: Nursery and kindergarten classroom, additional classrooms.

Manderson Day School: Nursery and kindergarten classroom.

Porcupine Day School: Nursery and kindergarten classroom (a new school plant is presently planned for Porcupine).

Wanblee Day School: Nursery and kindergarten classroom.

Junior high school facilities to serve Kyle-Wanblee-Allen area.

Junior high school facilities to serve Manderson-Porcupine-Wounded Knee area.

Oglala Community School: Complex to include standard classrooms, special use rooms, swimming pool, athletic facilities, pre-vocation shops, student union, planetarium and 2 additional dormitories. Present school should be converted to junior high school to serve Pine Ridge and Oglala areas. Instructural Materials center to serve all schools on the reservation.

Demonstration school.—A demonstration school will be created, operated and administered by local Indian people as a community school. The Oglala Sioux Tribal Council could, as one means of funding, accept the responsibility of the funds from the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The Tribe could then set up a non-profit organization to handle the federal funds.

In the operation of the demonstration school, local Indian people would elect a community school board, which would have the official responsibility for operation and administration. This school board, once created, could also apply for grants from OEO and other sources. Educational classes would be concurrently conducted to inform the local people of public school processes and systems. An evaluation process would be conducted periodically throughout the program and the results used in initiation of other similar schools on the reservation. One of the values of the program would be to provide a transition between the present federal school and a future public, locally-controlled, school system.

Child Day Care Center.—A child day care center would be constructed and operated as part of the community school system. In effect, the program would be a year-round Head Start program, working with children from two years to school age. Similar to many urban programs, operating expenses could be reduced by utilizing the "parent participation" concept. This use of parents not only reduces costs, but it enables the parents work with teachers, understand the growth and educational processes of a child, and, most importantly, it begins to foster an understanding in the parent of the need for education. Encouragement to participate should be offered: the use of, say, free transportation, a stipend for training as teachers' aides, or free meals for child and mother. A baby-sitting service or nursery school would have to be a part of the program since many mothers would have younger children who are not yet old enough to attend school.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS,
PINE RIDGE INDIAN AGENCY,
Pine Ridge, S. Dak., December 11, 1967.

Memorandum.
To: Mr. Ben Black Elk.
From: Branch of Education.
Subject: Information Regarding Education You Requested for Your Trip to Washington.

Attached find a detailed listing of needs in regard to the Education Program as presented by the various communities, including Pine Ridge. To summarize, we can list these needs in the following order of priority:

1. Additional $110,000 is urgently needed to finance the Title I Program for the requirements of this year. Original allotment of funds for Title I provides only for 4½ months operation.

2. Housing for Teachers. At the present, there are a great many teachers commuting from Chadron, Nebraska, 57 miles away; Rushville, Nebraska, 24 miles away and Gordon, Nebraska, 37 miles away. Much of the housing at Pine Ridge, as well as the day schools, are substandard and it is very difficult to get quality teachers to come to the Pine Ridge Reservation because of the housing situation.

3. Nursery school facilities are needed in practically all of the communities. At present, we are using old and unmodern buildings, as well as, basement rooms.

4. All of the schools are in need of additional facilities to provide a quality education program. None of the schools have an Instructional Material Center and the day schools lack library facilities. We are still using old Tribal Buildings and Clinic Buildings for classrooms.

5. All communities are in need of additional funds for improved roads for the Bus Routes. Many children have poor attendance records because buses are unable to ge over unimproved roads.

6. All schools are in need of athletic facilities and none have lighted athletic fields so that maximum use can be made of the physical education program.

7. Adult Education in all seven school communities. Need an Adult Education man to provide for the education needs of the adult members in the communities, including school dropouts.

8. Guidance Counselors are needed in all the day schools. This would help our dropout problem and provide assistance to the Day School Principals.

9. All day school communities are requesting that the present six consolidated day schools add a 9th grade to the school program. At the present, we are only provided for through the 8th grade. The Mission School and the Boarding High School are over-loaded and it would relieve this situation, as well as, help our dropout problem.

10. The Boys' Dormitory facilities at the Oglala Community School need to be remodelled so as to provide for more privacy, study facilities and recreation. The present dormitory is a barracks type situation where there is very little privacy and there is no room for adequate study facilities for the students. Both boys and girls dormitories need additional facilities to take care of the expanded enrollment.

11. Additional classroom facilities are, also, needed in all the elementary schools. The present high school facilities can be very well used as a Junior High School and a *new* Senior High School with Grades 13 and 14 should be added. This would provide for the additional needs of the Pine Ridge Reservation, as well as, the outlying areas.

12. Additional money is needed for an expanded summer program to take care of all age groups. At the present time, we are provided a Summer Program for about five weeks for 25% of the student population. Those who are really in need are left out.

13. We are in need of the following type of personnel on our teaching staff to provide for an improved curriculum so to to meet the needs of all our students:

Oglala Community Schools:
- Music Teacher (Elem)
- Physical Educ. Tchr. (Elem)
- 2 Special Education Teachers
- Driver Education
- Art Tchrs (1-Elem), (1-H.S.)
- 2 Practical Arts Teachers & Vocational
- 4 Recreation Teachers
- Coordinating Guidance Counselor
- 2 Indian Culture

Days Schools:
- Music Teacher (Elem)
- Physical Educ. Tchr. (Elem)
- 6 Special Education Tchrs
- Driver Education
- 6 Art Teachers (Elem)
- 6 Counselors
- 2 Indian Culture

14. Improvement is needed in Teacher Recruitment. This past year, a number of teachers were recruited for the elementary program who had training in the secondary field and are not too well-qualified in the elementary field. If our instructional program is improved, then, we need highly qualified elementary teachers in the Primary, Intermediate and Upper Elementary field. Special Teachers need to be well-qualified and trained in their special field.

15. New teachers are not always properly informed as to conditions, Civil Service Regulations and housing on the Reservation.

16. Leadership training program for Education Committee Members of the local communities and to provide for school board training. This, of course, could come under Adult Education.

Mr. **Black Elk**. I hope you will see, and when you do this, then we will know what Indian education is.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. We will appreciate having them in the record.

Could I just ask you, these young boys and girls who have difficulty starting in the seventh grade, seventh and eighth grades, then they begin to drop out, and you say the dropout rate is up to 60 percent. I see from your statement and some of the other things I have read that even the ones who have finished school are frequently alienated and have mental problems and great difficulty in adjusting.

What happens to them as far as being citizens, productive citizens, of society, and being able to contribute not only to their own tribes but to the area as a whole?

Father **Bryde**. The ones referred to, even those who finish, you mean the eighth grade?

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. I meant the 12th grade.

Father **Bryde**. The ones who have finished the 12th grade, you have a biased sample, only 40 percent left. You have the cream of the crop. These show very little psychological differences between themselves and the non-Indian kids. They have gotten most of the withdrawal out of their souls. They have a little withdrawal, but they are in good shape. Very few of these are at college level. They are mechanics and things like that. So quite a few of them become productive citizens. You have lost 60 percent in the meanwhile.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. What happens to them?

Father **Bryde**. They wander around the reservation for 5 or 6 years, just doing unskilled labor, or off the reservation. I do not think anybody has any figures on this, but a goodly number of them will come back for employment assistance, for vocational training.

A good number will go into that and succeed, but they have to wander around a while. I doubt that a majority would come back to that. I would say a majority would be unskilled labor.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Do many of the Indians that drop out from school, many of the Indian children that drop out from school, because of their alienation, then get into, because of their mental problems, get into difficulty with the law?

Father **Bryde**. Yes; oh, heavens, yes. This is along with these problems, along with that, goes juvenile delinquency and all this acting out, and things like this.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Is that a high percentage among these Indian children?

Father **Bryde**. Higher than average. I do not recall the exact figures, but it is higher than average, yes.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Do you think there is an awarness at the Federal level, in our Federal education system, or the Bureau of Indian Affairs, as to what needs to be done now about Indian Education to be more productive and have a more meaningful system?

Father **Bryde**. Yes, I think there is a keen awareness in the BIA and Indian educational circles for the need of this kind of approach I am talking about, and they are working toward it, yes.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Do you think there are some steps being taken to accomplish the goal?

Father **Bryde**. Yes, sir. I do not want to appear immodest, but one of the steps is, I am under contract with the BIA right now to produce this series of textbooks I was describing. I am grinding them out, working day and night right now, getting them out for the use of primarily BIA schools, and any other schools that want to use them.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Do you have anything else you would like to add, Father?

Father **Bryde**. I think I have said enough.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Ben Black Elk, do you have anything else you would like to add to the committee.

Mr. **Black Elk**. Well, I think my last statement is to what extent—what I want to do is go all the way in improving Indian education. The requirements we are asking for, I believe, would be good. With Indian cultures going always with the wise knowledge we have been talking about, I think this will solve our Indian education problem. Then we find out what is really Indian education.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Thank you very much.

Father, before I go on to the next witness, I would like to ask, how long have you been working among the Indians?

Father **Bryde**. Twenty-two years.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. You have been with the Sioux during that whole period?

Father **Bryde**. Twenty-one years.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Do you speak the Sioux language?

Father **Bryde**. Yes, I speak the Indian language.

(Father Bryde and Mr. Black Elk spoke in Indian.)

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Did you rehearse that, the two of you?

Father **Bryde**. Oh, no. I have a radio program aired over 11 different stations, over a five-State area on the high plains. It is an interdenominational talk I give once a week in the Sioux language.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Thank you, Father.

Senator **Fannin**. Thank you. I want to express my appreciation to both of you for your fine testimony.

Father **Bryde**. Thank you.

Mr. **Black Elk**. Thank you.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Mr. McKay, the assistant director of the Association on American Indian Affairs, New York, will be our next witness. He will be accompanied by Mr. Byler, director of the association, and Dan O'Connell, M.D., a psychiatrist with the association.

STATEMENT OF ILIFF McKAY, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR, ASSOCIATION ON AMERICAN INDIAN AFFAIRS, NEW YORK, ACCOMPANIED BY DANIEL J. O'CONNELL, M.D., EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON INDIAN HEALTH

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Mr. McKay, would you identify yourself, please?

Mr. McKay. My name is Iliff McKay. I am a member of the Blackfeet Tribe of Indians, and I have lived on an Indian reservation all my life. I have gone to school on an Indian reservation all my life, with the exception of a year when I went to commercial college, which was when I was about 28, probably 29 years old, and had, I might add, a wife and four kids to support.

With me here is Dr. Daniel O'Connell, who is also on the staff of the Association on American Indian Affairs, which is one of the oldest so-called Indian-interest groups in the United States. We have, I think, an illustrious history in attempting to protect and preserve the rights of Indians, and to consult with other agencies concerned with Indian affairs.

Senator Kennedy of New York. You are a Blackfoot Indian?

Mr. McKay. Blackfoot Indian from the State of Montana.

Senator Kennedy of New York. Could you procede now to tell us what you think of Indian education, what your experience has been with it, and whether you have some suggestions or recommendations for the committee?

Mr. McKay. I would like briefly to go into the history of the Indians in this country. To begin with, the only thing that we have in America that is uniquely North American are the American Indians. When the colonists came to this land from other countries, the American Indians welcomed them with open arms and, in fact, helped them survive, showed the Americans how to live off the land, planting corn, hunting game, and so on.

The reward that the Indians received for their efforts was disgraceful I think. Treatment of the Indians was and is at the present time a national disgrace. Indians were removed from their land, colonies grew, and when the time came that Indian tribes decided we are not going to move any more, we are not going to be driven from the land, then the Government began to negotiate with these people.

The Indians agreed to lay down their arms and not to harass any non-Indians, with the understanding that they would be given land which they would use for their own occupancy and upon which they would be educated and make a living—land which they would be able to develop and land which they would be able to carry on their own habits and customs.

But then, in about 1888, Congress passed what is known as the General Allotment Act, under which some Indian reservations were divided and land was allotted to individual Indians occupying this particular reservation. This was the beginning, I think, of an attempt to solve the so-called Indian problem by separating the Indian from the land.

This introduced to Indians the concept of land ownership, which they did not understand. They did not know that land could be owned individually. They did not realize that land could be offered as security for loans. They did not realize that it could be handed from one individual to another. The end result was that considerable acreage of Indian reservations was removed from Indian ownership and the land base was shrunk.

Then, about the turn of the century, the Government decided, well, the Indians are not going to go away after all, they are not going to disappear; we will have to try another method. So they contracted with various organizations, particularly religious denominations, to educate Indian students.

They enacted ordinances, promulgated regulations, if you will, in the Interior Department, saying that an Indian had to have an education equal to that of grade four. If the child was unable to go to school or was unable to get to school, or if he did not want to go, the Indian agents, as they were called at the time, sent out a policeman who confiscated the kid, actually kidnaped him, and took him to school.

About that time the policy was also inaugurated that said, in effect, in order to stamp out the Indian, we have to stamp out the culture of the Indian, so that along with this education went the policy of, if you were caught in school speaking Indian, singing Indian songs, if you were caught wearing your hair long, or something like that, you were actualy flogged.

They thought that if there was not any other way to get the Indianness out of the Indian, they would be able to horsewhip it out of him.

But they found out that this, too, did not work, even though at home, on Indian reservations, if the family had been reported singing Indian songs, doing Indian work, taking part in ceremonies and religions, the rations or the commodities issued to this Indian tribe by the Government were cut off for a certain length of time, so they were actually attempting to starve the Indian people into submission.

The Government found out that that would not work, either. Because I think it can be said unquestionably that with any minority group, the more they are discriminated against, and the more you hammer away at them, attempting to destroy them, the more cohesive they become, simply by reason of the fact that they regard the outside world as their enemies.

Consequently, they begin to gradualy retreat from the outside world. When we speak of Indian education as it is today, I think we must take into consideration that education of the Indians is handled by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the parochial schools, and schools operated by the various counties in States in which Indians live. Some of these schools have had limited success; others have had practically no success.

I think one of the great shortcomings in Indian education today is the attitude of the non-Indian toward the Indian. As you know, Senator, and as you described in your opening remarks, conditions on Indian reservations are among the worst in this country.

So when a teacher goes out or the recruiting officer goes out to recruit the schoolteachers, he very carefully explains to them, now, this is an Indian reservation you are moving into, the housing is poor, the people are poor, they are illiterate. The standards by which they live are poor, so do not expect too much of them. We are obligated to give them an education and that is what we are trying to do.

So the teacher comes into the reservation then with the attitude that, well, I cannot teach these Indian kids anything anyhow, so I will do the best I can. If I can stick it out here for a year or so, I can get a recommendation from the principal or superintendent and go on to a better job.

The second thing that happens, I think, is that when children reach the crucial age that places them in about the sixth or the eighth year, they begin to become more and more conscious of the surroundings around them. I know instances on Indian reservations, the Indian kids at that age have been ashamed to ask a non-Indian kid into their home because their homes are so rundown, so poor, that they are ashamed of them.

I think another thing that happens is that as the kids become old enough to realize that they are Indians, I think non-Indians explain very carefully to their children, you do not want to play with that other group of kids because they are Indians; they are not like you; they are different. They are Indian kids.

Lastly and perhaps the most important of all, I think that Indians at that age reach a grade and situation where they are unable to relate what is going on in the classroom to their everyday life.

In attempting to rationalize why it took me so long to go to commercial school, I think it was because after being out of high school, 8 or 9 years, I finally realized that a high school education was not enough, and in order to help the people with whom I worked—I was on the council up there for a number of years, and I worked for the tribe altogether for about 23 years—in order to help the people, I had to be able to understand the white man, I had to be able to understand his economics, I had to be able to understand his education. And I think this is what causes a lot of these kids at this particular age to drop out; they are unable to relate what is going on in the classroom to their everyday lives.

The question was asked here, well, are the values of the Indians peculiar to those of the non-Indians? Different? I think one of the primary considerations is the fact that as an Indian youngster gets older, he expects and he receives more and more responsibility in the home. Indians are not very demonstrative when it comes to showing love, outward signs of love, for their elder kids, although they actually do for the infants.

But I do not think there is an Indian in this room who can say he put his arm around his kid after he got above the age of probably 8 or 9 years. It just is not done. It is something they regard as being—well, you might say—I hate to use the word, "incestuous," but something along that line. So that the only reward a kid gets is increased responsibility in the home.

Schoolteachers, I think, do not realize this, and they attempt to create a situation whereby a student is entirely dependent upon the classroom for most of his everyday life. Indians, on the other hand, receive at least half of their education in the home in the early years, just as the rest of us do, just as the rest of the non-Indian population does.

How many of you here who are not Indians can remember stories that were handed down to you by your ancestors, your grandfather and your father, stories of the old country, maybe, and the places back home? This, I think, influences a youngster, particularly because it instills in him a pride in his ancestry. But the opposite has happened with the Indian. He has been taught he is ignorant, he cannot learn, and therefore he should make no effort; so he gives up. He retreats into the only world he knows, which is an Indian reservation, where again, as you say, conditions are probably worse than any place in the country.

I know cases where Indians have become so ashamed of their Indianness that they have actually changed their name. For instance, we will say an Indian is named Rides-at-the-Door; so the boy, in order to try to get rid of his Indian-ness, shortens it down to Doore.

I can name you any number of instances along the same line. Unconsciously, perhaps, what they are asking for, really, is acceptance by the outside world. I might say, in closing, that Indians have defended this country honorably through three wars.

At the beginning, as I said, they actually helped found the Nation and helped it to survive. It seems to me that the problem of Indian education, although it is complex, is certainly one which the Nation can no longer neglect, because here is a group that is crying for education and crying for understanding. They want to be in a position where they can take jobs in economic industries located on their reservations when that time comes.

They want that education so that they can go back on the reservation and work in community action programs, work in school systems, and so on.

I know I speak for every Indian in the countryside when I say Indians are very, very glad that you have agreed to accept the chairmanship of this committee, because we know of your deep and sincere interest in Indians over the years.

We also know this to be true with the other members of the committee. I hope that as these hearings continue, as time goes on, you will be able to elicit from the witnesses actual Indian situations, get their own recommendations. Without too much effort you learn that, through the community action programs, Indians are very, very constructive insofar as devising their own educational processes go and that they have a lot to offer.

Although they have offered and have given unselfishly of themselves and they have helped develop this great country, still they have a lot more.

We realize, of course, that Indians, in all their interests and the interests of all the rest of the country, are not the same. But after all, it not this the goal of this country? Is not this what this great democracy is all about to bring unity out of diversity?

We only ask the right to be educated, to have our homes brought up to standard, and to be placed in a situation where we will be able to understand the white man and he will be able to understand us.

I thank you very much.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Thank you, Mr. McKay. That is very, very helpful.

Let me ask you just a few questions.

What, in your judgment, is wrong with the Bureau of Indian Affairs educational system at the moment? What is wrong with it, and what do you think should be done to rectify the mistakes that have been made?

Mr. **McKay**. Well, the Bureau of Indian Affairs operates in two different areas of education. Some of that education is contracted out, you see, under the Johnson-O'Malley Act of 1934 that you spoke of. The other way is actually operating the schools, Indian service schools. Well, this again is——

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. These are the boarding schools?

Mr. **McKay**. Yes, some of them.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. How many children are there in boarding schools?

Mr. MCKAY. I think Dr. O'Connell has those figures.

Dr. O'CONNELL. I cannot give you the overall figure of children in boarding schools. I wanted to draw attention to a particular problem about boarding schools.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Let me just see if I can get an answer.

I am told it is about 28,000 or 29,000.

Dr. O'CONNELL. Of those, approximately 9,000 are 9 years of age and under.

You asked, Senator Kennedy, what specific things might be done. This is one of the directions in which the association would hope that the subcommittee would look. There is the problem of early placement in boarding schools. There is almost universal agreement in the field of developmental psychology that early separation from the family unit is a destructive influence.

Here we have a situation where, as a matter of policy, 9,000 children, ages 5 through 9, are taken away from their homes and placed in boarding school. This is a setup for the development of severe emotional disability later on.

You raised the question earlier, Senator Kennedy, in your questions directed to Father Bryde, what are some of the problems that result. He pointed out the problem of dropouts and juvenile delinquency. I would like to point out also the extremely high rate of alcoholism among the Indian people.

For example, there is a factory on the Crow Reservation in Montana which has a very enlightened personnel policy and excellent working conditions. But 25 percent of the employees are lost through alcoholism.

Also, the rate of suicide among the Indian people is alarmingly high. In some parts of the country, it is several hundred times the national rate.

And the situation as far as suicide is concerned is especially acute among the boarding school children, particularly in high school. The number of attempted suicides in this age group is indeed alarming.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Among the children themselves?

Dr. O'CONNELL. Among children in high school, yes; in boarding high school. In the Busby School on the Northern Cheyenne Reservation for example, with fewer than 200 students. There were 12 attempted suicides during the past 18 months.

The problem of doing away with early placement in boarding schools is really more of an economic problem than anything else. Of these children 9 and under in boarding school 80 percent are Navaho. The justification, it would seem, is that the distances involved are so great that it would be impractical to provide local day schools for these children.

However, in Alaska, where the geographical problems are even greater, only 37 children out of the entire native population, representing 1 of every 1,500 Alaskan natives, is 9 or under in a boarding school. Among the Navahos on the other hand, 1 out of every 16.5 individuals is a child 9 or under living at a boarding school. There are a total of 7,695 Navaho children 9 or under placed in boarding school.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. You say, placed in a boarding school. How do they go about placing children in boarding school?

Dr. **O'Connell**. It varies from place to place. Among the Navaho, it is almost routine. This is the way the majority of the children are educated. When they come of school age, there are no local schools.

Senator **Fannin**. You mentioned the Navahos, and I recognize the enormous distances children must travel to go to any type of school in many cases—in Navaho country.

Do you now feel we need some community centers? Unless we have some roads, we cannot do very much about this problem. We must have ways for the children to get to a public school or a Bureau of Indian Affairs' school? What is your alternative to boarding schools? Do you have any suggestions?

Dr. **O'Connell**. I think as far as providing schools for Navahos, it is largely an economic and logistical problem. Better roads would be an important part of the solution.

The experience at the Rough Rock School, on which you will hear testimony, provides some useful guidelines. It is a locally organized school, run by a school board of Navaho people, some of whom are themselves without formal education.

Senator **Fannin**. Not to interrupt, but Dr. Robert Roessel is planning to be here, and with him will be one of the school board members, John Dick. Unfortunately—I hate to admit this, but they were snowed in, in Arizona. I understand that they are attempting to get here for tomorrow's hearing.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. If you were still Governor down there, maybe the roads would be cleared.

Senator **Fannin**. If I tell you where they are, you would be surprised about those roads. This is one of the problems we have. They do not have enough good roads across these vast reservations. I hope that as time goes along, we can establish these centers. It is not going to be easy, but I think it must be done if we are going to establish the schools you are talking about.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. If a child gets to the age of five and there is not any school in the immediate vicinity, what happens to that child?

Dr. **O'Connell**. Among the Navaho it is more apt to be six rather than five.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Is it the decision of the parents, whether the child has to go out to boarding school?

Dr. **O'Connell**. In many instances, the parent has no choice. The child must go to school. Some years ago it was the practice among the Navahos to hide their young children so they would not be taken away from them and sent to school.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. What if the parent does not want the child to go to school and they think the boarding school is unsatisfactory? What happens?

Dr. **O'Connell**. They do not have any choice.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. What happens under the option we have set up is that the Federal Government can come in and take the child away from the home and send him to a school the parents might think is pretty unsatisfactory.

Dr. **O'Connell**. That is true. Although I think——

Mr. McKAY. I might just elaborate on that a little bit by saying the State education standards required in that particular area, where the reservation is located, usually are adopted by the Indians themselves and become a part of the Indian law. The child, whether he wants to go to school or not, has to go to school under the compulsory education laws of the Indian group and the State in which the reservation is located.

Dr. O'CONNELL. Let me say that the Navaho people, it is my impression, do not want to keep the children out of school.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. No; I can understand that.

Dr. O'CONNELL. They do place great value on the importance of education for the children.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. But I would think there is a serious question about a child at the age of 6, whether the child should be sent off to boarding school or stay with his mother and father, particularly if the education system is as you have described it. I am not sure whether—balancing that off—whether it is necessarily true that he should be taken from his family and sent off to a school that might not be very satisfactory; again it is a question of what education is supposed to accomplish, which is to help one meet life's challenges and changes with versatility and grace. I am not sure, under the system you have described, that that is going to be possible.

Dr. O'CONNELL. I think the system is presently constructed for many children produces disability rather than prepares them for participation in the economic and intellectual life of the country, to live with grace, as you say.

I think that focusing a little bit on conditions that exist would be very important to envision what happens to the young child sent away to boarding school, taken away for the first time from a kind of structure and support that has provided him emotional nurture.

Mr. Black Elk alluded to the family relationships that are more complex and more important than in white society, for most Indian people; that is, the complex relationships within the extended family provide the setting in which he establishes a pattern for relating to the world around him and in which he develops his own identity, a sense of who he is.

All of this is then swept away when he is put in a boarding school situation, where there might be as many as 100 to 150 other children under the care of a single matron. She is supposed to provide a substitute environment, to become a parent-substitute for him. Well, it is obviously impossible for the matron to do that, however well-intentioned and well-prepared she might be. So the child who is initially frightened and confused, becomes lonely and depressed. Regimentation is inevitable, and he docilely submits. He does not find expression for the needs that he bring within himself, and the school is not really prepared for these needs, does not really know what these needs are, does not know about these cultural complexities, or even if it did know about them, it is not equipped to provide the kind of individual approach that could meet these needs.

I would be an impossibility to provide a substitute for the kind of environment that he comes from. So we feel very strongly that it is important to focus on the problem of early placement and to eliminate that totally, if possible.

Now, with respect to boarding school placement for older children, there are great needs in this area, too. The boarding schools are often used as placement for children with social, family or personal problems, or who present behavioral difficulties, or academic failures. Even though this is true, and this accounts in some areas for the overwhelming majority of such placements, virtually nothing is done to provide rehabilitative, psychotherapeutic, ameliorative services for these children.

I think this is another area of great need.

Where boarding schools will continue to be used, we must take into account the emotional needs of these children, many of whom are placed there because of social or psychological disabilities, with no programs available to provide the kind of psychological counseling, special education, and social work needed for their rehabilitation.

So the schools, instead of being educational, academically oriented institutions or, on the other hand, therapeutically oriented institutions, which would be highly desirable because of the nature of these placements, really become custodial in function, serving as holding places for these children.

Father Bryde alluded to what happens to many of these children when they get through. The majority drop out; they drift; they get into trouble; they become alcoholics; they become depressed. They have many of the same kind of emotional problems that are visited on the next generation, that accounted for their placement in boarding school in the first place.

Senator **Fannin**. One problem Mr. McKay brought out was the teacher turnover in the schools serving the Indians. You stated that there is a considerable turnover, and I know that is true with my State of Arizona.

Mr. **McKay**. Yes.

Senator **Fannin**. Does that, then, not create additional problems, where the teacher is not even familiar with the teaching of the Indian children because of the short tenure?

Mr. **McKay**. Well, the problem is, I think, Senator, that they come into the reservation with preconceived ideas, and they spend probably a year or maybe 2 years attempting to validate this preconception or attempting to prove that it is actually true.

Senator **Fannin**. Do you feel, Mr. McKay, that the lack of Bureau of Indian Affairs teaching contracts, as compared to the general public school contracts for teachers, is causing difficulty in this regard?

Mr. **McKay**. I think that it is something that should be looked into. I think that the overall Bureau of Indian Affairs wage scale is considerably lower than an ordinary public school, for the simple reason that although a teacher might be given the same annual wage, a teacher with the BIA has to work the year around, whereas a teacher in another school has to teach in our State for 180 days.

Senator **Fannin**. I realize that the BIA hires its teachers the same as all other BIA employees—12 months a year. Now, how long do you find that they are contracting for their teachers? In other words, what tenure does the contract call for them to serve, generally speaking?

Mr. **McKay**. Well, generally speaking, I think the appointments are made similar to other officials employed by the Government under the civil service system, so that they serve a probationary period and then they are entitled to appointments.

Senator FANNIN. But one of the great problems is that they do not stay for one reason or another, so they are not tied down to any great extent as far as the tenure in office or tenure in serving as a teacher in a certain school?

Mr. MCKAY. It could be a problem and in other cases, it could be a good thing, because a lot of schoolteachers with BIA—practically all of them, I think—are expected to do other work in schools when the school is not in session during the summer months—for instance, janitorial or custodial services. So they do not get the opportunity until they have had a certain number of years with the BIA to get an educational leave and go to college for refresher courses.

Senator FANNIN. You feel, then, that something should be done in that regard; in other words, we should strive to obtain teachers that can work effectively with Indian children?

Of course, I think the bilingual program that we now have underway is going to be helpful, because when a child who cannot speak the English language goes to school, he can communicate with the teacher and the teacher can communicate with him where they can speak their own language. Is this not one of the great problems, both in the public and the Federal schools, that the teachers cannot speak the language when the children come into school?

Mr. MCKAY. That is correct. I might say, when I spoke of teacher attitudes, I also included in there teacher orientation.

Senator FANNIN. Do you not feel that the program that has been inaugurated in some of the schools I know of would be helpful? For example, in my State of Arizona, at Arizona State University, they have a special program for the training of Indian citizens to become teachers. Of course, I realize that they would not necessarily speak the same language, because there are so many different Indian languages. But wouldn't it be very helpful because they would know more about the actual cultural needs of the Indian children and understand them to a greater extent than many non-Indian teachers do? They do not now come to school in a position where they can communicate with the teacher and they cannot go forward with the other students.

Mr. MCKAY. Right. I think a good deal of this is caused by the fact that the teacher is entirely unaware of the home conditions of the students. A lot of them on Indian reservations have to study at home by kerosene lamp. The teachers do not realize the conditions under which they have to do their homework. When the child comes to school with a language handicap, instead of attempting to work it out with him and the class as a whole, they isolate him and make him aware of his handicap and isolate him from the rest of his classmates. I think this is wrong, just as wrong as anything else in Indian affairs has been so far.

I think the proper attitude that should be taken with Indians, insofar as language and religion and other areas are concerned, is that of teaching Indians there is not anything wrong with being Indians. Dignify them. Dignify their language; realize that their culture is not just a problem that should be swept under the rug and brought out every now and then; realize that their stature lies in being a race and speaking the original language of this country, the original inhabitants of this country who stand a chance in a few years of their entirely disappearing from the face of the earth as an identifiable group.

Senator FANNIN. We understand your goals, and I appreciate very much having you here.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. I wonder if there is anybody from the Bureau of Indian Affairs here?

I would like to have from the Bureau of Indian Affairs a report on all of the children who go to boarding schools; a detailed description of where they come from.

A VOICE. You mean, a tribal breakdown?

Senator KENNEDY of New York. No. The communities from which they come. I want to look at it. I think it is an outrage to take a child at the age of 6 or 7 from his home and make him go to a boarding school. I cannot believe, again, in a country with a gross national product of $800 billion that we cannot provide even a one-class schoolroom for children closer to home. Maybe we cannot do it for all of them, but I would like to see what the map looks like, as to how far these children are separated from home, and whether it is not just the fact that we have been doing this for 30, 40, or 50 years, and are therefore just continuing it without any major effort being made to try to establish even a small school with one teacher closer to home, which would be much more satisfactory for the child and the child could stay with its mother and father.

But to take a child away from home at the age of 6 or 7, with all the problems attendant on that, and make him go off to school, boarding school, with all the problems the Indians have anyway, I just think it is barbaric. The fact that it is still going on, and the fact that it has been going on in the past is no excuse for it going on into the future.

I would like to have a detailed examintion made and a report made to this subcommitte, very rapidly, of where these children come from, and why you could not establish schools for them. Abraham Lincoln, after all, went to a school of one classroom. It seems to me we could do the same thing; perhaps not for all of them.

Senator FANNIN. I think you have made a very wise request. If you could add to that request, what efforts are being made to build roads, so that they can have these community centers, that would be helpful. I know so many of these children are isolated miles and miles from any center, and they could not be picked up by buses. But I think it is a tragedy that we have not built these roads, crossroads, especially, across the reservation, so we could have a system where the children can go to school.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. I agree with that. I do not know what the figure is on what we have spent on roads in the United States over the last 5 or 6 years, but it is an astronomical figure. If a large number of Navajo children are being forced to leave their families and attend boarding schools because of a lack of roads, I think it is an outrage.

Mr. MCKAY. Senator Kennedy, I know we have taken up considerable of the committee's time. I would like to say in closing that when I was first elected to the tribal council several years ago, one of the elders came up to me and said, through an interpreter, of course, "Son, I have to depend on you because you are my eyes and ears. You understand the white man's language and you are able to talk to him and I am not."

I say to members of this subcommittee that the Indians look toward you as their eyes and ears to show them the way to a better educational process.

Thank you very much.

Senator **Yarborough**. Mr. Chairman, I have never heard anyone comment on the American Indians' ability as orators, but I think this statement that the witness just made is an illustration that Indians are natural orators. The early history that recorded fragments of the early chiefs' speeches illustrates their great oratorical prowess.

I have one question, Mr. McKay. Did you testify about alienating the children from the parents and the tribes, and that tending to cause serious mental health problems for the children when they are taken away? Did you cover that?

Mr. **McKay**. Yes; we covered that in our testimony.

Senator **Yarborough**. We have in my State, in Texas, a very similar problem, with the Spanish-speaking children, where they are not taken off to boarding schools, but in the schools in their same community, they have heard nothing but Spanish all their lives, and then in school, they are prohibited from using the Spanish language. So we have bilingual education programs. This committee has had hearings on the bilingual education bill to cover those types of programs.

I concur with the statement of the distinguished Senator from New York. It seems to me that the problem would be compounded when the child is taken completely away from the parents.

Our study along the border of Texas and New Mexico indicates that it causes an alienation between the parent and child where they try to make them use another language entirely and forget their mother tongue. It causes sociological problems which are compounded by this type of approach to education. The educational psychologists tell us, as the Senator from New York has described it to us, that it is barbaric, outmoded, old fashioned.

Modern knowledge tells us this is not the best way to educate a child. He should be educated in his own language or his natural language, or both languages, to get something outside his own group.

I am very much interested in learning that this problem exists with the Indians, very much as it exists there among Spanish speakers along the border of the southwestern part of the United States.

Mr. **McKay**. I think that is entirely true. I think it is a valid comparison.

Senator **Yarborough**. Thank you.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. I would like to just ask before you leave—perhaps it should be addressed particularly to Dr. O'Connell—about the health needs of the children in these schools. Are they adequately met? Is there an effort to try to help these children adjust emotionally, and are their physical needs satisfactorily taken care of?

Dr. **O'Connell**. With respect to their emotional adjustment, virtually nothing is being done as far as providing programs within the schools, or educating the school personnel to the kinds of psychological conflicts the children are faced with. As far as the psychological and emotional needs of these children is concerned, very little is being done. I think this is a particularly crucial thing that the committee will want to consider, because so many of them are placed in boarding schools in the first place because of personal, family, academic, behavioral, or social problems that have been identified.

With respect to physical health, there is a very great amount of disability resulting from physical illness, disability which impairs learning among the Indians. This is not so much a problem of delivery of health services. I think the Division of Indian Health has made tremendous strides in the delivery of health services. But the problems that I refer to have to do with the physical environments in which the children live, which create a very great hazard due to infectious diseases that are not easily eradicated by medical means. It is only by improving the physical environment, by providing adequate housing, safe water and sanitation facilities that these diseases can be prevented.

I am talking, for example, about the very high rates of infant diarrhea among Indian children. Infant diarrhea can create a great problem with respect to the education of a child. There is recent evidence to show that severe diarrhea can produce mental retardation. This might be very mild and will show up only later on in the form of diminished educability in the child.

The rate of infant diarrhea among Indian children is 35 times that of the population as a whole.

The problem of otitis media, middle-ear infections, takes a very great toll in the form of hearing deficits among the Indians. Twenty-five percent of the Eskimos in the Bethel area have significant hearing impairment due to otitis media. In some parts of the Southwest and in the plains also, the problem is of major proportions. Deafness obviously impairs educability to a considerable extent. Fifty percent of the mental retardation seen among Alaska natives is considered to result from residual brain damage from acute infectious disease suffered in infancy.

I would like to leave with Mr. Parmeter, to become part of the record, a summary of the Conference on Environmental Health which was sponsored by the Association on American Indian Affairs. It has a great many of the facts and figures about the health hazards associated with the physical environment of the Indian children.

(The material referred to follows:)

SUMMARY OF THE FOURTH NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON INDIAN HEALTH SPONSORED BY THE ASSOCIATION ON AMERICAN INDIAN AFFAIRS

The hazard of severe illness or disability resulting from certain commonplace infectious diseases continues to menace the American Indian population to an extent not unlike that which faced the rest of the population of the United States at the turn of the century. These are the environmentally-linked infectious diseases which, while still occurring among the population as a whole, have long since been reduced to manageable proportions in the non-Indian population. The high incidence of these illnesses among the native American populations and the great toll taken in the form of infant mortality and disabling sequellae warrants the combined attention of specialists in clinical medicine, public health and environmental engineering. It was with the aim of hastening the progress being made in eliminating or containing these diseases that the National Committee on Indian Health of the Association on American Indian Affairs devoted its Fourth National Conference on Indian Health, which convened in New York City on November 30th and December 1st, 1966, to the problem of "Environmentally-Conditioned Diseases."

In setting the stage for the discussions, Carl Muschenheim (Chairman, National Committee on Indian Health) drew attention to the conditions prevailing among Alaskan natives as reported by Martha Wilson (Alaska Native Hospital, Anchorage). Three types of infectious process produce the greatest mortality and disability—the respiratory infections, the diarrheas and the meningitides. All of these occur in highest incidence in those areas where housing, sanitation and economy are the poorest. There are no medical means of prevention for these diseases. Treatment is expensive and unsatisfactory, and rehabilitation is hopeless when there is severe parenchymal destruction of vital tissues (brain, middle ear and lung). Fifty percent of the mental retardation seen among Alaskan natives, according to Wilson, is due to residual brain damage from acute infectious disease suffered in infancy. Twenty-five percent of the Eskimos in the Bethel area, she indicated, have significant hearing loss from otitis media. While not medically preventable, these conditions are to a large extent preventable through the provision of a reasonably adequate environment.

In introducing the topic of respiratory illnesses, Vernon Knight (Baylor University College of Medicine) ascribed a viral etiology to 60 to 80% of acute respiratory illnesses in children. Adenoviruses, respiratory syncytial virus and parainfluenza viruses are the three principal etiologic agents in serious acute viral respiratory illness in childhood. Bronchial pneumonia, bronchiolitis and bronchiectasis are not uncommonly associated with these infections, which therefore produce considerable mortality among infants and young children (up to 15% in institutional settings). Only within the past few years, Knight indicated, has Mycoplasma pneumoniae, which occupies a place between bacterium and virus, been demonstrated to be a common cause of acute respiratory infection. Although bacterial infections account for less than 5% of acute pulmonary disease, because of the likelihood of residual lung damage, they remain a major problem. While the incidence of viral respiratory illnesses may not be significantly higher among the Indian population, they are apt to be considerably more severe in this group, Knight maintained, as they are in any population pressed by adverse environmental factors. Of greatest importance is the fact that they are not affected by antimicrobial drugs.

C. C. Johnson (Division of Indian Health, Washington) pointed out that the incidence of streptococcal infections among Indians is 8 to 10 times that of the general population. Streptococci have been implicated in otitis media, one of the major causes of disability among the native populations, particularly in Alaska and the Southwest. Harris Riley (University of Oklahoma School of Medicine) reported on a study of needle aspiration of the unruptured tympanic membrane in cases of otitis media in children. In 85% of patients bacterial pathogens were demonstrated by culture of the aspirate. The bacteria isolated, Group A streptococcus, pneumococcus and H. influenzae, he stated, either alone or in combination, accounted for virtually all of the positive cultures. H. influenzae was implicated much more commonly among infants and very young children, while among older children streptococci or pneumococci, singly or together, were generally the agents cultured. More recently the same group has isolated certain viral agents from middle ear aspirates of infants and children with otitis media. Walsh McDermott (Cornell University College of Medicine) suggested that otitis media may exist in two phases, an early viral phase, succeeded by bacterial invasion. Although the etiologic importance of viral agents, particularly respiratory syncytial virus and adenoviruses, appears probable, Knight stated that their actual role in the development of otitis media remains unclear.

The disability produced by otitis media among the native populations is extreme. Rabeau (Chief, Division of Indian Health, Washington) remarked on the intensity of the illness observed among Indian children, and the extremely early age of onset. It is not uncommon, he said, to see otitis media in Indian children two to three months of age, and even under one month. Wilson stressed that factors critical to the subsequent development of permanent hearing loss are the age of the first episode and whether or not effective treatment is instituted at the time. Rabeau pointed to early recognition of the onset of otitis media by the parent as crucial. The threshold of recognition of this problem is understandably low among the Alaskan native population, he said, where draining ears are as commonplace among children as running noses. George McCracken (National Institute of Child Health and Development) pointed to the need for studies which would elucidate the impact of hearing deficits on learning and speech development.

Johnson reported that the mortality from influenza and pneumonia is twice as high among the Indian population as in the United States as a whole; among Alaskan natives the figure is three times as high. Wilson cited the success that has followed the extensive case-finding and chemoprophylaxis program against tuberculosis that has been waged by the Native Health Service in Alaska, where tuberculosis, the leading cause of death in 1950, had been relegated to sixth place by 1960. Death rates due to influenza and pneumonia, however, have remained high, she stated, and are the leading cause of nonviolent death among Alaskan natives. Wilson reported that, while the number of cases of active tuberculosis has been reduced, the incidence of bronchiectasis has not subsided, even though bronchiectasis among Alaskan natives had formerly been considered a direct result of the obstruction and parenchymal destruction produced by the tuberculous lesion. Recent investigations at the Alaska Native Hospital, she stated, indicate a possible relationship between the development of bronchiectasis and the early dosing with seal oil, which is a widespread practice among Eskimos.

Accidents too, Wilson stressed, must be included in the list of evnironmentally-linked hazards to health; infant mortality due to trauma is considerably higher among Alaskan natives as compared with the non-native population.

John Kevany (Pan American Health Organization) stated that bacterial infections tend to be more damaging and lethal in the malnourished child, whereas a similar relationship between nutritional state and viral infections has not been demonstrated. Gustave Dammin (Harvard Medical School), in reporting on his studies of diarrheal disease in Quatemalan and American Indian children, cited a relationship between malnutrition (established by demonstrtaing atrophy of the intestinal mucosa) and fatal outcomes in diarrheal illness. He described two forms of severe infectious diarrhea, an exudative form, produced by salmonella, shigella and pathogenic E. coli, in which there is invasion of the mucosa, and a "non-specific" form, in which no pathogen has been isolated. This type of diarrhea resembles cholera, in that bacterial invasion of the intestinal wall and an exudative response are lacking. In both forms, malnutrition inclines toward a more severe illness and a fatal outcome. Factors which may play a role, he indicated, are loss of normal motility, an abnormal distribution of intestinal flora and failure of the lymphoid tissues to respond normally to the infectious process, all in relation to the underlying malnutrition.

Johnson stated that the mortality from diarrhea among Indians is 17 times that of the U.S. population as a whole, and the morbidity from diarrhea is 35 times as high among Indians. McDermott indicated that there is a worldwide consistency to the identification of pathogens in infant diarrhea of fatal outcome: in 20% of cases a specific pathogen is isolated, and in 80% none is detected. The nutritional problem among the American Indians, in contrast to that in the developing countries, he suggested, tends to be man-made, rather than a reflection of meager supply. Where the nutritional problem is not man-made, he stated, infant mortality rises sharply after the first year of life, and remains high between ages one and five. Among the Indian populations in the United States, the principal mortality is in the first year or immediately thereafter. The hazardous physical environment into which the Indian neonate is thrust upon discharge from the hospital was pointed to by Riley as a determining factor, while Edward Hook (Cornell University Medical College) implicated the shift away from breast-feeding among Indians. Rabeau stated that 18% of Indian deaths occur in children under one year of age, and cited iron deficiency as perhaps the single most important nutritional factor. The preventive administrtaion of iron, he indicated, has been demonstrated to diminish the incidence of respiratory diseases.

McDermott raised the question of brain damage and diminished educability resulting from diarrhea and attendant electrolyte imbalance in the first or second year of life. Samuel Levine (Cornell University College of Medicine) expressed the view that hypernatremia, a not uncommon complication in childhood diarrhea, can produce irreversible effects in the central nervous system. Riley, citing evidence from Guatemala, indicated that malnutrition *per se* adversely influences cerebral growth and maturation. Levine pointed to presumptive evidence from animal studies which supported this view. The DNA content of the brain has been demonstrated to be lower in animals having suffered from malnutrition at an earlier rather than a later age, he stated.

Johnson cited studies performed by the Communicable Disease Center of the Public Health Service which showed that there was a slight reduction in the incidence of shigella and ascaris infections with a shift from an off-premises to an on-premises water supply. A still greater diminution in morbidity is achieved with the provision of a water supply with in the dwelling, while the lowest rates—a 4 to 6-fold reduction in the case of shigellosis—were obtained when there was inside water and a flush toilet. He indicated that only one-third of native families has a safe water supply and waste disposal facilities. William Byler (Association on American Indian Affairs) stated that 90% of Indian housing is considered substandard according to the criteria of the Housing Assistance Administration. Levine saw the conditions existing among the Indian populations, with respect to incidence and character of infectious diseases, availability of a safe water supply, waste disposal and level of health education as analogous to the conditions prevailing in New York City 100 years ago.

McDermott pointed to other everyday environmental hazards which add to the risk of disease and trauma faced by many of the Indian people—the use of unpasteurized milk, lack of refrigeration, dirt floors, lack of furniture, inadequate cooking space. John Cobb (University of Colorado School of Medicine), citing experience among the Zuni Pueblo, stressed the gap between provision of adequate physical facilities and an improved level of health. Technology alone is not sufficient to produce the desired results, he claimed; there must, in addition, be a program of education directed at changing basic attitudes and practices.

McDermott outlined four points of entry for combating environmentally related infectious diseases: drugs, vaccines, health education and altering the physical environment of the home. It was drugs that made possible the highly successful campaign against tuberculosis in Alaska, where the transmission rate was reduced from 80% to 0.5%. But for the other illnesses listed, effective chemotherapeutic agents are just not available, he stated. Only one in five cases of pneumonia can be helped by drugs, and only one in five cases of dysentery, while more of the latter would be aided by rehydration. Treatment is not an acceptable weapon for combatting diseases which occur repeatedly, he stressed; preventive techniques must be found. Dammin cited evidence of an effective oral vaccine against shigella infections, but, for the most part, these illnesses cannot now be prevented immunologically. McDermott emphasized the need to mount the attack at the other two points of entry, that is by modifying what goes on within the home and by altering the physical environment of the home itself. At the present rate of construction, it will require an additional 15 to 20 years to meet the unmet needs for safe water and sanitation facilities and 30 to 40 years to provide adequate housing for the Indian populations. Therefore the environmental engineering program needs to be greatly accelerated and coupled with an expanded program in health and family education.

Whereas the Indian and Alaskan native child is afflicted with the same microbes which infect non-Indian children in more affluent settings, McDermott said, there is a great difference between the two groups with respect to the length of the life-space in which they must meet this challenge. The native child is hit within the first three years of life with a barrage of infectious agents which the child from the physically more favorable environment may encounter over a period as long as 25 years. What needs to be done, McDermott stressed, is to stretch out this challenge for the Indian child as well, by effectively reducing the environmental hazards which he faces.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Thank you very much. Your testimony has been very enlightening.

Mr. McKAY. I will say again, it was an honor to be here, Senator.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Well, it was an honor for us to have you.

We now have Dr. Ortiz, an anthropologist with the Princeton University Department of Anthropology.

Please be seated, Dr. Ortiz, and identify yourself for the record, if you would, please.

STATEMENT OF DR. ALFONSO ORTIZ, ANTHROPOLOGIST, DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY, PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

Dr. ORTIZ. My name is Dr. Alfonso Ortiz; I am associate professor of anthropology at Princeton University. A fact of greater relevance here is that I am also a member of San Juan Pueblo, a New Mexican Tribe.

I would like to ask if I may be permitted to read a prepared statement. I do not want to misquote some the rather numerous examples I have.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Do we have a copy of this statement?

Dr. ORTIZ. You do not at the moment because of my late arrival this morning, but it will be handed over to the young lady immediately afterward.

Many years ago, Wabasha, a Santee Sioux wise man, admonished the men of his tribe as follows: "When you address the council, carry a green bough in your hand, that yours may be living words."

If this early American statesman were alive and here today I would gladly relinquish the floor to him, for there is no area of American Indian affairs which is so in need of living words—words which can be translated into programs of positive action—as that of education. Although 55 percent of all Indian children in school were attending public schools by 1965[1] and although the Bureau of Indian Affairs commits three of every five tax dollars to education,[2] we are still confronted with comparative figures such as the following:

(1) In tests administered in 1965, measuring verbal and nonverbal skills, Indian children scored consistently lower on every grade level than the average white student.

(2) Even more alarming, the longer Indian children stay in school, the more ground they lose; that is to say, the difference in achievement between Indian and white children is consistently greater in the 12th than in the first grade.[3] It is small wonder then that—

(3) For the same year the dropout rate among Indian students stood at [illegible] percent, as compared to a national average of 29 percent, and—

(4) [illegible] Indian children between the ages of 8 and 16 were not in school; half of these had no choice because of the lack of facilities.

These [illegible] findings serve to add depth to the older and more widely [illegible] point of comparison; that the average level of educational attainment of the Indian is the fifth grade, as compared to the tenth grade for the Nation as a whole. Indeed, from the standpoint of education it can be said that the American Indian is only half a citizen; he has one-half the education to grapple with what seem to be twice the number of problems.

Now, we all have access to these and other findings in a variety of sources. I should like, therefore, to utilize the remaining time you are giving me from your own busy schedules in attempting to identify the root causes underlying these problems, and offering some guidelines for action. These remarks are based on personal experience and observations made while I was being exposed to almost every form of education currently available to Indians, and on research I conducted for Project Headstart with my own tribe in New Mexico during 1965. A copy of my report to Headstart has been offered for the record.[5]

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[1] U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1965, "Statistics Concerning Indian Education, Fiscal Year 1965." Haskell Institute, Lawrence, Kans.

[2] Nash, Philleo, 1964, "The Education Mission of the Bureau of Indian Affairs." Journal of American Indian Education, 3: 1–4.

[3] Coleman, James S., et al., 1966, "Equality of Educational Opportunity." Washington U.S. Government Printing Office.

[4] McNickle, 1966: 277. Quoting a U.S. Senate committee report based on findings by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Project Headstart offers a convenient point of departure because it represents such a startling contrast to long-established programs of education on Indian reservations. Of all Federal programs launched in my lifetime, Headstart shows the most promise of reversing present trends and of breaking the tragic cycle of ever-receding goals. I think this fact should be emphasized. This is so because, for the first time, the Indian people are involved in the planning, curriculum design, and administration of the local programs.

Parents are in the classroom in meaningful roles, and the schools are truly in the community and serving its needs. Indeed, many Indian communities have demonstrated their good faith by erecting Headstart classrooms themselves. In a word, Headstart, when run in accordance with the spirit of the Economic Opportunity Act, is theirs as no other educational program has ever been before.

While it is too early to tell whether the program will retain the tremendous reservoir of popular support it now enjoys, enough is clear to permit us to draw some lessons for Indian education as a whole. First, Headstart will succeed to the extent that it continues to offer something of relevance both to the child and to the community as a whole; to the extent that a meaningful dialog is set up between the school and the child's home. It will not succeed if, in the process of bureaucratization, it wrenches the child, at age 3 instead of at age 6, from the prevailing values and beliefs of his community by substituting another set of values and beliefs. The Indian child, as all children, needs an identity and self-respect, and in this regard the home and school must reinforce one another.

Perhaps the most critical factor is that of retaining the parents' faith, involvement, and sense of accomplishment. And this requires, in turn, a minimum of frustration in funding, curriculum design, and in the stabilization of realistic goals. In short, Headstart must continue to be a visible, growing product of the Indian people's own efforts, drawing from the existing culture for point, form, and direction, rather than serving as a vehicle for a quantum leap into confusion and frustration, or nowhere.

This latter, I submit, is what established programs for later education usually do to the Indian child. Let us consider the on-reservation day school briefly. The Meriam report of 1928, in advocating a shift in emphasis from boarding schools to reservation day schools, stated:

> The chief advantage of the day school for Indians, whether maintained by the national Government or the State, is that it leaves the child in the home environment, where he belongs. In this way not only does the home retain its rightful place in the whole educational process, but whatever worthwhile changes the school undertakes to make are soon reflected in the home.[6]

What was not, could not, be foreseen was that while the day school exists in the community, it is really not of it; that while the teachers teach the children of the community, they really have little understanding of the conditions in which these children live, and they are little responsive to the needs of the community at large.

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[5] Ortiz, Alfonso, 1965, "Project Headstart in an Indian Community." A report prepared for Project Headstart, Office of Economic Opportunity (mimeographed).

[6] Meriam, Lewis, et al., 1928, "The Problem of Indian Administration." Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press.

This situation exists because the day schools are not run by school boards comprised of Indian parents, but by Bureau of Indian Affairs agency superintendents, and these must be equally concerned with timber, irrigation, and law and order, et cetera, as with education. Even if the administrator to whom the day school teacher is ultimately responsible is an educator himself, he is usually too far away to be any less ignorant. Moreover, there is a policy solidly built into the structure of the Bureau of transferring teachers who become too popular in the community. The Indian people realize that activism and genuine concern on the part of a teacher is a reliable sign of an early departure.

What naturally results from this state of affairs is a syndrome a prominent sociologist refers to as "the dead hand of competence"; teachers who try to get by with as little understanding, as little concern as possible. And how much interest can parents take in a school over which they have no control, and in teachers who want to avoid involvement.

Thus, we have many parents who keep their children out of school until they are 7 or 8 years of age because they fear or distrust the teacher. And we have children who are so fearful or shy during the first year that they cannot even communicate their need to go to the bathroom, choosing instead to run away at recess and not return.

That this is not a situation of the past may be illustrated by an encounter I had with the principal of a Pueblo day school during my research for Project Headstart. I attempting, on an autumn day in 1965, to learn something about the general educational picture in this pueblo from the principal. Each time I asked a question he would reply that he really did not not know, but that I might ask the Governor or someone else.

I persisted until finally, in a moment of exasperation, the man burst out: "My business and my concerns extend only as far as this fence"—pointing to the fence around the school—"what happens outside of these school grounds is none of my business."

I need not ask you how long it would take each of you to storm into the superintendent's office, or that of the board of education, if this happened in your own town, where your own children attend school. The day school on the reservation, with its fence, is often regarded as analogous to an embassy or legation of a foreign power; as something set apart from the vital concerns of the community, instead of being at the center of it.

The drawbacks of boarding schools, another prominent feature of contemporary Indian education, are more readily comprehensible so I shall here cite only two brief examples to illustrate the problems in this area. Howard Taubman of the New York Times, reporting on a visit to the Institute of American Indian Arts in Santa Fe last May, was witness to a panel discussion by 11 institute students on the pros and cons of their school.

One line of the discussion was brought to a halt, reports Taubman, when:

> A nervous, intense boy * * * rose at the side of the assembly hall and blurted out, "Let's face it, some of us are here because we haven't anywhere else to go."[7]

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[7] The New York Times, 1967, "Indians in Santa Fe—I." Tuesday, May 16.

In the recent Life magazine feature story on the American Indian, another revealing case is cited, also involving a student at the same institute of American Indian Arts, which I might add, by the way, is a boarding school. A Cheyenne girl, when asked why she spent her "hard-earned" money on liquor, replied, "Because I am a Cheyenne, and that is the way we Cheyennes are."

These two remarks impressed themselves on my memory because I remembered my own brief stint in this school, at a time when it was just another ordinary boarding school. What comes to mind most vividly is the utter loneliness and isolation of life in places such as this. I can only imagine it must be all the more so for children who are 6, 7, 8, or 9 years of age, as so many are of the reservation, who have to live in boarding schools.

I suspect the two students mentioned here were reacting to this same loneliness. The point here is that boarding schools are a very bad thing for adolescent and teenage Indian students because it deprives them of their only sources of psychic and emotional support in an already difficult period of transition. It results in too many individuals who lose their identity and are consequently of little use to themselves, their people, and to society as a whole.

I for one would like to know, for instance, just how many graduates of this Institute of American Indian Arts—and I do not mean to single it out for criticism; it is just one which happens to be in the news media most commonly—how many graduates are placed in meaningful, purposeful occupations in arts and crafts in urban centers around the country, which is what their aim is purported to be.

Let me just inject something before I wind up here. I removed a further example because I did not think I would have time to finish it. Last spring, I had a student who was doing a senior thesis, senior honors thesis, on Indian education. She happened to be from Phoenix, Ariz. So she suggested, and I agreed, that it was a good idea that she conduct interviews at the Phoenix Indian School

Now, after a couple of visits, a teacher at the boarding school in Phoenix relaxed somewhat and sort of unburdened himself. What impressed this former student of mine was the frequency with which two words were used—"backsliding," and "going back to the blanket." It soon became clear from the interview, she recorded, that the term "backsliding," was used as an explanation, a catchall term, to explain the failure of Indian students at the boarding school who went home because they could not take it, for loneliness, frustration, lack of friends, lack of food, beatings, or one thing or another. It is a term, a regressive term. That and "going back to the blanket" are regressive terms which put the whole burden of blame for failure on the Indian child or his parents, but never on the teacher.

There are two terms which are standard Bureau of Indian Affairs jargon, certainly not limited to Phoenix, by any means. I have heard them in other parts of the country, particularly, "backsliding," which is always used in a very derogatory context.

Since my time is running out, I shall not comment on public schools or the problems of Indians in higher education. Perhaps this shall be touched upon in the questions. I should like, therefore, to list some further guidelines for consideration by the Senate. In this, my task is make much simpler because I am in agreement with the recommendations made by A. Bruce Gaarder of the U.S. Office of Education, in a 1967 article, entitled "Education of American Indian Children."

He has 12 specific points of recommendation. When I first read it, I was very enthusiastic about each and every one of them. I would ask that it be included in the record.

Now, just to supplement Mr. Gaarder's list, first, any educational facility which purports to serve the Indian people should have their participation in administration, policymaking, and curriculum design. It is not enough that a school be located on a reservation and that Indian students attend it.

Secondly, ways and means should be sought whereby responsibility for Indian education would be transferred to the U.S. Office of Education. This is not a new idea. Conferences have been held. They are discussing the prospect. I, for one, find it increasingly difficult to understand, given the complex demands made on education today and the unenviable record of the Bureau, why the same officials who are concerned with timber and irrigation should have any responsibility for education.

Third, school districts receiving aid under the Johnson-O'Malley Act should be urged to move with all deliberate speed to enlist Indians to serve on their school boards. The present tendency is to exclude Indians, much to the detriment of Indian children attending these schools off the reservations or even on the reservations.

Every attempt should be made, even if it requires a major public relations effort, to involve American college youth in teaching and tutoring Indian students. The desire to serve is there on the part of youth, if they but knew where and how. The few programs attempted have been generally successful, particularly for providing role models for Indian children living in isolated areas.

(The attachment to Dr. Ortiz' statement follows:)

EDUCATION OF AMERICAN INDIAN CHILDREN*

(By B. Gaarder, Chief, Modern Foreign Language Section, U.S. Office of Education, June 1967)

A statement of recommendations on the organization, content, teachers, and teaching methods of a system of schools would be meaningless without a clear understanding of the nature of the children to be educated and of the society which produces and includes them, or without general agreement as to the philosophy underlying their education. In the case of American Indian children neither the clear understanding nor the general agreement can safely be assumed, and both must therefore be made explicit. However briefly, we must first attempt to say who and what these children are and what are the results we would hope to attain with them.[1]

SEC. 1. THE PHILOSOPHICAL BASIS OF EDUCATIONAL POLICY IN THE UNITED STATES

Brief references to two documents, 184 years apart in our history, should suffice on this point. The earlier document, the Bill of Rights of the Constitution, is unequivocally emphatic about the primacy and dignity of the individual as opposed to the power of the state. Justice Brandeis has epitomized this emphasis in the Olmstead Case: "The makers of the Constitution . . . sought to protect Americans in their beliefs, their thoughts, their emotions and their sensations. They conferred, as against the Government, *the right to be let alone*, the most comprehensive of rights and the right most valued by civilized men."

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*This essay is not a statement of official policy of the U.S. Office of Education.

[1] In the preparation of this paper I acknowledge invaluable help from Richard L. Light, specialist in the teaching of English as a second language, U.S. Office of Education.

The second document, published in 1960 as *Goals for Americans*, contains the Report of President Eisenhower's Commission on National Goals together with certain essays on the same subject. Henry Wriston, chairman of the Commission, reminds us that human dignity is the basic value of freedom, that dignity "does not consist in being well-housed, well-clothed and well-fed." And he goes on to say that "it rests exclusively upon the lively faith that individuals are beings of infinite value." (Wriston, 1960)

An essay in the same volume (p. 81) by John W. Gardner (now Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare) entitled "National Goals in Education," reaffirms for our day the ideal of the Constitution as it regards education: "Our deepest convictions impel us to foster individual fulfillment. We wish each one to achieve the promise that is in him . . . Our devotion to equality . . . asserts that each should be enabled to develop to the full, in his own style and to his own limit."

Some educational corollaries emerge from the above statement and restatements of principles:

(1) If the first goal of education is individual self-fulfillment, all other goals, however important, such as preparation for citizenship, preparation for "the world of work," and assimilation to the "mainstream of American life," become secondary.

(2) Our equality before the law and the "self-evident truth" that all men are created equal *do not impose upon any one of us the obligation to be equal*, that is to say, to be the same as everyone else.

(3) There are many perfectly legitimate ways of being human.

(4) The child's parents and the child himself must have the major voice in determining what his education should be.

So we see that the "right to be let alone" places self-fulfillment, self-determined, at the peak of all the desiderata of education.

In contrast to the above, quotations from authoritative sources abound showing that the philosophy which has guided those entrusted with the education of American Indian children has rested squarely on other principles: "protection of the child from the detrimental influence of the home surroundings," "the destruction of tribal ways," "the creation of a new, autonomous, total environment into which the Indian child can be transmigrated so as to remake him into a European personality," "destruction of the appalling religious beliefs and superstitions of the Indians," "eradication of Indian culture as the primary source of Indian impoverishment," "discouragement and eradication of the use of indigenous languages," etc.

In short, the de facto principle has been that the Indian's salvation lies in his ceasing to be what and who he is, that it lies in becoming assimilated by the acceptance of "educative" procedures designed to alienate the child from his own people, beginning with the rule that English shall be the sole language of instruction.

SEC. 2. SALIENT FACTS AND FINDINGS ABOUT AMERICAN INDIANS

Population, languages, and literacy

Total population, all ages (BIA, 1960) (including 29,000 Eskimos and Aleuts in Alaska)	553,000
Total aged 6 to 18 (BIA, 1966)	152,114
Enrolled in public schools	86,827
Enrolled in Federal schools	46,154
Enrolled in mission and other schools	8,713
Not in school	7,757
Not located	2,663

Wallace L. Chafe, of the Smithsonian Instiution, has said (1962) that of the nearly 300 recognizably separate American Indian languages and dialects still extant—hence the same number of separate tribal groups—only roughly 40% have more than one hundred speakers. Fishman (1966) notes that in the case of about 55% of all these languages the remaining speakers are of advanced age, which implies that many of the tongues—each one an irreplaceable miracle no less than the whooping crane—are destined to disappear.

Chafe finds (1965) that there are 45 indigenous languages spoken in the United States including Alaska, by 1000 or more speakers. William C. Sturdevant, also of the Smithsonian, has devised five categories of availability of literacy materials and applied them (as best estimates subject to refinement and correction) to the Chafe data. The information follows.

EXTENT OF LITERACY MATERIALS FOR 45 INDIAN LANGUAGES SPOKEN BY 1,000 OR MORE PERSONS OF ALL AGES IN THE UNITED STATES [1]

Literacy categories	Languages	Population	Location
Category 1: Practical orthography; available reading material; considerable Indian literacy; technical grammar.	Creek	8,000	Oklahoma, Alabama
	Navajo	90,000	Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, Utah.
	Cherokee	10,000	Oklahoma, North Carolina.
	Cree	35,000	Montana, Canada.
	Ojibwa	45,000	Montana, North Dakota, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Michigan.
	Teton (Lakota)	15,000	South Dakota, Montana, Canada.
	Eskimo (Inupik)	50,000	Alaska, Canada.
Category 2: Practical orthography; some reading material; a little Indian literacy; technical grammar; no practical dictionary.	Chickasaw	2,500	Oklahoma.
	Choctaw	7,000	Oklahoma, Mississippi, Louisiana.
	Eskimo (Yupik)	13,500	Alaska, Canada.
	Fox (including Sac)	1,000	Iowa, Oklahoma, Kansas.
	Nez Perce	1,000	Idaho.
	Santee	4,000	Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska.
	Yankton (Nakota, excluding Assiniboine).	1,500	North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana.
Category 3: Practical orthography; no reading material; no Indian literacy; technical grammar; no practical dictionary.	Apache, Chiricahua	1,000	Arizona, Oklahoma.
	Apache, Jicarilla	1,000	New Mexico.
	Apache, Mescalero	1,000	Do.
	Apache, Western	10,000	Arizona.
	Arapaho	2,000	Wyoming, Oklahoma.
	Blackfoot	5,500	Montana, Canada.
	Cheyenne	4,000	Montana, Okalhoma.
	Hidatsa	1,100	North Dakota.
	Hopi	4,000	Arizona.
	Papago	9,000	Arizona, Mexico.
	Pima	5,000	Do.
	Shoshone (including Gosiute).	5,000	California, Nevada, Idaho, Oregon, Wyoming.
	Southern Paiute	2,000	Nevada, Arizona, California, Utah.
	Tewa	2,000	New Mexico, Arizona.
	Taos	1,000	New Mexico.
	Zuni	3,500	California.
	Crow	5,000	Montana.
Category 4: Practical orthography; no reading material; no Indian literacy; inadequate technical linquistic studies.	Assiniboine	1,500	Montana, Canada.
	Isleta	1,500	New Mexico.
	Jemez	1,200	Do.
	Keresan	7,000	Do.
	Kutchin	1,200	Alaska, Canada.
	Mohave	1,000	Arizona.
	Okanagan	1,500	Washington, Canada.
	Tsimshian	3,000	Alaska, Canada.
	Ute	3,000	Colorado, Utah.
	Walapai	1,000	Arizona.
	Winnebago	1,500	Wisconsin, Nebraska.
	Yuma	1,000	California.
Category 5: No practical orthography; no significant studies of the language.	Omaha	2,000	Nebraska.
	Yakima	1,500	Washington.

[1] The literacy categories and languages in each category were determined by William Sturtevant of the Smithsonian and revised by him August 1967. Some data from other sources has been included, however, for which we assume responsibility. ABG, RLL.

Note: Estimates on populations still speaking the Indian languages are by Wallace L. Chafe in "Estimates Regarding the Present Speakers of North American Indian Languages," International Journal of American Linguistics, XXVII, 3, 1962; updated by Chafe in IJAL, XXXL, 4, 1965.

No one knows exactly what percent of the total Indian population or how many of those of school age, 6–18, retain the use of an Indian language. An estimate made in 1964 with the help of BIA education specialists set the number as 60% of the children in States which have special Indian schools and 20% in States which place them all in the public schools. This would indicate that slightly over half of the 6–18 group retain use of the mother tongue. There are indications that this estimate is far too low. For example, an unpublished

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study recently completed by Dr. Duane C. Nichols of Kansas State University shows that 91% of the Sioux Indians on the Pine Ridge, Rosebud, Crow Creek, and Sisseton reservations in South Dakota learn the Sioux tongue as their first language. A study of the Hopis, Navajos, Papagos, Sioux, Zias, and Zunis (Havighurst and Neugarten 1955) showed that of all these groups the Sioux retained least of their primitive culture. Read together, the data from these studies point to very high language retention among the other more traditional tribal groups.

Achievement in public schools

As measured in the Coleman Report (Coleman, 1966) by tests in both verbal and non-verbal skills administered in Fall, 1965, the average minority pupil (except Oriental Americans but including American Indians, Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans) scores distinctly lower at every level than the average white pupil. The difference in achievement was consistently greater in the 12th grade than in the 1st grade, which shows that under our present school policies and procedures and in comparison with majority group pupils ***Indian children lose ground the longer they stay in school.***

Whatever may be the nonschool factors which put minority children at a disadvantage in verbal and non-verbal skills when they enter first grade, the fact is the schools have not overcome them.

The Coleman Report points out that a substantial number of Indian and Mexican-American first-graders are in schools in which they are the majority group. This is not true at the 12th grade. Roughly 35% of Indian pupils in first grade are in schools of between 90–100% Indian enrollment. At grade 12, however less than 10% of Indian pupils are in schools with 80–100% Indian enrollment.

School environment; pupil attiudes[2]

In 1965 only 1% of the Indian children in elementary schools had Indian teachers. One percent were taught by Mexican-Americans, 14% by Negroes, and 83% had "white" teachers. Only one percent of them had an Indian principal. In the secondary schools 2% of the Indian children had Indian teachers. One percent were under Mexican-American teachers. 8% were under Negroes, and 88% learned from "white" teachers. No Indian child in secondary school had an Indian principal.

By the teachers' own report, twenty-six percent of the elementary and 24% of the secondary school teachers of the average Indian pupil would prefer not to be teaching Indians. They would prefer to be teaching Anglo-Saxon children.

The same Coleman Report reveals a pupil attitude factor which appears to have a stronger relationship to achievement than do all the "school" factors together. This factor is the extent to which an individual feels that he has some control over his own destiny. Indian pupils have far less conviction than majority group pupils that they can affect their own environment and future. On the question of "self-concept" the Indian pupils showed the highest percentage answering "below average" to the question "How bright do you think you are?" and other indicators show the Indian pupils in 12th grade to have the lowest self-concept of all minority groups tested. Although of all variables attitudinal variables have the strongest relation to school achievement, ***these variables appear to be little influenced by variations in school characteristics.*** In sum, the Coleman Report makes a convincing case for the view that student achievement depends largely on forces over which today's schools exercise little control.

SEC. 3. IDEALS AND REALITIES: ASSIMILATION WITHOUT ALIENATION

Section 1, above, postulates the ideal goal of the educator as maximum self-fulfillment for every Indian child. The goal of the statesman has been the elimination of the Indian "problem": the disadvantageous differences between him and the dominant majority. Indian education policy in the past has considered the two goals incompatible and has sacrificed the first one to the second. There has been, especially since the Meriam Report, some ethnocentric lip-service to individual self-fulfillment, but in fact the policy has seen as disadvantageous every difference between the Indian and the "white" man: his religion, his ethics, his child-rearing practices, etc.,—his entire life-style—and has sought to change all of these. The result has been failure far beyond the mere school statistics of retardation, underachievement and drop-outs. The official language policy has kept the Indians in the primitive status of non-literate peoples (their languages are used only for oral communication, with minor, inconsequential exceptions noted above in Section Two), and the constant effort to eliminate the differences, forcing each child, in greater or lesser degree, to choose between his own people and the outside world, is nothing less than attempted assimilation by alienation.

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[2] This entire subsection is based exclusively on the findings of the Coleman Report.

The language and alienation policies together have effectively prevented the formation of an Indian intelligentsia and have systematically cut away from the tribes most of their potential leaders. The overall result has tended to keep the Indians in a condition of unleavened peasantry. The educational policies actually followed in the past are thus seen to be self-defeating and in direct opposition to the statesman's goal.

The view taken in this paper is that the sole disadvantageous difference that matters is the extent of the Indian's lack of self-sufficiency, and that self-sufficiency comes only from self-fulfillment at every age level. The recommendations which follow rest on the belief that the ideal goal of the educator and the goal of the statesman are fully compatible and that each could reinforce the other. The recommendations reject as irrelevant (though not as untrue or inconsequential) both the romantic's notion that in the Indian cultures there is much that is worth preserving and the notion that the "white" man's way are necessarily superior because they are dominant.

In sum, the view taken here is that self-sufficiency—realized through self-fulfillment for each individual Indian child and for each separate Indian tribe—will not only achieve the statesman's goal, but that it is the surest, quickest road to self-dispersal of the tribes and their eventual assimilation and disappearance. (Whether such a result is to be viewed happily or unhappily is not the concern of this paper.) The reasoning is simple: (1) if a group is self-sufficient it ceases to be a problem; and (2) in this country the mobility, both social and geographical, of educated people, especially college-educated ones, is very high; and this kind of mobility means living where the children, whether or not they learn the Indian mother tongue, are middle-class youngsters swept along on the sea of middle-class English and the value system which English transmits. (Confirming evidence is found in a study which compared permissive and suppressive cultural contacts between whites and Indians. The initial Yaqui-Spanish contact appears to have been a permissive one, with the result that a fusion of Yaqui and Spanish cultural elements took palce in a comparatively short time. Conversely, Tewa-Spanish relations were marked by coercion and suppression of Indian ceremonies and customs, and up to the present time Spanish and Tewa cultural patterns have remained distinct. Cf. Dozier, 1964.)

The specific recommendations which follow implement the principle of self-determination (including the choice of a language), and the belief that the only road of development of a people is that of self-development, including the right to make its own decisions and its own mistakes, educate its own children in its own ways, write its own poems and stories, revere its own gods and heroes, choose its leaders and depose them—in short, to be human in its own way and demand respect for that way.

If it is true that society as a whole—in this case each separate tribal society with its own history, language, and system of beliefs and behavior—is inescapably the major shaper and educator of a child (as compared to the much lesser effect of the school) educational policy should seek to strengthen and develop and ennoble the social structure as a whole. The opposite strategy, efforts to weaken or bypass the Indian social structure and lessen its influence on the child, inevitably deprives him of his main source of growth and strength.

SEC. 4. RECOMMENDATIONS

The necessary brevity of this paper precludes specific recommendations on every point and situation. The policies enunciated would be applied to the extent of their pertinence in terms of the status outlined above in *Section Two* and as quickly as feasible. Feasibility is not meant to depend, however, on such factors as the death or retirement of supernumerary teachers now employed to work with Indian children, but rather on factors such as the readiness of printed school materials for beginning programs of bilingual instruction.

Education is much more than what happens in the schools. We have seen that the Coleman Report implies one conclusion above all others: that schools bring little influence to bear on a child's achievement that is independent of his background and general social context. This means that it is essential to involve the home and the entire social group, exalt them and their virtues, and build them up in order to build on them. All of the recommendations have this aim; all seek to develop self-sufficiency through self-fulfillment.

Recommendations

1. Indians should run their own schools, determine the curriculum, set fiscal policy, and hire and fire the school administrators, teachers and other employes. (A very promising prototype school which works on this principle is the Rough Rock Indian Demonstration School at Chiule, Arizona.) In the case of public schools which receive Johnson-O'Malley funds, eligibility for the funds should be conditioned on Indian representation on the school board proportional to the number of Indian children enrolled in the system.

2. It should without exception be the policy in the schools and in all other matters that Indians employed with Federal funds for work in association with other Indians should be of the same tribal and mother tongue group as the others with whom they are to work. This means, for example, that Indian teachers, teacher aides, administrators, clerks, janitors, etc., working with the Hopis will be Hopis and have Hopi as their mother tongue. Likewise, every effort should be made to group children on the basis of the language they speak, in order to encourage them to verbalize their experiences, encourage socializing, and strengthen their tribal bonds. (W. W. Beatty stated (LaFarge, 1942) that "In the majority of cases the Indians who are employed on the Sioux reservations come from Oklahoma, while educated Sioux are sent to the Southwest and Southwest Indians are employed in Oklahoma or the Northwest.")

3. Beginning immediately in the first three grades of all-Indian schools, and in grades 4, 5, and 6 of such schools as soon as a minimal complement of Indian language teaching materials can be prepared, bilingual instruction (Gaarder, 1966) will be instituted.

This will provide (based on the model of the Cuban half of the Coral Way bilingual elementary school in Dade County, Florida) instruction in all areas of the curriculum, except English, during one half of every school day by Indian teachers using their Indian tongue as the medium, and closely coordinated instruction in the same areas of the curriculum, except the Indian tongue, by teachers from the dominant group using English as the medium. In all cases the teachers teach in their mother tongue.

In schools where only a part of the pupils are Indian children, instead of the full 50–50 bilingual program there will be at least one hour of instruction per day through the medium of the Indian lanugage, designed to reinforce all areas of the school curriculum in grades 1–6. The purpose of this entire recommendation is to avoid retardation, strengthen the home-school relationship and enhance the child's self-concept. (It should be borne in mind that it is much easier for a native speaker to *learn to read* an Indian language with a scientifically developed phonemic alphabet than it is for a child speaker of English to *learn to read* English. This fact gives the Indian child a signal advantage in school over the monolingual English-speaking child. (Cf. Gaarder, 1967)

4. A program of language development—recording, writing and publication—in the Indian (and Eskimo and Aleut) tongues should begin at once dealing both with Indian history, religious, biography, lore, folk-tales, points of view on current problems, etc., and with the essential subject matter of the school curriculum.

This work could be undertaken for every language which has at least 1000 speakers. In the languages with relatively few speakers the publication program might be limited to those materials needed in grades 1–3 to form a strong bridge to English. For the major lanugages each people would eventually set the limits of what is desirable and feasible. (Section Two shows roughly the present status of Indian language development. The program envisaged would require help from scientific (descriptive) linguists. It is far from a monumental task and would not be unduly costly if properly managed.)

5. Every effort should be made to develop a strong, mutually-reinforcing relationship between the Indian pupils' parents and the school. The four recommendations above are meant to bring this about. In addition, the school should become a place for other adult-centered activities: (*a*) recording on tape the oral history, lore, etc., of the group for playback in the schools and by radio, and later transcription for editing and publication; (*b*) live story-telling by the wits and sages of the tribe; and (*c*) adult literacy classes in both the mother tongue and English. (Again it should be borne in mind that with a scientifically-designed phonemic alphabet an adult can learn very easily to read his own language. This means that he quickly masters all of the *mechanics* of reading in any language with Roman script, and thus has a powerful bridge to English.)

6. Every effort should be made to stimulate and encourage the emergence of native leaders in each tribal group. We take note of the statement by W. W. Beatty "that the true native leaders were either ignored or displaced by those who showed subservience to government or church. . . . these subservient Indians would not normally have achieved leadership. This is why the reports say that educated Indians cannot be used successfully in the administration of their own tribal groups." We agree with Beatty's advice to seek leaders among the "young Indians who are aggressive, critical, and inclined to be noncooperative." (LaFarge, 1942)

7. There is need for graduate study and research center focussed on the history, languages, and culture of American Indians. The same center could coordinate much of the publication of teaching material and other items in the Indian languages.

8. To pupils whose mother tongue is not English and who come to school knowing little or no English, English must inevitably be taught *as a second language*. This does not deny its primacy as the official language of the nation, but means that special teaching methods are required. The self-sufficiency which is the goal of these recommendations *requires that English be learned well by every Indian child*. Bilingual education (the use of the indigenous Indian tongue as a teaching medium to assure aquisition and mastery of the *content* of the curriculum while English is still being mastered as a *vehicle* of instruction) is one half of the strategy to bring this about. The other half is the use of better methods and materials for teaching English, guided by the insights into language found in scientific (descriptive) linguistics.

9. Indian children should preferably not be put in boarding school, and in no case should children of different language groups be put together in such schools. Far preferable, in the view taken here, is a much simpler one-room or hogan-type school close to home, with bilingual instruction given by two different teachers (one Indian-speaking, one English-speaking) even though by ordinary educational standards the simpler school seems to be of far lesser quality.

10. Mere transfer of all Indian children from BIA schools to public schools under State control would remove the seeming anomaly of a Federal agency running local school systems, but this transfer by itself would solve nothing. To be convinced of this one has but to reflect on the quality of the education received by Mexican American children in the public schools.

11. Action should be taken immediately to remove all religious organizations of other than Indian origin from direct influence in the education of Indian children on reservation or other Federally-or State-controlled property. The purpose of this recommendation is not to abridge in any way freedom of religion among the Indians or hinder them from sending their children to sectarian private schools outside of the reservations, but rather to eliminate a major divisive (and therefore destructive) force which hinders the free self-development of the Indian peoples: dividing the individual within his own mind and each sect from all the others. Quasi-official sanction of the division of Indian peoples among competing sects of white proselytizers should be seen as what it is: the use of Federal or State power to favor the Christian religions over the indigenous religions.

12. Although the educational policy set forth in this paper involves the whole of each Indian society rather than merely its system of schools, the policy can be summarized thus in terms of the reservation schools: bilingual education with each Indian tongue and English given equal time and treatment as mediums of instruction, using approximately equal numbers of same-Indian-language speaking teachers and English-speaking teachers in schools, all of which would be administered by same-Indian-language principals and superintendents under same-language school boards, and all of which would seek maximum identification geographically and socially with their constituent families, eliminating all boarding schools not expressly desired by those families, and involving the parents maximally through both direct and representative exercise of power.

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Senator YARBOROUGH. Dr. Ortiz, are you familiar with a study by Dr. George Sanchez, published by the University of New Mexico Press about 1940, called, "The Forgotten People"?

Dr. ORTIZ. Yes.

Senator YARBOROUGH. He points out some of these problems of education. He is a distinguished New Mexican who now teaches at the University of Texas. He points out some of these problems of educating Indian children.

I want to compliment the Senator from Arizona and the Senator from New York for moving into action with this subcommittee to bring this out into the public consciousness and remove this problem.

I congratulate you for this fine paper you have given us.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Thank you, Dr. Ortiz. If you have any other information as we go along, we will be delighted to have it.

Dr. ORTIZ. Thank you. There is one thing: with regard to your request for information on boarding school students, Mr. William Byler, executive director of the Association on American Indian Affairs; of New York City, prepared a preliminary—let me emphasize the word "preliminary"—rundown of younger boarding school students. It should not be taken as replacing your request, however.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. We will place that in the record. Following your testimony.

Dr. ORTIZ. I have asked Dr. Byler. He said it was all right.

Senator YARBOROUGH. A year or two ago, in visiting the Alabama Indian Reservation, I found a couple of VISTA volunteers living on the reservation. I wonder what your experience has been with the VISTA volunteers who go on the reservation, and live there? Has that been beneficial to the cultural advancement of the Indians? Is it helpful? What is your opinion?

Dr. ORTIZ. I regret to say that I do not have any experience with VISTA volunteers themselves. But I have observed and worked with students from other programs, say, a prototype to the VISTA programs. Harvard and Radcliffe have Phillips Brooks House, a social welfare program, and for a number of years, they have been having undergraduates work for 6, 7, 8 weeks during the summer.

The American Friends Service Committee has also done a lot of work. I have observed them and I know they have been tremendously successful.

You see, they are able to operate in very relaxed circumstances. They are a nonformal, nonstructured school group. My impression, from the time I was a small boy, is the change these people affected just in serving as role models, in representing something which is not too far removed, just a few years away; it is amazing how much Indian students begin to emulate these students from back East, at least in a positive sense.

Senator **Yarborough**. You are not speaking of VISTA volunteers, as such?

Dr. **Ortiz**. Not as such.

Senator **Yarborough**. These VISTA volunteers were, I believe, from Los Angeles and were Anglos, or what we call Anglos in the Southwest. There were other volunteers who came there, I think sent by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, from the Indian tribes. These Indians have been very isolated from other tribes. They were an original group from Alabama. They had visitors who came there and worked over the traditional dances of this Alabama tribe. Many of the cultural attributes had been forgotten in their isolation and the pressures around them to abandon their Indian culture. They seemed to enjoy those visits from representatives of tribes that had maintained their original Indian culture to some extent during all these generations and centuries.

Have you observed that type of cultural exchange of Indian tribes to other tribes who are isolated from, say, the Oklahoma or New Mexico, or Arizona groups, who are fairly close to each other and have visitors and delegations from other tribes?

Dr. **Ortiz**. Yes, Senator.

Senator **Yarborough**. Do you think that type of visit has been beneficial?

Dr. **Ortiz**. Oh, yes; oh, most certainly.

Senator **Yarborough**. Do you think that is very beneficial to the isolated tribes, those far off by themselves?

Dr. **Ortiz**. Yes.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Thank you very much, Doctor. The materials supplied will be printed in the record at this point.

(The material referred to follows:)

MEMORANDUM RE ENROLLMENTS IN BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS BOARDING SCHOOLS AND DORMITORIES, AGES 9 AND UNDER, TO EDUCATION COMMITTEE OF ASSOCIATION ON AMERICAN INDIAN AFFAIRS, FROM WILLIAM BYLER, DIRECTOR

In response to our inquiry to the Bureau of Indian Affairs, we have received the attached breakdown of enrollments in BIA boarding schools and dormitories for ages nine and under. You will note that in those cases where the school enrolls both day and boarding students (marked with an *), the BIA Washington office has been able to provide us only with an aggregate figure. We will write to each of these schools in order to get a census of those actually boarding.

On the basis of the information in hand, we can estimate that between six and eight thousand children, nine and under, live in BIA boarding schools or dormitories.

It is noteworthy that a very large percentage of these children are Navaho.

ENROLLMENTS IN BUREAU BOARDING SCHOOLS AND DORMITORIES, AGES 9 AND UNDER

	5	6	7	8	9	Total
Grand total, boarding and dormitory	5	2,238	2,517	2,505	2,463	9,728
BOARDING SCHOOLS						
Total boarding	5	2,165	2,365	2,305	2,234	9,074
Aberdeen:						
North Dakota:						
Standing Rock community	2	28	30	21	33	*114
Wahpeton	-------	13	17	29	28	87
South Dakota:						
Cheyenne-Eagle Butte	-------	46	73	64	52	*235
Oglala community	1	70	68	64	76	*279
Pierre Indian	-------	6	17	29	21	73
Rosebud	-------	16	22	11	22	71
Albuquerque, N. Mex.:						
Albuquerque	-------	-------	1	4	4	9
Canoncito	-------	6	11	7	6	*30
Anadarko, Okla.: Cheyenne-Arapho	-------	1	-------	-------	3	4
Billings, Mont.: Busby	-------	19	23	14	22	*78
Juneau, Alaska: Wrangell Institute	-------	5	17	-------	15	37
Muskogee:						
Mississippi:						
Bogue Chitto	-------	29	23	24	41	*117
Conehatta	-------	4	34	17	24	*79
Chocta Central	-------	26	27	27	21	*101
Oklahoma: Seneca Indian	-------	12	10	14	20	56
Arizona:						
Chinle	-------	40	89	78	113	320
Crystal	-------	21	30	24	23	*98
Denehotso	-------	63	49	40	42	*194
Dilcon	-------	28	37	43	48	*156
Greasewood	-------	58	84	72	68	*282
Hunters Point	-------	26	28	30	28	112
Lower Kaibeto	-------	81	87	62	25	*255
Kayenta	-------	82	85	90	84	341
Kinlichee	1	22	37	26	30	116
Klagetah	-------	31	24	21	8	84
Leupp	-------	66	76	81	86	309
Low Mountain	-------	30	58	29	8	*125
Lukachukai	-------	58	70	67	61	*256
Nazlini	-------	24	27	21	18	90
Pine Springs	-------	20	19	19	4	*62
Pinon	-------	74	46	64	35	*219
Rock Point	-------	40	47	25	36	*148
Rocky Ridge	-------	43	53	31	3	*130
Seba Dalkai	-------	43	38	41	1	123
Many Farms	-------	24	25	28	32	109
Shonto	-------	107	62	72	65	306
Steamboat	-------	23	17	24	21	85
Teecnospos	-------	71	83	116	143	*413
Tuba City	-------	55	34	64	99	252
Wide Ruins	-------	27	27	28	31	*113
New Mexico:						
Baca	-------	26	27	6	2	61
Cheechilgeetho	-------	22	29	28	2	81
Chuska	-------	50	70	68	76	264
Crownpoint	-------	40	55	60	109	264
Lake Valley	-------	16	24	19	22	*81
Mariano Lake	-------	30	30	20	31	*111
Nenahnezad	-------	47	44	57	49	197
Pinedale	-------	14	13	4	2	33
Pubelo Pintado	-------	32	30	43	39	*144
Red Rock	-------	33	19	31	6	*89
San Juan	-------	52	54	55	16	177
Sanostee	-------	54	38	53	36	*181
Shiprock	-------	-------	-------	-------	4	4
Standing Rock	-------	13	12	6	10	41
Thoreau	1	28	34	26	22	111
Toadlena	-------	56	56	62	57	231
Tohatchi	-------	21	29	31	33	114
Torreon	-------	21	17	23	1	62
White Horse	-------	15	15	14	2	46
Wingate Elementary	-------	34	50	67	80	231
Utah:						
Aneth Boarding	-------	60	46	53	48	207
Navajo Mountain	-------	25	11	3	-------	39

ENROLLMENTS IN BUREAU BOARDING SCHOOLS AND DORMITORIES, AGES 9 AND UNDER—Continued

	5	6	7	8	9	Total
Phoenix, Ariz.:						
Keams Canyon	--------	15	24	27	42	108
Santa Rosa	--------	22	28	17	26	*93
Theodore Roosevelt	--------	1	5	11	19	36
DORMITORIES						
Total dormitories	--------	73	152	200	229	654
Billings: Blackfeet	--------	10	20	15	18	63
Muskogee:						
Carter Seminary	--------	2	6	12	7	27
Eufaula	--------	1	1	2	1	5
Jones Academy	--------	4	7	14	21	46
Portland: Warm Springs	--------	5	8	9	8	30
Peripheral dormitories:						
Albuquerque	--------	--------	--------	--------	1	1
Navaho:						
Holbrook	--------	--------	7	9	18	34
Manuelito Hall	--------	--------	4	9	34	47
Flagstaff	--------	--------	1	4	6	11
Richfield	--------	--------	--------	--------	2	2
Snowflake	--------	1	1	2	6	10
Winslow	--------	--------	2	3	28	33
Reservation dormitories:						
Albuquerque:						
Ignacio	--------	3	3	7	6	19
Jicarilla	--------	12	16	23	18	69
Magdalena	--------	--------	30	26	23	79
Ramah	--------	12	21	29	25	87
Navajo: Huerfano	--------	23	25	36	7	9

* Enrolls boarding and day students.

Note: Navahos—Boarding schools, 7,467; dorms, 228. Alakans—Boarding school, 37. All other—Boarding schools 1,570; dorms, 426.

Source: 1966 annual school attendance reports.

Navaho	Grades offered	Ages					Total enrollment	Day enrollment
		5	6	7	8	9		
Arizona:								
Chinle	B-7	--------	61	54	119	130	1,052	0
Crystal	B-5	--------	27	22	34	25	160	24
Denehotso	B-6	--------	59	51	47	38	303	11
Dilcon	B-5	--------	34	8	30	33	237	102
Greasewood	B-8	--------	65	73	89	67	700	104
Hunters Point	B-5	--------	23	31	32	27	180	0
Lower Kaibeto	B-1	--------	27	93	83	35	243	16
Upper Kaibeto	2-8	--------	20	61	62	65	471	31
Kayenta	B-6	--------	78	86	84	91	650	0
Kinlichee	B-5	--------	28	27	46	47	258	0
Klagetah	B-2	--------	31	29	26	--------	86	0
Leupp	B-8	--------	62	83	77	79	700	0
Low Mountain	B-2	--------	43	43	49	9	144	63
Lukachukai	B-5	--------	75	72	75	64	442	149
Nazlini	B-5	--------	29	27	25	22	147	0
Pine Springs	B-2	--------	24	18	10	4	56	4
Pinon	B-3	3	98	79	38	37	275	23
Rock Point	B-4	--------	43	33	51	27	214	20
Rocky Ridge	B-2	--------	47	47	36	8	140	53
Seba Dalkai	B-3	--------	32	40	35	23	130	0
Many Farms	B-8	4	27	25	40	22	626	0
Shonto	B-8	1	41	63	95	73	695	0
Steamboat	B-3	--------	21	26	19	24	114	0
Teecnospos	B-5	--------	119	74	109	103	931	87
Toyei (did not open 1966-67 school year)	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------
Tuba City	B-8	--------	109	108	126	127	1,161	0
Wide Ruins	B-5	--------	27	32	30	28	178	5
New Mexico:								
Baca	B-1	--------	17	27	4	2	50	0
Cheechilgeetho	B-2	--------	29	30	28	3	91	4
Chuska	B-8	--------	60	62	65	77	597	0
Crownpoint	B-8-S	--------	40	55	89	99	1,064	0
Lake Valley	B-5	--------	17	18	19	20	111	10
Mariano Lake	B-3	--------	16	29	24	16	103	31
Nenahnezad	B-6	--------	45	39	40	49	316	0
Pinedale	B-1	--------	27	2	1	1	31	0
Pueblo Pintado	B-4	--------	38	36	32	38	199	19
Red Rock	B-2	--------	24	36	19	6	89	26
San Juan	B-2	--------	50	55	47	38	196	0
Sanostee	B-4	--------	47	54	47	52	256	41
Shiprock	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------
Standing Rock	B-2	--------	12	11	16	5	45	0
Thoreau	B-2	--------	35	29	33	17	135	0
Toadlena	B-6	--------	65	59	67	59	439	0
Tohatchi	B-8	--------	22	26	36	27	348	0
Torreon	B-2	--------	24	22	3	3	52	0
White Horse	B-1	--------	16	15	9	3	43	0
Wingate Elementary	B-8	2	45	50	78	86	1,066	23
Wingate High	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------
Utah:								
Aneth Boarding	B-5-S	--------	47	51	44	52	375	0
Navajo Mountain	B-1	--------	20	19	--------	--------	39	0
Intermountain	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------
Total	--------	10	1,946	2,030	2,168	1,867	15,938	846

NAVAHO BOARDING SCHOOLS

Name of school	Total, 9 and under	Percent boarders	Total boarders	Name of school	Total, 9 and under	percent boarders	Total boarders
Chinle	364	100	364	Wide Ruins	117	97	113
Crystal	108	85	91	Baca	50	100	50
Denehotso	195	96	187	Cheechilgeetho	90	97	87
Dilcon	105	57	60	Chuska	264	100	264
Greasewood	294	85	250	Crownpoint	283	100	283
Hunters Point	113	100	113	Lake Valley	74	91	67
Lower Kaibeto	238	93	221	Mariano Lake	85	70	60
Upper Kaibeto	208	93	193	Nenahnezah	173	100	173
Kayenta	339	100	339	Pinedale	31	100	31
Kinlichee	148	100	148	Pueblo Pintado	144	90	130
Klagetah	86	100	86	Red Rock	85	71	60
Leupp	301	100	301	San Juan	190	100	190
Low Mountain	144	56	81	Sanostee	200	84	168
Lukachukai	286	67	192	Standing Rock	44	100	44
Nazlini	103	100	103	Thoreau	114	100	114
Pine Springs	56	93	52	Toadlena	250	100	250
Pinon	255	92	235	Tohatchi	111	100	111
Rock Point	154	91	140	Torreon	52	100	52
Rocky Ridge	138	62	86	White Horse	43	100	43
Seba Dalkai	130	100	130	Wingate Elementary	261	98	256
Many Farms	118	100	118	Aneth Boarding	194	100	194
Shonto	273	100	273	Navajo Mountain	39	100	39
Steamboat	90	100	90				
Teecnospos	411	91	374	Total	8,021	93	7,476
Tuba City	470	100	470				

Total number of Navahos 9 and under attending boarding schools	8,021
Total number of Navahos 9 and under living at boarding schools	7,476
Total number of Navahos 9 and under (estimated)	9,000
Percent of Navahos 9 and under at boarding schools	83

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Now we have Buffalo Tiger, chairman of the Tribal Council of the Miccosukee Indians in Florida. He will be accompanied by his 10-year-old son and several members of his tribe.

STATEMENT OF BUFFALO TIGER, CHAIRMAN, TRIBAL COUNCIL, MICCOSUKEE INDIANS, MIAMI, FLA., ACCOMPANIED BY WILLIAM TIGER, JR.; JOHN POOLE, TREASURER; AND SONNY BILLIE, ASSISTANT CHAIRMAN, TRIBAL COUNCIL

Mr. **Tiger**. First, I would like to introduce the delegation with me today. Sonny Billie who is assistant chairman of the tribal council, and John Poole who is the treasurer. This little fellow on my right is William Tiger, Jr. He is 9 years old.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. And you are chairman, are you?

Mr. **Tiger**. Yes. I am chairman of the Miccosukee Indians of Florida.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. How many Miccosukee are there?

Mr. **Tiger**. 204 organized, belonging to this Miccosukee Tribe, and so many Indian people are Miccosukee that have not signed with us yet; that would be about 420 total in south Florida.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. And you have been leader of your people for about 15 years; is that right?

Mr. **Tiger**. Yes.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Have you been to school yourself?

Mr. **Tiger**. I have attended some of what we call a high school. It is in Dade County. It is night school. After I grew up, I went there for 6 years. But I imagine the total hours would be about 3 years.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. What about you, Sonny?

Mr. **Billie**. I have not been to school.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. What about Mr. Poole?

Mr. POOLE. No school.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. And William?

William TIGER. I have been 4 years.

Mr. TIGER. He has more education than all of us put together.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Could you proceed as you see fit to tell us what you think we should know about the educational problems that your tribe faces, and the educational problems of the American Indians?

Mr. TIGER. We are not expert in education. We have only been organized since 1962, and we have our school started then.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. You started a school, did you not?

Mr. TIGER. Yes, sir. Before, our people needed no help from anybody, only ourselves. They wanted to live in the Everglades lands by fishing and hunting. Of course, you know, Miccosukees are proud people and independent. That is what they want to be. They do not want to be governed and have outside help. This goes on many years.

Miccosukees begin to realize the hunting lands are getting smaller each year, because development is taking over. We got together with the tribal council and all the people—we talked and asked: Could we we get the United States to give us some help, because we realize this problem is not going to end the way we want? So we have councils and councils over 3 years before we can come to some kind of agreement, and we call on the Department of the Interior. They came down and worked with us, and we organized in such a way that the United States will recognize the Miccosukees.

So we have adopted a constitution and bylaws. That means to us, we agree to work with the United States. In other words, we agree to be at peace with the United States. Of course, you know, Miccosukees and Seminoles have never had a treaty.

Then the schools started, but before that, this is what happened. You may be interested in some of this. The Indian people and some of you Senators.

The Indian people realized, particularly the Miccosukee realized, that they are afraid they will lose out as Indians; in other words, they do not want to lose their religion, they do not want to lose their beliefs, their customs. We asked the United States: Could we keep this if we accept education, or to be educated, to be able to get a job in town among other people? So the United States promised the Miccosukee people, we are not going to take anything away from your people. We are not going to destroy the people. But we want you to have this new belief in the customs and show you, so you can get a job in town if you have to, or you might get educated more so you can live better and understand other people, what we need.

So the Indian people accepted this idea. So when they discussed the school programs, the Bureau of Indian Affairs said to us, and we said: "Could we teach the Indian children in the classroom our Indian beliefs, like our religion and history as Indians?"

They said, "Yes, you can have Indian teachers, however you want it. You can go into the classroom and teach them an hour or 2 hours a day. Meantime, we will be teaching the English, learn how to write or speak, learn how to speak English."

So we say that is what we want, we want to do this, but we want to make sure we keep this.

They said, "Yes, we can assure you you can go ahead and do this."

So we did. When we started school, we have two Indian people who speak our language, taught English with these youngsters. We started in the sixth grade at the beginning. We only have about 20, 22, to start off. And an interpreter has to be used so teachers can understand the youngsters. We had a problem to get going, because we are so far behind in education. So the first year, we wasted time trying to teach youngsters to sit on the chair, to sit at the counter, to use your forks, go to the bathroom; teach them to use a bathroom, wash their hands, all that. It takes the first year. After that, they begin to learn how to read and write.

But I can tell you this, I am proud today, what they are doing today is something I wish you could see. But our people realize we have to have Indian beliefs and customs to go along with English. We realize this. White people—I should not say white people, but non-Indian people—have so many things we do not know because we have not been educated that way. Maybe something like this glass of water here, looks like plain water. I may take a drink, but maybe it is something else. Well, the Indian does not know. We feel we want to drink, this is water.

So many things you have, we have to watch. English in school does not teach that. The school only teaches them how to write, how to do different, be educated. They do not teach them religions, either the new type of religion or Indian religion. They do not teach that. So we know this is going to be a problem. If we do not watch, we can lose all of our youngsters.

The minute they learn English, they begin to go into town, maybe have some kind of job. Before we know, they will be running contact, into some indecent people, maybe drunkards or those who go to jail, or do many wrong things. So we realized that is what we did not want. We wanted to make sure we control these Indian youngsters, and yet they should go to school and learn English so they will be ready to go in the big cities and have decent jobs.

It is working wonderful with us. Of course, we only have the school going 5 years now, and a small tribe. But it is working real good and I know from discussions that I heard today it is real good, because other tribes do not have the schools we have.

But in Florida, in Dade County, the public were real nice to us. In other words, we have friends. I can say Florida is a friend to us, too.

So the people have worked with us. They have given us help. It is wonderful we are getting it now, because we do need help, and we realize it. We realize that education is going to take a lot more years to catch up with other tribes.

And, too, this is only the beginning. We want to go on. We do not want to lose out on being Indians. That means this: Indian people have to take part in it. You cannot say to the U.S. Government, do this, or to the Department of the Interior, do this. I cannot tell them. I, myself, being Indian, have to put my time into Indian work and he has to do it, he has to do it; also the parents or the father. That is what we have to do in our school.

We have a meeting every Friday, a parents' meeting, PTA, we call it. Families come into the schools and sit down and discuss the problems.

On Sundays, we teach them the religious Indian beliefs. They have to go on, just like the schools go on.

So I would like to say, this is your job, you go ahead and teach. But if only Indians could understand it—I cannot tell other people; non-Indian people, that, because I realize it is my duty. If I want a Miccosukee youngster to grow up halfway decent, it is up to entirely us, ourselves, to provide the school for them.

Of course, we have a good school. I am not speaking about people and moneys, but the schools. We have a real good school. It is a new model. We have good teachers, understanding the problems. We just do not have a problem at all, except we just need more education. We want to catch up with the times.

I am agreeing with this discussion and testimony, I guess. Indians themselves who go away from the school, six-graders, go into a junior high. It is about 35 miles, public school. In between times, youngsters get lost. Sometimes they do not go to school. They get on the schoolbus and go toward the school, but they do not get there. Sometimes all they do is get there, spend a half day in school and leave.

The way we learn is experiments that we are doing now, we think, would be we realize that it looks like the Indian high or junior high school should be on the reservation. In other words, Indian youngsters could realize Indian people live around and watch them. But when they get away from Indian people, they like to get away and go some place else and play around. This is taking place.

Of course, I should not say this, this school going away—like Oklahoma, say, some of our youngsters go to Oklahoma to a boarding school. I know one of my sons went and came back. Really, I do not know the situation. But I understand we have a good school, we have the relationships, good relationship, with the Bureau office, from the public, you know, and county. In some of the western tribes, they do not have what we have down there. That makes a difference.

But I realize that some people point—this youngster is Indian, do not play with him. That takes place too often, but we try to teach our Indian children, do not be ashamed, even though you are Indians. You are Indians, therefore, you should realize you are Indians, nothing else but Indians. Think like Indians, be like Indians, but learn English, learn how to write, be educated. You are Indian, you have other ideas. Be educated. You have somebody else's mind. You have two minds and you can work with both. You can have three languages, if you want, or two. You have the Indian language, the English language—that is two. You can work with one, and work all right.

But I realize doing this, youngsters feel like, well, my daddy and my mother used to say not to do this, but I am doing it now. What I am saying now, when youngsters have been taught not to learn English, not to believe in white man's things, they begin to believe in them. So it is up to grownups to tell them they have to do it.

There are reasons, like other reasons. We have to have a job. We have enterprise on our own reservations. We have a gas station, restaurant, grocery store, and many non-Indian people stop in and eat the lunch or supper or the food we have there.

They have to learn to write; they have to learn to speak English and all that. So they are beginning to see this and it works out all right. But be ashamed of being Indian? If somebody got lost in between, he can be there. If they believe they are Indians, the whole background is Indian, you cannot be ashamed you are Indian. But if you have parents who will teach you right and you begin to go to school for many years, then, you are not sure of being an Indian; then you begin to have a little complex in there.

That is what all Indians believe and that is what we know; that is what happens. That is why we have to make sure we can keep teaching our youngsters to be Indian and go from there.

Senator Kennedy of New York. Thank you very much.

Senator Fannin?

Senator Fannin. Chairman Tiger, do you have tribal lands? You speak of the grocery store and the restaurant, the service station.

Mr. Tiger. Let me put it this way: We do not have a Government reservation. We have a huge national park, Everglades National Park. The north side boundary line is on the Tamiami Trail. But we have a strip there 500 feet wide and 5 miles long. We have little spots here and there.

Senator Fannin. Does that belong to the tribe, or do you have rights of occupancy?

Mr. Tiger. This is the national park.

Senator Fannin. So you have the rights of occupancy?

Mr. Tiger. The little spots along the Tamiami Trail, they are State land. They have let us use it as a tribe, go ahead and develop it.

Senator Fannin. Do you have people who have homes on those lands?

Mr. Tiger. Yes, we have homes in the national park. A lot of homes back in the swamp. They live on the islands and swamplands. That is where they used to hunt. That is where they always lived.

Senator Fannin. Do you have a treaty with the Federal Government that provides for your occupancy of those lands for a certain amount of time?

Mr. Tiger. We have an agreement with the United States as I pointed out a while ago, in 1962. This gives us authority to borrow money or deal with the United States and to talk with them, anyway, on land.

But the Seminole Tribe of Florida have three reservations. Miccosukees have lived in the swampland all these year and thought these lands belonged to them, and they realize they do not have it. So the Government said, you can live on the national park, that strip I am talking about. We built 25 homes, real nice homes, frame houses, but styled like Indian-type homes. Most are living in them now. But some of them live in the Glades, swamplands, the way they lived years ago.

Senator Fannin. Do you have a voice in what happens to those lands? Are you assured that you can retain those lands for an indefinite period?

Mr. Tiger. Yes; as long as Indians use them, as long as Indians have them. That is what the Government said, and what the State said.

Senator Fannin. Under those circumstances, do most of your people or all of your children go to the same school, starting in with the first grade?

Mr. Tiger. No; not all of them.

Senator Fannin. Do some go to public schools?

Mr. Tiger. Most are going to Miccosukee day school. That is what we call high school. Some of them go to public school in Collier County, and some in Dade County. But most go to Miccosukee day school.

Senator Fannin. You have this supplementary day-school program that prepares them for the high schools?

Mr. Tiger. That is right.

Senator Yarborough. Mr. Tiger, do you speak the same language as the Seminoles?

Mr. Tiger. No.

Senator Yarborough. Is your tribe related to the Creek Tribes?

Mr. Tiger. Seminoles; yes. Seminoles are Creeks.

Senator Yarborough. Was your tribe originally, a couple of hundred years ago, in the vicinity of Biloxi, Miss.? Were you pushed further south?

Mr. Tiger. Yes, we have always been around Tallahassee.

Senator Yarborough. You were in that northern area originally, about 200 years ago?

Mr. Tiger. Right.

Senator Yarborough. I have read of your tribe.

Senator Kennedy of New York. A very distinguished tribe and a very proud tribe, and a tribe never conquered by the white man in the United States, that was then able to develop these activities that you have described here today. You have developed them, really, because of your own initiative and leadership.

I think it is extremely impressive and shows what can be done. I think also the lesson is that if the leadership and direction of these matters is left with the Indians, with the United States and localities contributing, it is apt to be far more successful than the U.S. Governmen of the States coming in and trying to take them over and take away from the Indians their heritage and culture and history.

I congratulate you.

We have to go over to the Senate to vote. We have one other witness that we will hear when we come back, unless any of your companions, including your young son, wishes to say anything.

Mr. Tiger. Mr. Poole says he wants the Senator to know he is satisfied with our schools, the way we handle them, and he wants you to know.

Senator Kennedy of New York. That is fine.

When was the high school established, 1962?

Mr. Tiger. Our high school? We do not have a high school.

Senator Kennedy of New York. The day school, then.

Mr. Tiger. 1962, yes.

Senator Yarborough. Who is the best hunter among you?

Mr. Tiger. He might be the best one.

Mr. Billie. You come over, I will take you out.

Senator Kennedy of New York. What do you hunt down there?

Mr. Billie. Many things. This time of year, we have ducks, plenty of ducks, but mostly deer. It is only two things that are available right now—ducks and deer.

Senator Kennedy of New York. Senator Yarborough is the best hunter in the Senate.

Senator YARBOROUGH. I came from the swampy area around the Naches River in Texas, so I know about hunting.

(Whereupon, there was a short recess.)

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Come to order, please.

Chairman Tiger, is there anything further that you would like to add?

Mr. TIGER. No, sir.

(The prepared statement of Mr. Tiger follows:)

PREPARED STATEMENT OF BUFFALO TIGER, CHAIRMAN, MICCOSUKEE INDIAN TRIBAL COUNCIL, MIAMI, FLA.

HISTORY

The Miccosukee Tribe is an organized tribe which was approved on January 11, 1962 by the United States Government.

For decades the Miccosukee people have lived in the Everglades and continue to do so. Most of their time was spent fishing and hunting. Since the Everglades is swamp land, these people lived in hammocks. Their bare existence was based on sales of hand made crafts. Up until 1962, they fought against any government or outside help. My people are very proud and independent people.

After realizing the Everglades were becoming more and more developed by the white man, the Miccosukee people slowly began to accept government assistance as they became aware of a need for money and education and all that goes with present day living. The U.S. Government pointed out that customs would not be changed or religious beliefs taken away, but rather add a better way of life. To assure the Indian people their customs and beliefs would not be changed, it was agreed an Indian person would go into the day school and continue to teach Tribal Traditions.

EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS

In addition to a well rounded classroom program by qualified teachers, the Indian people have benefited by the P.T.A. meetings held each Friday. Fifty percent participation is given by parents. Additional opportunities for a more advanced education are made possible through—

1. Home Economics Class—Once weekly on a volunteer basis;
2. Extra Health Education—Once weekly..

In addition to the above, extra health, sanitation and nutrition attention is often given during the regular school day.

Other activities for the children include numerous field trips.

The first Miccosukee Day School was provided by the Dade County school board. This was a portable schoolhouse which was used as a one-room school. The U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs provided the teacher and instructional material and equipment and opened the first school for the Miccosukee Indians on December 19, 1962.

MICCOSUKEE REPORT BEFORE SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE

Pertinent facts:

1. 85% of all eligible children enrolled in school (public, BIA, etc.).
2. 15% of eligible children not enrolled in any school.
3. 92% Bureau school attendance record for 1967–1968 school year to date.
4. 50% PTA participation by parents.
5. 12¼% of children enrolled in public school this fall attended our BIA school last term.
6. School enrollment has increased from approximately 25 (all schools, public, BIA, etc.) in 1962 to approximately 75 this year.

Opportunities presently offered to students:

In addition to a well-rounded classroom program by qualified teachers the school is able to offer—

1. Instruction in instrumental and vocal music by a former University of Miami professor of music.
2. Instruction in physical education by a supervisor of physical education of Dade County on a consultant basis.

3. Instruction in art education by Dade County art teacher on a consultant basis.

4. Training for the older girls by a former Dade County Home Economist one day weekly on a volunteer basis.

5. Instruction once weekly for older students in health education by a visiting health nurse under the EOPI program.

Desperate needs for Miccosukee Day School:

1. Office help for the school to release the principal-teacher for more overall program planning.

2. Special tutoring assistance for students who are academically retarded due to late school entrance or other reasons.

Nineteen students were enrolled in the first school. Because the enrollment inceased, another temporary building was made available on November 9, 1963, and a second teacher was added to the staff. In September 1965, the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs completed the construction of a modern two-room school with kitchen and cafeteria facilities. A community building was also built which included a full size gymnasium. School enrollment reached forty-five students. Because of the language barrier, each teacher has the aid of an Indian interpreter in the class room.

Adult education classes are held two evenings a week. These classes include—

1. Reading
2. Pottery
3. Typing—Temporarily discontinued because of lack of room

After students reach the 4th or 5th grade level, according to parental wishes, they are fused into public schools.

Desperate needs.—High School due to 70 mile round trip daily to closest High School. Also conflicting backgrounds creating many dropouts among students.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. We call next Chairman Montoya of the All-Indian Pueblo Council, from Albuquerque, N. Mex., and Mr. Pete Avila.

Mr. Montoya and Mr. Avila, I welcome you on behalf of Senator Clinton Anderson, who represents the State of New Mexico and represents you in the U.S. Senate. I just saw him a few minutes ago over on the floor of the Senate. He wanted to express his best wishes to you and extend a welcome to the U.S. Senate. He has taken a great deal of interest, as you know, in Indian affairs. I am delighted on his behalf to extend you greetings.

STATEMENT OF DOMINGO MONTOYA, MEMBER, NATIONAL INDIAN EDUCATION ADVISORY COMMITTEE, CHAIRMAN OF THE ALL-INDIAN PUEBLO COUNCIL, ALBUQUERQUE, N. MEX., ACCOMPANIED BY PETE AVILA, SANDIA PUEBLO, N. MEX.

Mr. **Montoya**. Thank you, Senator.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Would you identify yourself for the record, please?

Mr. **Montoya**. I am Domingo Montoya. I am chairman of the All-Indian Pueblo Council in New Mexico.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Mr. Avila, would you identify yourself?

Mr. **Avila**. I am the councilman. My name is Pete Avila.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. How many members of this tribe are there?

Mr. **Montoya**. Our tribe? We belong to the same tribe, both of us here. We number about 220. Although I do represent the population of between 25,000 and 30,000 people, all the Pueblo Indians, which is 19 tribes, in New Mexico.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Would you proceed in whatever way you wish?

Mr. MONTOYA. Yes. I have here a short statement that we worked out. I hope that all of you who wanted copies have one.

There are several problem areas in consolidation of Indian students in the State public school systems that I wish to cite:

1. Present need and lack of cross-cultural orientation of public school teachers in Indian education: The present system has not recognized the innovations that will help the Indian child form an image which will be acceptable to him in life.

There is a great need in revising the text now used in the school systems toward inclusion of materials thrusted in the direction to help the student recognize that the Pueblo Indian has made his share of contribution to our society.

Recently, the American Indians placed their objection before the sponsoring agencies of the television series pertaining to General Custer's expeditions because of its bad implications and harm to the image of the Indian people.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. What happened to that?

Mr. MONTOYA. I have never heard, really. I know the show goes on. I know my children spend a lot of time watching when that program comes on.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Which side do they cheer for?

Mr. MONTOYA. Well, usually, I think they wonder, when are we going to win?

I remember seeing such a movie when one of my boys was a kid. We came out of the movies, and he pulled my hand and said, "Daddy, we pretty near won that one."

2. Lack of proper educational facilities and inadequate teaching staffs: Most school districts handling Indian schoolchildren are in overcrowded clasrooms, many have facilitated their needs with surplus barracks from World War II. One of the reasons is because districts are at their capacities for bonding and all have used their opportunity for use of funds under Public Law 815, which has limited capacities for construction.

There are cases where children get the minimum by attending only half a day.

There are also many problems in transportation besides overcrowdedness, Indian children living on reservations have to leave home at least 1½ or 2 hours before school starts. It is also true that they have to leave the school early eough to arrive home on time. This procedure or practice limits the children from participating in extracurricular activities and in some cases much needed classroom work.

Teaching and counseling staffs are wholly inadequate for the type of education the Indian leadership, as well as aspirations of the Indian people, indicate.

I wish to cite the results of the California Achievement Tests and Iowa's Tests of Education Development in reading, arithmetic, and language.

The Indian group from the public school system show the achievement level out of a possible score of 100, falling in the lower percentiles:

The following are results of the tests:

California Achievement Test: Reading mean, 22.770.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. What does that mean?

Mr. **Montoya**. Well, I do not know, myself, yet.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Is that bad or good?

Mr **Montoya**. Bad. Arithmetic mean, 28.000; language mean, 40.500.

Iowa Tests of Education Development: Reading mean, 28.629; arithmetic mean, 24.665; language mean, 23.625.

These things were gotten by some of my resource men, and we interpret those in charts and things like that, I think other people know how to read charts.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Well, we will find that out. Thank you.

Mr. **Montoya**. The ratio of teacher to student is 40 to 1 and counseling programs where Indian students are involved is 500 to 1.

This is an area we are really concerned about. We need counseling bad at all levels, in the grade and high schools. We know that most of our Indian children badly need counsel and guidance.

We feel because of this situation our dropout rate continues to be the highest in the Nation relative to other ethnic groups in the Nation.

A study made this year shows the greatest dropout rate to be when the child reached 17 years of age and in the 11th grade. My presentation includes a brief outline of this study made by the Department of Indian Education in the State of New Mexico. A thorough study is presently underway on the college attendance and graduation rate of students given assistance through the Bureau of Indian Affairs grant programs.

Many of our students are there now, I do not know the figure. I have never been able to get the figures in my area as to how many high school graduates entered college. This spring, there will only be six Indian students graduated from a college or university. I know there were many more than that entered or began 4 years ago.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. That is six out of what area? What area are you talking about?

Mr. **Montoya**. New Mexico Pueblo Indians; 107 scholarship grants through the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. What universities are you talking about?

Mr. **Montoya**. Any university that has Indian students—the University of Albuquerque, Highlands University, Eastern New Mexico University, Western New Mexico University, the University of New Mexico—well, they are scattered all over.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. There are only six in all those universities?

Mr. **Montoya**. There are only six that are seniors, that we hope will graduate this spring.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. In all of the universities in the area?

Mr. **Montoya**. Yes.

Senator **Fannin**. That is from your tribe alone?

Mr. **Montoya**. No; all 19 tribes that I represent, about 30,000 people.

Senator **Fannin**. Are these tribes, most of the tribes on reservations?

Mr. **Montoya**. Yes.

Senator **Fannin**. All of them?

Mr. **Montoya**. Yes.

Now, I know why, more or less, the 17-age dropout, though it does not show in the statistics. It is because the home situation, when you get 17 years old, your parents begin to get old and somebody has to be home to make a living for these people. I know this for a fact. I think the statistics that I have here will show, more or less, why.

If the Indian people are to move in the direction of self-reliance and improvement of their standards of living through the process of education, it is then vital that better facilities with adequate educational instruction and teaching be made available through various public laws including 815, 874, and the Johnson-O'Malley Act.

3. Application of Public Laws 815, 874, Johnson-O'Malley, and 8910 has aroused a great deal of interest for having Indian students in the public school systems. In too many cases, we believe, concern lies only in the funds made available through the laws. In order that the committee has some basis for examples in any consideration for solving the problems I recommend the following:

RECOMMENDATIONS

A. That the Bureau of Indian Affairs, State department of education and local school systems initiate programs jointly directed toward cross-cultural orientation for public school teachers who will be teaching those children directly from the reservation homes.

B. That an exerted effort be made by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and State department of education and local school systems in seeking additional funds through the Johnson-O'Malley Act and Public Law 8910 for qualified school counselors specifically entrusted to work with Indian children in the primary and secondary areas.

C. In order that Federal funds are spent in the interest of Indian students and the welfare of local communities designed to benefit from the allocations, I request the honorable committee that a provision be made to appoint Indian school board member or members on the basis of appropriations to those districts with considerably large Indian student enrollment.

We have only one school district that is represented in the schools, with Indian representation on the school boards.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Only one school district?

Mr. **Montoya**. Yes; this is the Jemez school district in New Mexico.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. How many Indians are on that board?

Mr. **Montoya**. I think there are two in that district.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Are there other districts in which there are a considerable number of Indian children going to school, in which there are no Indians on the board?

Mr. **Montoya**. Yes. For instance, in the district that I came from, about half of the students in this district are Indians. We have no one on the school board.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. No member of the school board?

Mr. **Montoya**. No member of the school board.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. And the school board is elected?

Mr. **Montoya**. They are elected; yes.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. How many members on the school board?

Mr. **Montoya**. There are five members on the school board.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Have Indians run for it and not been elected?

Mr. MONTOYA. This is one thing that we have tried in the past, to get school board members. Our Indian people, due to the fact of what has passed, the way things were interpreted about voting to them, do not vote. We are making every effort to make our Indian people vote so we can get representation in the schools.

Now, recently, we had a vacancy in the school board, and the chairman of the school board wanted an Indian. There was one politician in there, in the school board that wanted an Indian, but he did not want a certain Indian, he wanted another Indian. The school board later, I found out, explained this to me what happened there. The politician wanted this member because the man, the Indian member, owed this politician a lot of favors, and he knew that he could handle the Indian. He wanted to make him vote the way he wanted him to.

So as a result, we lost out. The school board members split in half. Then it was put up to the State school superintendent. He appointed a member. He did not appoint an Indian, although Indians were recommended to him. I think three names went in from the Indian tribe and he recommended someone else, a non-Indian.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Do you think that the funds under Public Laws 815 and 874 and Johnson-O'Malley, do you think they have been utilized properly for the Indians?

Mr. MONTOYA. To a certain extent. Now, I think certain of that money is for building facilities. Earlier, it was used to benefit the children and not the Indian children. The facilities were built all in one end of the school district instead of in the Indian area.

Senator FANNIN. Mr. Montoya, does the State of New Mexico supply so much per student? Do they have an average daily attendance or average daily membership fund for all of the Indian students that attend public schools?

Mr. MONTOYA. They do not do it fully; no.

Senator FANNIN. They do not have a formula whereby the Indian students receive the same assistance that the non-Indian students receive?

Mr. MONTOYA. I think they do; yes. On that they do; yes.

Senator FANNIN. But you feel it is inadequate from the standpoint of the number of students that are in each classroom? You used the ratio of 40 to 1. How does that compare with other areas of the State? Are you familiar with that?

Mr. MONTOYA. No.

Senator FANNIN. In the other schools—in other words, are there more students in the classes you are referring to than in the general school system of the State of New Mexico?

Mr. MONTOYA. Not necessarily.

Senator FANNIN. You feel, then, that it is a problem throughout the State, not only for Indian children?

Mr. MONTOYA. I think the problem is not altogether in the Indian area. I think the State of New Mexico has this problem in general.

Senator FANNIN. But you would say that perhaps because of the extra counseling needed, they should have fewer students per classroom for the Indian children?

Mr. MONTOYA. Perhaps; perhaps in areas where there are not too many Indian people. But whenever there are these Indians—let us, for instance, take what they call the boarding schools. We have those, but my people are not part of these boarding students. They bring in Navaho to Albuquerque; they have dormitories, bordertown programs, where they pick up the kids and bus them all over the city. I do not think they are getting special care.

Senator Fannin. You spoke of the number of hours they spend on the buses. What mileage is involved?

Mr. Montoya. Yes.

Senator Fannin. How many miles do the children travel to get to the public schools? One hundred miles? Fifty miles?

Mr. Montoya. No, I do not think they travel that much. Let us just take, for instance—I do not think they have enough buses, either. From my Pueblo over to Bernalillo, where our kids are bused, one bus is sent out there to pick up every child in the school, from beginners on up to high school. It takes about 8 minutes to drive over there, but they have to pick them up at 7:30. The younger, the baby ones, have to stand in line with the older ones, to get over there.

I am sure the schools do not open until 9 o'clock or later. And it only takes 8 minutes to drive from my place to Bernalillo.

Senator Fannin. In this instance, then, long distances are not involved? That is not a problem?

Mr. Montoya. No; I do not think it is too much of a problem in my district, although in some districts it is.

Senator Kennedy of New York. Of course, you can give innumerable examples, Senator Fannin, many more than I can, but I visited a tribe of Navahos out in Utah, where they traveled 65 miles by bus. The children had to walk 3 miles and were tired by the time they got on the bus. The children, in order to go to school, have to get up at 4:30 in the morning and ford a river on a very flimsy bridge, walk by themselves, get on this bus and travel, and when they get back, they get home at 6 or 7 o'clock at night. It is obviously an unsatisfactory situation, whereas I understand we have a treaty with the Navahos to provide satisfactory education facilities for their children.

Senator Fannin. That is right, and the inadequacy of the roads is a great problem for the Navahos, because in many instances, it is not particularly the location, but by the time they go the circuitous route, they would spend many miles more than if they just go across country.

Mr. Montoya. What I would like to emphasize here is that if the State of New Mexico is going to educate the Indian children, I wish that they would improve their quality of education, not only to the Indian people but to everybody in general.

Senator Kennedy of New York. Do you think it would be helpful if they worked more closely with the Indians themselves?

Mr. Montoya. They have not made any effort.

Senator Kennedy of New York. Are there efforts made by the Federal Government to work with and through the Indians?

Mr. Montoya. Yes. I think the Federal Government, the BIA, has done much more than the public school system has. I know of instances where, in my area, the people that I am chairman for, where they have Bureau schools, they are very reluctant—they have both Bureau schools and a public school system, almost side by side. They are very reluctant to turn the Bureau school over to the public school system because of its poor condition, its very poor quality of teaching that they have. Some of the Indian people are even beginning to doubt the colleges that the teachers are coming from; are they turning out quality educators?

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Mr. Avila, do you have anything you would like to say about the educational system and what you think can be done to improve it?

Does Mr. Avila speak English?

Mr. MONTOYA. He speaks some English, yes. (Translating.) He says he was born in 1895. He was in school for 6 years, although he was rather up in his age.

He did not get to go to school until 1912, which makes him about 17 years old when he first went to school. He did not know one word of English.

He says when he went to school, they had vocational school. They went to school at that time half a day. The other half was spent learning a vocation. He learned a lot, especially in the vocational field. He learned how to do many kinds of work.

First of all, he learned to use a broom.

He says then he was assigned to, he was given a chance to pick a job that he wanted to learn, and was put on for 4 months in this department, whether he was carpenter, blacksmithing, tentsmithing, whatever it was, tailoring.

After he had taken several of these courses, then he was asked, which one of these would you like to be, or which of trades would you like to make your living with. He picked farming, he says.

He worked in a dairy farm, swine raising, and actually farming on the land. The Albuquerque Indian School at that time had a pretty good sized farm where the Indian people learned how to farm.

After he left school, he went back home. The Pueblo Indians are farmers, as I hope you all know. He worked on the farm, I realize, then, and they had a pretty good farm. He still has. He is still a farmer.

He worked on the farm up until about 1925, when powerlines wanted to get through the reservation, to run a powerline to the reservation. His father was then Governor of the tribe. He asked the power people, if you hire my two boys and teach them, let them learn the trade, I will do everything and make my people agree that you get the right of way; of course, for a little money.

This happened and resulted in this boy getting a job. He was the older of the two brothers. He worked for these people and learned, became a lineman. His brother worked for 42 years for this company. He just retired the first of November. They were both the best linemen that the Public Service Co. of New Mexico had.

The reason I am bringing this up is that if the Indians are given a chance, they will learn.

Senator FANNIN. Mr. Montoya, you are very strong for vocational education, as I understand?

Mr. MONTOYA. Yes.

He wants me to tell you people that many of the people, white boys, white men that worked alongside of him, learned from him, made fun of him because of the way he wears his hair. But I was not ashamed; in fact, he says, some of those boys that came out of high school learned from me, learned to connect a wire, learned how to climb poles, learned many things from me. And I was glad to teach these people.

This is what he is telling you. I want to punctuate the necessity of vocation for the Pueblo Indian people. I think, Senator, you know that there is money being made available now for vocational training school, a technical training school, posthigh school, in Albuquerque. We hope, we have very high hope for this school. We know that not all of us, no matter what group of people you are talking about, are going to become lawyers or doctors. Some of us will have to learn things to do with our hands. I know my people can learn. This is being proven at the Laguna, electronics, that they are putting out over there. They have a training course in the factory and I know that—I am pretty sure, that about 99 percent of the employees in this plant are Indian people. We need farmers, agriculturalists.

I visited in Oklahoma, the Indian School they have there, that has a lot of land that I believe can be, and perhaps was at one time an agriculture school for the Indian people. There are many Indians that have land all through the country, I find now. And most of them are leasing their land out when they could be using it themselves.

I, for instance, am a farmer. What little I learned when I was in school, I have been able to make a living on the farm with, after I was able to get credit. Credit is one thing the Indian people need. What I mean, there is credit now, but for the reason that credit is not being taken advantage of because of the high rules of paying it back —

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Interest rates.

Mr. **Montoya** (continuing). The Indians want cheap credit. We do not want anything given.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Thank you, Mr. Montoya. I appreciate your testimony very much.

Mr. Avila, thank you very much for your testimony. You have been very helpful.

Mr. **Montoya**. Thank you, Senator.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. We are going to continue to work on these matters, and as we go along, we will be in touch with you. We will come out to New Mexico.

Mr. **Montoya**. I have some other papers that I left, that I will bring perhaps tomorrow morning.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Thank you. That will be fine.

At this point in the record I order printed the prepared statement of Mr. Montoya and other pertinent material submitted for the record.

(The material referred to follows:)

PREPARED STATEMENT OF DOMINGO MONTOYA, MEMBER, NATIONAL INDIAN EDUCATION ADVISORY COMMITTEE; CHAIRMAN, ALL-INDIAN PUEBLO COUNCIL, ALBUQUERQUE, N. MEX.

Today I want to talk about schools and Indian education. Since the subject is so broad I want to confine my remarks to a few laws which were passed by the Congress to help our Indian children with their school work.

Next I want to tell you from my own knowledge and from the experience of my friends why these laws have not operated in the way Congress expected them to operate. Then I should like to tell you what my people think might be done to make the money appropriated under the laws more effective.

The laws I want to discuss are Public Laws 73–167 (sometimes called the Johnson O'Malley Act), 815, 874 amended in 1950 to include Indians, and Title I of 89–10 called the Education Act of 1965.

These are all good laws. Money which is appropriated under these good laws does not help our children as it should for several reasons. One difficulty is that the money often gets lost in the red tape of administration and another reason is that so far as I can tell no one seems to know how to educate our kids in the Anglo way.

We Indians do not know how to give our children an Anglo education, the public school boards do not know, nor do educators know how to teach our children so they can get good jobs.

The reports on Indian education tell us that our children are not learning in school. Studies show that our children have low marks in all their school subjects when their tests are compared to the tests of the white children in their class. Our children are older than the others in the same class and, compared to their white friends, they drop out of school more often. All these things tell me that the majority of our children are not getting a good education. The studies to support my facts are supplied to the Committee. I will not take the time to read off figures now.

Like the Anglo children, some Indian pupils are good and some are bad at school work. The kids considered bright by Anglo standards are usually the ones who come from English-speaking homes. My remarks are about kids who know only a few words of English or maybe know none at all and who come from the reservations and who need special help with their school work.

Because our little kids are so handicapped by not knowing or speaking English, we like the Federal schools better than we do the public schools. Public schools start the kids in the first grade with the same kind of books and teaching as they give the Anglo kids. Public schools make no distinction between Indian and Anglo kids, yet the Indian kids do not know English. The Indian kids need special help with English before they know what is going on in the classroom.

The Federal schools train teachers how to teach our kids English. Teachers in Federal schools also instruct our kids how to use knives and forks and napkins at the table and such things. Public schools do not give any special training to Indians.

This is the reason we like to have our kids start in Federal schools instead of starting in public schools.

Until the Indian children are ready for public schools or else the public schools are ready for our children, we do not want our kids to go to public schools.

Look at Klamath. After 27 years of public education the schools reported one-fifth of the Indian kids in grades 1 through 12 as either failures, withdrawn or dropped out of school. Of those who passed—294—only 9 graduated from high school and of those 9 only 1 went on to an institution of higher learning.

Navajo seniors who graduated from public high schools in 1964 were given an aptitude test by the Navaho government and the test showed only 15 percent of the graduates had an average which would allow them to apply for a Navaho fellowship to attend college.

We are worried that more and more of our kids are being put into the public schools all the time. It is hard to get exact figures on how many of our kids are in public schools because when the Indian children are enrolled in public schools they are dropped from the school census rolls of the Bureau. The public schools lump together the town and the country Indian children and the kid living in town is often ready for a public school education while the reservation kid may not be ready for public school.

We do know, however, that in 1954 there were about 65,000 Indian children in public schools and in 1960 the number had increased by almost 20,000. Today we are sure that even more of our kids are in public school than there were in 1960.

One question the people in the Branch of Education of our Area Office have never asked us is, "Do you want your children to go to public school?" Our kids get into public schools because there is no where else to go.

An example of how we stumble along is Acoma. The Governor and Council of Acoma had been asking the Bureau for a new school for a long time. The Acoma Indians did not know how much Federal money was appropriated for New Mexico schools. They were never told. The Bureau never talks with Indians about Federal budgets or their policy.

When Superintendent McBride from Grants came to Frank Ortiz, the Governor of Acoma in 1958, and said there was money for a public school the Governor said, "go ahead". He thought the public school was better to have than none.

This is how the Acoma people got a public school. They had no chance to decide what was best for their children. They took the public school because that was the only choice they had.

We should like to suggest that the Bureau tell the government of each tribe how much education money they ask Congress to give each year, how much goes to each group and what the money buys. How much do teachers get, bus costs and such things so we can be smarter about understanding school problems.

We should also like to have a chance to make recommendations of our own to the Bureau about education.

Also we should like to have something to say about which kid goes to public school. We know teachers and supervisors and other Bureau people choose the children who are sent to public schools but we want to know what their reasons are for selecting Mary instead of John.

In 1950 Public Laws 815 and 874 were amended to include Indian children from reservations. Money appropriated by Congress under Public Laws 815 and 874 goes to where there are a lot of soldiers or Indians.

The Santo Domingo school is an example of the use of this money for a public school built on a reservation. At first many kids from the reservation could not speak a word of English, yet they were put into a class where the teacher spoke only English. Do you wonder that our children do not learn what is in the white man's books?

Things have changed at Santo Domingo since those first stormy years but even today the Indians have a hard time trying to educate the public school board.

The local school board has no Indian representation. The board members complained about their tax money being used for Indians although not a cent of local tax money goes into the school.

In the town of Bernalillo about half of the kids attending public schools are Indians. But we have no represenation on the Bernalillo school board. Last week there was a vacancy on the school board and the Superintendent, Mr. Lalo Torrez, asked me for the names of Indians who would make good Board members. I gave him two names but the man appointed was not an Indian.

To get representatives on the school board our people have to vote. But until out people can read the ballots and have some idea about the men who are running for office we cannot encourage them to vote.

Schools which are built and operated under Public Laws 815 and 874 receive Johnson O'Malley money. Our children could get some of the things they need if the Johnson O'Malley money could be used for them.

This money under the Johnson O'Malley Act is appropriated by Congress to the Bureau for special Indian needs. The Bureau makes contracts with State Boards of Education. After the Bureau makes a contract with the State School Board, the Bureau washes its hands of any further responsibility.

In New Mexico neither the Bureau nor the State Board of Education make suggestions as to how the Johnson O'Malley funds should be used. The local Boards of Education decide and spend the money as they wish. The annual reports about Johnson O'Malley money from the States do not explain how the money is used.

I cannot tell from the Johnson O'Malley reports from the States whether most of the money goes into regular school administration or if some is used to give our children extra help with reading and math. From what I see in the schools when I visit them I wonder if any of the Johnson O'Malley money ever reaches our children. Indians from other States also wonder the same thing.

Indians have felt so helpless about understanding the use of this money that the Governors' Interstate Indian Council which met in Tulsa in June 1966 passed a resolution about these funds.

The Governor's Interstate Council is made up of Indian leaders chosen by the Governors of States where there are Indians from Florida to California. Most of the States with Indian citizens have a Commission on Indian Affairs. The Governors choose one or more Indian leaders from these Commissions to go to the Interstate Council. The Council in 1966 resolved that the Johnson O'Malley money should be used for Indian children to give them the special help they need in the public schools and should not be spent for school adiministration. This resolution will be handed in with my notes.

Our people have often talked about these things. I should like to suggest that the Johnson O'Malley funds be handled in such a way that the Indian tribes make contracts directly with the States. We could then let the States and local school boards know what we wanted and follow up and see how the money was being spent.

We would need the help of the Bureau in writing out the contracts and in helping us evaluate improvements in the school systems. Most of us do not yet have enough education to make Government contracts or to follow the red tape of public school administration, but we can learn.

The last subject I should like to bring up has to do with the Bureau's educational policy and Title I of the Education Act of 1965. Public Law 89-10, which was amended to include children in Department of the Interior schools.

In 1960-67 school year the Bureau of Indian Affairs got from Title I a total of five million dollars and they received about eight million dollars from 1967-68. A report was mimeographed in the summer of 1967 showing how the five million dollars had been spent. In this report we found only four special classes in arithmetic. We know how badly Indian children need extra help in understanding math.

In a booklet by the Branch of Education of the Bureau called F. I. R. E., meaning Forwarding Indian Responsibility in Education, March 1967, we see pictures of Indian children doing head work, knitting, playing with Indian dolls, going on bus rides, all things which are not really education.

From what we can tell, it seems as if the Bureau scattered the Title I money about like chicken feed, giving everyone a few grains and not "meeting the special educational needs" of the Indian children as the Act specified.

Also, it seems that nothing important and new was tried out, but this money gave lots of people jobs. We think it is a good idea to give everyone work, but it is much more important to use the money to give our children a strong basic education. We want each child taught so well that they can get and hold a good job, and be able to compete with his white friends.

Giving a little money to a lot of people for a lot of jobs at the expense of basic education seemed to be the Bureau policy in spite of the requests of the Governors and Councils of Isleta, Santa Clara and Laguna Pueblos.

In May 1967 we saw in Isleta a demonstration of a math drill. It was a drill given to our children on a teletype machine attached to a computer on the Stanford campus. The children were excited and pleased. Here are some of the remarks the Isleta children made after they tried their hand at math on the teletype machines:

Vincent Garcia said, "I like it. It is exciting."

Clarence Lucero, "I like to do arithmetic like that."

Michael Montoya, "This is better than papers. I can do them faster."

The Governors of three villages were anxious to have this method of drilling in math tried in their village schools. They sent in resolutions to the Commissioner but nothing was done. The resolutions will be given to the Committee.

In conclusion I should like to mention our recommendations again:

1. We should like to have the Bureau of Indian Affairs talk over with us the education budget each year before it is given to Congress.
2. We should like to know what the money buys for our schools and for our own children.
3. We should like to have the Bureau ask us for recommendations about education, especially how we feel about Federal and public schools.
4. We should like to have the Bureau tell us how they select the children who are sent to public schools.
5. We should like to have the Johnson O'Malley funds handled in such a way that Indians could make the contracts with the State and see how the local school boards use the funds.
6. We should like to suggest that new educational methods which have been found to be successful with other children be tried in the Federal Indian Schools.
7. We should like to have a group of experts, Indian and non-Indian, outside of the Government watch the new educational methods and decide whether or not they were successful in teaching Indian children the white man's education.

LAGUNA ELEMENTARY SCHOOL, GRADES PRE-1ST THRU 6TH

Recommendation of the summary are set forth for urgent consideration.

1. That this particular school maintain its continuation under the Bureau of Indian Affairs as a federally Operated Elementary School.

2. That the Bureau of Indian Affairs through the Department of Education with Federal Government continue to provide sufficient funds, staff and facilities with Operation and Maintenance as well as, argumented education so long as the Laguna Pueblo Council in behalf of the Laguna people desire the Laguna Elementry school to be federally operated and is well established on Laguna land.

3. That the Bureau of Indian Affairs supply the Elementary School with adequate water supply for domestic, sewerage and landscape purpose.

4. That teachers be required to participate in Service Training Programs designed to provide them with an understanding of Indian children and the methods and techniques that are appropriate and to have a concentrated teaching rate and above all substitute teachers should be discouraged as it will only confuse the children all the more.

5. That the teachers be given a better wage scale and that they be placed in better classified grade rating because of their ever increasing knowledge of teaching Indian children which makes them better qualified and more dedicated and can result in the best quality of teachers in the history of Indian Education. Because of the good record of the past teaching by federal schools we are most certain that such increase of budget each year, for the same reason of increase of Indian children will justify as the Bureau of Indian Affairs has long time specialized in Indian Education and with such a continuation of federally operated schools the Bureau of Indian Affairs can maintain its excellent record.

6. That appropriate educational programs be designed to include traditional tribal values for greater appreciation of American Indian way of life reflected in the field trips, materials, texts, visual aids, tape recorders, printing machines and any other form of teaching so that the Indian child can maintain its identity as an American as well as coping along with the so-called American way of life at this stage and age of space. All in all the Indian child should be given the true and positive picture of the American Indian way of life and his contribution toward the American Cultural and society.

7. That existing or new facilities be provided for mentally retarded children in this class group as each child is an individual with individual characteristics. These programs can be localized so that the children can be given the best possible care and education to enable them to enjoy a wholesome life which to this date have been educationally and physically deprived as it stands today.

8. That existing or new facilities be provided for physically and emotionally handicapped in this locality where they can be near home for their convenience and for immediate consent of parents in the event any assistance is required and this is to mainly meet the special needs of these children who may accurately be described as Educationally deprived and this special education assistance is the greatest need in order that their level of educational attainment may be raised to that of children their age in this modern society. The characteristics of educationally deprived Indian children could be: lack of home background that assures maximum preparation for the school experience, and low achievement in the basic content subjects, notably reading, writing and arithmetic. Only to name a few as expressed many times by educators and Indian leaders.

9. That promotion of exceptional Indian students be maintained and that no regulation prevent a child to be advanced rapidly however should discourage promotion on a social basis only and to maintain no over promotion.

10. That within the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Laguna Elementary system, administrative and teaching staff work cooperatively with parents to establish a permanent functioning Parent Treacher Organization or Local and state Association and that no policy prevent the staff to work in unison.

11. That teacherages (housing) be reduced to a reasonable rate on rental basis in order to attract more dedicated teachers and by the same token encourage them to stay in the school housing area so that they can be able to participate in most of the school activities and getting to know the community and the parents much better and more purposely to avoid commuting at a distance as it often results in a fatigue on the part of the teacher and may effect the efficiency of the daily pattern of teaching and its curriculm in respective classes depriving the children the full benefit of a much closer relation with the teacher.

12. That future programing and planning in Indian Education toward policy making be an involvment of specialist of Universities, UPA Dept. of Education or its representatives and Indian leaders along with their counselors.

13. Recently a request was submitted for the expansion of Laguna, Acoma High School with facilities to no avail and we are again asking for urgent consideration and if necessary will submit a writer to the Senate with the guidnce of this committee as all pertinent information is here in Washington, D.C. Department of Education under Public Law.

I want to again express by appreciation for this opportunity to present our needs as we consider this our heartfelt duty together a civic duty for those making this trip without compensation.

Therefore we maintain as any other school under Federal Government that Laguna Elementary School under its present school system be a continuation of operation under administration of Bureau of Indian Affairs as a federally operated Laguna Elementary School as it has proven fact that not only because of the availability of facilities but most important the implementation of best teaching methods of Bureau of Indian Affairs, Department of Indian Education, through its selections of good qualified teachers and staff who are dedicated have been well established and patterned which should be maintained.

If there are any questions or if there needs to be any further testimonies please feel free to consult with as many Indian leaders with our respective tribes throughout the country. Thank you again.

Another school that deserves equal amount at attention west of Rio Grande River is that of Acoma Day Schools with its ever increasing population and the desire of continued improvement and establishment of new facilities to accommodate the needs by the federal government with its continued operation and maintenance. Acoma is well known as "Sky City" in New Mexico.

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KLAMATH SCHOOLS

"Data on Termination of Federal Supervision over the Klamath Indian Reservation," compiled by A. Harvey Wright, Oregon State Dept. of Education, mimeographed, (1956), pp. 7-8.

Navajo Tribal Records, 1964.

Statistics from Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1960.

GOVERNOR'S INTERSTATE INDIAN COUNCIL, JUNE 10, 1966

RESOLUTION NO. 3—JOHNSON O'MALLEY FUNDS

Whereas the Johnson O'Malley Indian Education Program was established by Congress to assist local school districts to adequately finance programs of education; and

Whereas the desires of Congress for specific use of funds by States has been expressed in Title I, Section 107, of Public Law 89-10; and

Whereas it has been found that a number of States reduce State funds paid to local school districts when that district receives or is eligible for funds from the Johnson O'Malley Program: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, that efforts be made by the Governor's Interstate Indian Council and the Representatives of the various States encourage States to not reduce the State funds available to local school districts if that local district receives Johnson O'Malley funds and further that Johnson O'Malley funds be encouraged to be used for establishing programs which would meet the special needs of Indian children in eligible school districts.

RESOLUTION

Resolution adopted at a regularly called meeting of the Isleta Pueblo this 29th day of Mar., 1967:

Whereas a two-day demonstration of a computer-based drill for children in the primary grades which was devised by the Institute for Mathematical Studies in the Social Sciences at Stanford University was conducted within the Isleta Day School, and

Whereas we are of the opinion the demonstration showed that the use of a computer for mathematical drill would be desirable and would be of major benefit in educating Indian children: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we hereby urge the Honorable Robert L. Bennett, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to help us in every way to make this project a permanent part of the Isleta Day School.

JOHN D. ZUNI,
Governor of Isleta Pueblo.
RICHARD E. PODILLA,
Council Chairman.
JOHN PHILLIP OLGUN,
Secretary of Council.

RESOLUTION

At a duly called meeting of the Council of Santa Clara held May 31, 1967, at which a quorum was present: 11 voting for; 0 voting against; the following resolution was adopted:

Whereas a demonstration of a program of instruction using a teletype machine piped to a Stanford-based computer was given at the Isleta Day School presenting a curriculum designed by Professor Patrick Suppes, Director of the Institute for Mathematical Studies in the Social Sciences,

Whereas the two-day demonstration showed that such a project would be desirable and beneficial to Indian children: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we hereby urge the Honorable Robert L. Bennett, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to help us in getting computerized education into Santa Clara and adjacent Indian pueblos.

PAT GUTIERREZ,
Governor.
AMARANTE SILVA,
Secretary.
FRANK NARANJO
ALBERT NARANJO
JOE E. SEROZA
LAWRENCE P. SINGU

Resolution

At a duly called meeting of the Council of the Pueblo of Laguna held on May 31, 1967, at which a quorum was present and that 20 voted for, and 0 opposed, the following Resolution was adopted:

Whereas a demonstration of a mathematical lesson was given at the Isleta Day School by using a teletype machine piped to a Stanford based computer designed by the Institute for Mathematical Studies in the Social Sciences in California, and

Whereas the two-day demonstration showed that such a project would be desirable and of great benefit to Indian children: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we hereby urge the Honorable Robert L. Bennett, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to do all in his power to make it possible for the Laguna children to have the benefit of the new teaching method.

Tom Dailey,
Governor.

Howard Poncho,
Member of Council.

Robert Dailey,
Member of Council.

Attest:

Lawrence P. Sariacein,
Secretary.

Certification

I, the undersigned, as Governor of the Pueblo of Laguna, hereby certify that the Laguna Pueblo Council, at a duly called meeting, which was convened and held on May 31, 1967, at Laguna Pueblo, New Mexico, approved this Resolution, a quorum being present, and that 20 voted for, and 0 opposed.

Tom Dailey, *Governor.*

Project Head Start In An Indian Community

(By Alfonso Ortiz)

PREFACE

This report presents the results of six weeks of research in San Juan Pueblo, New Mexico, undertaken at the request of Project Head Start and the Office of Economic Opportunity. Field research was conducted during all of September, and portions of August and October. The report itself was prepared at the University of Chicago, during the last two weeks of October, 1965.

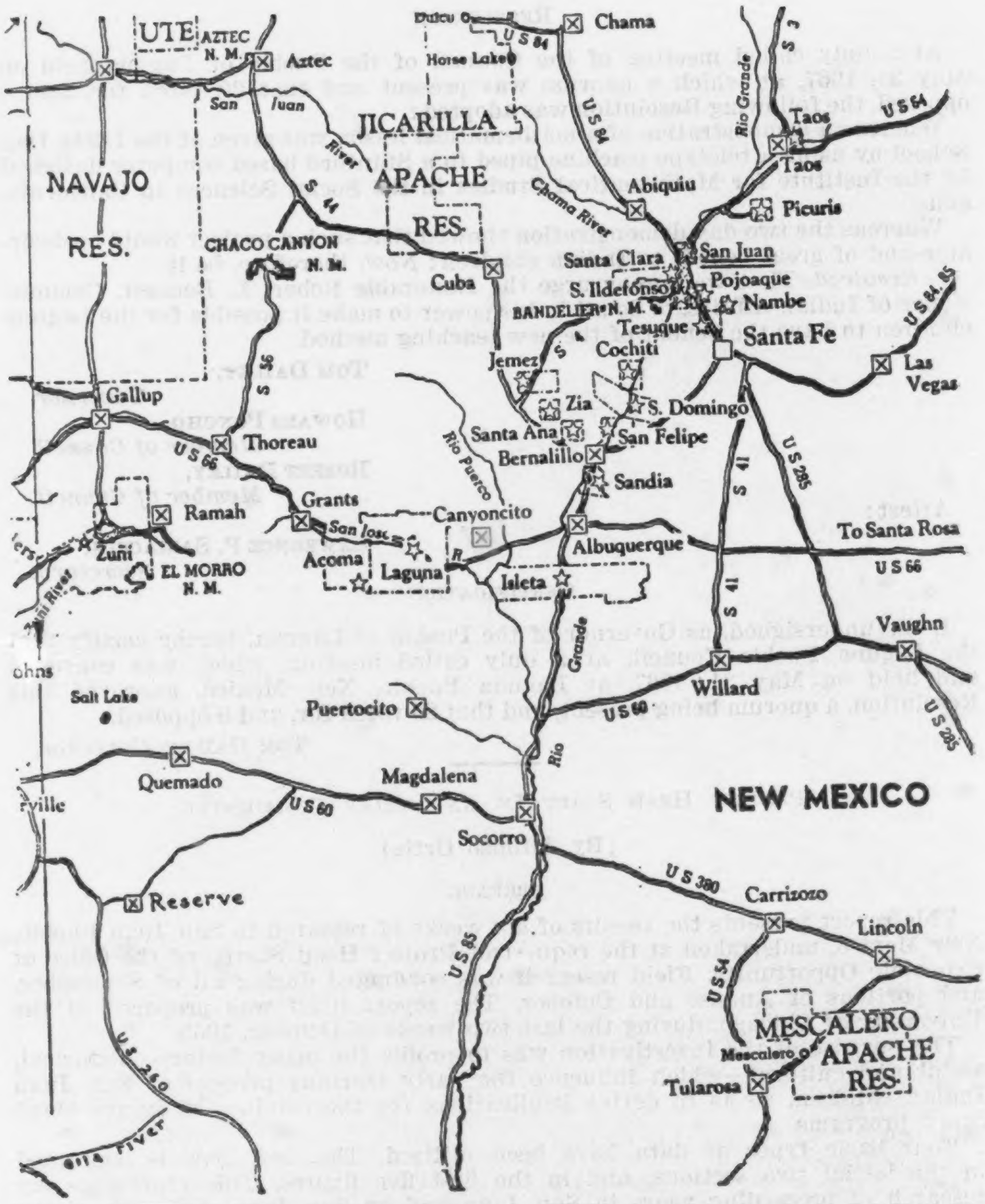
The purpose of the investigation was to profile the many factors—historical, social and cultural—which influence the early learning process of San Juan Indian children, so as to derive implications for the conduct of future Head Start programs.

Four basic types of data have been utilized. The first type is contained in the initial two sections, and in the first five figures. This represents my research of preceeding years in San Juan and on San Juan. As much of the basic information as could realistically be summarized is done so in the figures. This has resulted in a report of manageable size without sacrificing comprehensiveness.

The second type of data consists of tests and observations of 50 Indian children of all ages. This forms the basis for the discussion of cultural factors in the learning process. The Bender Gestalt Reproductions and the Goodenough Draw-a-Man test were administered. Only the latter have been scored, and the results are appended.

The third type of data consists of detailed information gathered specifically on the families of Head Start-age children. This information is presented separately. The fourth consists of interviews, and these represent the needs and wishes of the people of San Juan, with regard to Project Head Start.

The current situation of the Indian reservations in the state of New Mexico is presented from two points of view—the statistical and the cultural—by Meaders (1963) and Smith (1965), rspectively. I have tried to combine the two approaches in this detailed look at a single community. It has also been my attempt to provide the necessary cultural background which would render meaningful later evaluations of Project Head Start which are based entirely on standardized tests and questionnaires.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AZTEC N. M.
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San Juan River
JICARILLA APACHE RES.
NAVAJO RES.
CHACO CANYON N. M.
Cuba
Rio Grande
Taos
US 64
Abiquiu
Chama River
Picuris
Santa Clara
San Juan
S. Ildefonso
Pojoaque
Nambe
BANDELIER N. M.
Tesuque
Santa Fe
Cochiti
Jemez
Las Vegas
Zia
S. Domingo
Santa Ana
San Felipe
Bernalillo
Sandia
Gallup
Thoreau
US 66
Grants
Ramah
Zuñi
EL MORRO N. M.
San Jose R.
Acoma
Laguna
Canyoncito
Albuquerque
Isleta
To Santa Rosa
US 285
US 41
Rio Puerco
Vaughn
Willard
US 60
Salt Lake
Puertocito
Quemado
Magdalena
Socorro
NEW MEXICO
US 380
Carrizozo
Lincoln
Reserve
US 85
US 54
US 260
Gila River
MESCALERO APACHE RES.
Mescalero
Tularosa

INDIAN RESERVATIONS IN NEW MEXICO

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am indebted to the following persons and agencies for aid at various points in my research:

To Professor Fred Eggan of the University of Chicago for sponsoring and supervising my research activities. Without his timely intervention the task could not have been undertaken at all.

To Mrs. Maria S. de Lopez, Director of the San Juan Head Start Center, and her associates for granting me generously the use of their time, records, and facilities.

To the teachers and administrators of the four San Juan schools for lending advice, encouragement, and assistance when needed.

To the educators in the Espanola school system for providing information on the special needs and problems of older Tewa school children.

To the San Juan Tribal Council for permitting me to serve as chairman of the Pueblo's Community Action Committee during the last few months of 1964. Much of the information contained in this report was compiled at that time.

To several tribal leaders and parents of the neighboring Tewa Pueblos of Tesuque, San Ildefonso, and Santa Clara for recognizing that the needs and problems of their children are largely inseparable from those of San Juan. Their cooperation has given this report what wider relevance it may have.

To the United Pueblos Agency, Bureau of Indian Affairs, for providing valuable demographic, economic, and educational background information on San Juan.

To Mr. Charles E. Minton, Executive Director of the New Mexico State Commission on Indian Affairs, for letting me draw liberally from his many years' experience in Pueblo Indian affairs.

To Miss Lois Rubinyi of the University of Chicago for assisting me in conducting an experimental pre-school class and in administering tests to San Juan children.

My greatest debt, however, is to the forty San Juan parents who let me visit their homes, and who entrusted their children to me for the experimental class and for testing. It is to be hoped that their views are honestly reflected herein, and that their fond hopes for Project Head Start in San Juan Pueblo will be realized.

ALFONSO ORTIZ.

October 1965.

I. SAN JUAN: PAST AND PRESENT

San Juan Pueblo is located in north-central New Mexico on the east bank of the Rio Grande, near its confluence with the Chama River. The term "Pueblo" was used by 16th Century Spanish explorers in the area to distinguish the sedentary Indians from the then-nomadic Apaches and Navahos. There are 19 Pueblos in New Mexico with five different languages spoken among them. The people of San Juan speak Tewa, as do the residents of five other Pueblos, all located to the south of San Juan.

San Juan has had a colorful past, and it has occupied the significant place in early southwestern history. Because of its location near the head of the fertile Española Valley, it was visited by every major Spanish expedition sent up from Mexico during the 16th century, beginning with a party of Coronados men in 1541. Four villages were reported in the area at this time (Winship 1896:511). In 1598, Don Juan de Oñate established a colony on the west bank of the Rio Grande, directly across the river from present-day San Juan. At this time the Indians were living on both sides of the Rio Grande, but with Oñate's arrival those on the west side of the river joined the people in the area they occupy today. Oñate named the community *San Juan de los Caballeros*, "San Juan of the Gentlemen", for the Indians alleged generosity in giving up their habitations and sharing their resources with the Spaniards (Twitchell 1911:315). Oñate named his colony *San Gabriel*, and it served as the capitol of the Province of New Mexico until 1605, when Santa Fe was founded (Twitchell 1911:333).

During the 17th century more Spanish settlers came into the Rio Grande Valley, and more friars joined those who had come with Oñate to Christianize the Indians. Small deposits of gold, silver, and turquoise were found in the mountains around Santa Fe, and Pueblo Indians were forced to work in the mines. The practice of witchcraft was the usual charge by which the Spaniards justified the extraction of forced labor from the Indians. Serious and sustained attempts were also made to destroy native religious practices during the first eight decades of the century. By 1680 the situation had apparently grown intolerable and the Pueblos revolted and drove all the Spaniards into Mexico. Their independence was to be short-lived, for no sooner had they thrown off the yoke of Spanish oppression than they started quarreling among theselves again. The Spaniards returned in 1692 and stayed. The leader of this successful but short-lived revolt was a medicine man from San Juan named Po pé (Hackett 1942:xxii)

With the restoration of military rule over the area, Spanish settlers returned in larger numbers, and since the early 18th century San Juan has been bordered on three sides by Spanish-speaking settlements. Seventeen families were reported as living in one of these settlements, Chamita, by 1744 (Twitchell 1911:317, fn.323). In time there were four communities within two miles of San Juan. Because of the Pueblo's location, and because it has always been the largest of the five communities in the area it became the Catholic parish center, and there has been a priest in residence almost continuously since 1726 (Adams and Chavez 1956: 234). For the same reasons, San Juan has long been a trade center for the area; a general store has been in operation there since 1863, and there was a railroad depot there until 1939, when the line was discontinued. The post office for four of the communities is still located there.

The people of San Juan have been surrounded by Spanish-Americans, and have worked out a relatively harmonious system of relationships with them. They control and maintain a system of irrigation canals in common, they trade with one another, and the Indians work for Spanish-American farmers and lease their grazing lands to Spanish-American stockmen. They share Catholicism as well, but the Indians have never given up their native beliefs and practices; they see no conflict in combining the two religions.

There were few Anglos (non-Spanish white Americans) in the area until the various depression-relief programs of the 1930's. The role of the Bureau of Indian Affairs was significant in differentiating San Juan from its Spanish-speaking neighbors, due primarily to separate educational, health, and other special services for the Indians, but the fundamental pattern of Spanish-Indian relationships was not altered. With the outbreak of World War II, the long-enduring ties between Spanish-Americans and Indians were altered The Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory was established in 1943, and after 1945 both groups were employed there in large numbers as day laborers and housemaids. New roads were built in the area, old ones were paved, and the rapid influx of tourists began, Spanish-American and Indian suddenly found themselves in competition for the same jobs, and for the same tourist dollar. The economy of the area shifted very quickly from an emphasis on subsistence agriculture and barter to cash. With the new roads and faster means of transportation, Española, five miles south, replaced San Juan as a local trade center.

In spite of the existence of conditions apparently conducive to change and assimilation, San Juan has remained distinctly Indian. The Spaniards have always resented the special services provided the Indians by the federal government, particularly the fact that they are permitted to keep their land and water rights, although they have come to utilize these less and less. The Indians resent the fact that the Spaniards have already taken much prime San Juan farmland, and they feel that unless a measure of social distance is maintained, the Spanish-Americans will find a way to take more. There had been wholesale encroachments made on Indian land in New Mexico, until the passage of the Pueblo Lands Act in 1924. The Indians further resent the fact that the Spanish-Americans have often paid meagerly and begrudgingly for their use of Indian farm and grazing land, and Indian labor.

Consequently, there had been, until recent decades, relatively little intermarriage between San Juan Indians and local Spanish-Americans. When intermarriage occurred in the past, the couple was usually obliged to reside away from the Pueblo. Much racial mixture is apparent in San Juan today, but most of it is the result of premarital relations between generations of Spanish males and San Juan women. There is still an ideological gulf between the two groups which even adherence to a common religion, Catholicism, has never served to bridge.

San Juan Pueblo today is still an important crossroads for the immediate area. Three inter-state highways converge nearby; San Juan is located on Highway 64, and the link connecting it to the other two runs along the west side of the Pueblo itself (see map). The community is located at an elevation of about 5600 feet, and the area has an annual precipitation of less than ten inches per year (Meaders 1965: 3). The Rio Grande and Chamma are about a mile to the west, and beyond a mile on either side of these rivers the land is barren. Two mountain ranges, both southern extensions of the Rockies, arise gradually on either side of the valley.

The Pueblo owns a total of 13,414 acres of land, the lowest per capita acreage of the Pueblo itself (see map). The community is located at an elevation of Pueblo by the King of Spain during the 17th century, and recognized by the later Mexican and American governments. 2,000 acres are classed as irrigable farmland, and 1,200 have been irrigated at some time in the past. The rest is range and non-commercial forest land. Only 128 acres were farmed in 1962, according to figures provided by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The range land, on the other hand, has too low a carrying capacity to permit large-scale stock raising.

The decline in agriculture, coupled with an absence of local economic opportunities, has resulted in a pattern of large-scale emigration from San Juan since the 1930's. Figure 1 summarizes this situation for San Juan, in comparison to the other 15 Pueblos which are located along the Rio Grande and its tributaries.

As of April 1, 1960, 39% of all the people listed on the San Juan tribal rolls resided off the reservation, while the average for the 16 Pueblos as a group is only 21%.

FIGURE 1.—THE RIO GRANDE PUEBLOS [1]

[Some demographic characteristics, Jan. 1, 1960]

Pueblo	Total resident population	Off reservation population	Total enrolled population	Percent resident population	Percent off reservation population
Cochiti	327	202	520	62	38
Isleta	1,830	137	1,967	93	7
Jemez	1,065	264	1,329	80	20
Nambe	127	76	203	63	37
Picuris	100	56	156	64	36
Pojoaque	21	31	52	40	60
Sandia	122	66	188	65	35
San Felipe	976	94	1,070	91	9
San Ildefonso	216	37	253	85	15
San Juan	638	403	1,041	61	39
Santa Ana	350	30	380	92	8
Santa Clara	487	201	688	71	29
Santa Domingo	1,375	308	1,683	82	18
Taos	847	431	1,278	66	34
Tesuque	136	56	192	71	29
Zia	334	37	371	90	10
Total	8,951	2,429	11,330		

[1] Adapted from the census records of the United Pueblo Agency, Bureau of Indian Affairs.

FIGURE 2.—TEWA INDIANS EMPLOYED AT LOS ALAMOS, AUG. 1, 1963 [1]

Pueblo	1 Enrolled population, Apr. 1, 1963	2 Number of households	3 Number employed at Los Alamos as of Aug. 1, 1963	4 Number of households affected	5 Percent of households affected	6 Number of people affected (all members of commuters' households)	7 Percent of enrolled population dependent all or in part on Los Alamos for subsistence	8 Projected number of nonresidents	9 Projected percent of nonresidents	10 Percent of projected resident population dependent all or in part on Los Alamos for subsistence	11 Sex ratio of commuters	12 Median age of commuters
San Juan	1,129	325	48	45	14.0	255	22.0	441	39.0	37.1	M–25 F–23	41.7 43.09
Santa Clara	710	231	53	45	19.0	214	30.0	207	29.0	40.54	M–31 F–22	40.6 41.4
San Ildefonso	269	67	14	14	20.8	77	28.6	40	15.0	33.6	M–8 F–6	38.6 45.1
Nambe	214	66	3	3	4.5	14	6.5	79	37.0	10.37	M–3 F–X	34.6 X
Tesuque	207	63	------	8	12.6	39	18.8	69	29.0	28.25	M–5 F–3	43 40.6
Total	2,529	752	------	115	15.3	599	23.3	836	33.1	35.4	M–72 F–54	------ ------

[1] From Ortiz, 1963b.

FIGURE 3.—LOS ALAMOS EMPLOYMENT DISTRIBUTION, THE TEWA PUEBLOS

Pueblo	AEC	LASL	ZIA	MAIDS	Other
San Juan	1	8	14	19	6
Santa Clara	2	8	21	18	4
San Ildefonso	------	6	2	6	------
Nambe	1	1	1	------	------
Tesuque	------	3	3	2	------
Total	4	26	41	45	10

The economic situation for those living in San Juan today is rather tragic in its simplicity, for there are really only two local industries of significance: tourism and commuting wage-work at the nearby atomic research center of Los Alamos. Los Alamos has been the major provider of local economic opportunities since the end of World War II. In 1963, 48 San Juan residents were employed there, and these comprised approximately 20% of the total labor force for San Juan. On the other hand, their earnings of approximately $125,000 represents at least one-third of the total annual personal income for the Pueblo (Ortiz 1963b). Figure 2 summarizes some of the more important facts about this segment of San Juan's economy, with comparisons made to the four other Tewa Pueblos which have commuting populations. The figures have remained constant for San Juan since the survey was conducted in 1963.

Figure 3 presents the employment distribution of the commuters within Los Alamos. Those employed by the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) are all security guards, while those employed by Zia Company, the private maintenance contractor, are all janitors and house painters. The fourteen employed by the Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory do somewhat more responsible work, but none earn more than the union wages paid the house painters. The six listed as "other" all work for private business concerns in the city's retail center. The largest group, the maids, each earn one dollar per hour working in private homes. None are scientists, and none occupy the top-level technical positions, but they are envied by most other San Juan residents for being able to work full-time.

Approximately 25 other Pueblo wage-earners, all craftsmen, are dependent on tourism for all or part of their income; consequently they make very little during the winter months. Only three silversmith are employed the year-round in trading posts in Santa Fe. The vast majority of San Juan wage-earners are too poorly educated to qualify for more than seasonal construction, agricultural or domestic service employment. State Employment Service estimates of recurrent unemployment run as high as 80% for the winter months. Surprisingly enough, very few San Juan families are on relief. In 1962, there were 39 persons, less than 5% of the total population. In the county as a whole the figure was 2,998, or 11.9% of the total population in June, 1964.

There are, however, two potential areas for future economic development. The first is tourism in connection with the site of the original Spanish capitol, which was established by Oñate in 1598. It was partially excavated by the University of New Mexico during three recent summers. The resulting publicity has caused a rapid influx of tourists into the area, but the absence of leadership and the lack of capital has prevented the development of the site. According to Mr. Charles Minton, Executive Director of the New Mexico Commission on Indian Affairs, the site has such economic potential that if properly developed and advertised, it could be the most important single tourist attraction located on any Indian reservation in the state. It could provide tribal revenue, jobs for several persons, and an outlet for local crafts.

The second possibility is agriculture. San Juan has uncontested rights to the waters of both the Rio Grande and Chama, and it is in fact the only Pueblo to utilize the waters of both rivers. Moreover, soil samples taken by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (hereafter BIA) show that most of the agricultural land is of a high quality. There is also the possibility that more land will be subjugated for irrigation when the massive Chama Diversion Project is completed.

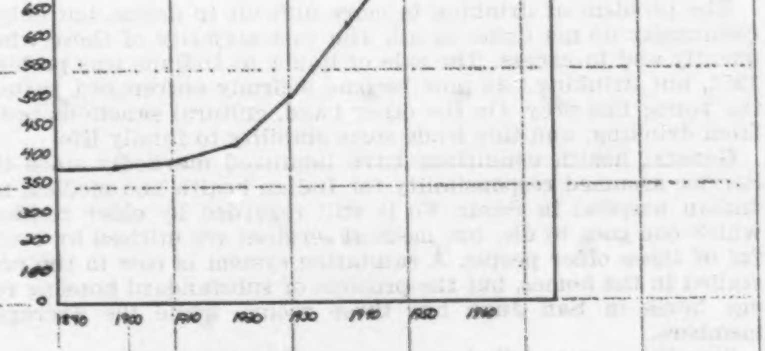
To date, however, even the limited agricultural possibilities have gone unexploited because of what has come to be known in American Indian Affairs as the "fractionated heirship problem." A system of land distribution, set into operation by the BIA before the turn of the century, has resulted in family plots too small and too scattered to provide a livelihood for anyone. Every family in San Juan owns some land, but not one family owns enough to derive a living from it. Once again, the lack of capital, plus the traditional pride in ownership of land, however small the plot, have prevented individuals from seeking their own solutions. The Pueblo Council itself has not moved into this touchy area.

The absence of local economic opportunities is the most important problem facing the Pueblo today, but it has corollaries in other areas. Figure 4 shows the sharp upward trend of the enrolled population during recent years and the disparity between tribal membership and residence on the reservation. Figure 5 shows the age distribution, at five-year intervals, of the 797 people currently living in the community. It is obvious at once that the population is abnormal in its clustering at the lower age levels. Almost half, or 367, are 18 years of age and less. On the other hand, an unusually large number of those in the 19–40 age group, especially men, are now living elsewhere. Both the recent high birth rate

(Figure 4) and the pattern of out-migration have had serious consequences. The large number of young people have taxed the limited educational and recreational facilities in the community, and compounded the problem of law and order. On the other hand, the young adults, who are among the most economically productive, and who should be providing community leadership are seeking better opportunities elsewhere. Most of them are in distant urban centers. Only Los Alamos has prevented emigration from occurring on a larger scale.

Illegitimacy and drinking are also serious problems. 121, or about 15% of the current population are illegitimate. This represents the minimum figure, and the rate is steadily rising. Birth control information and contraceptives are available free of charge through the Division of Indian Health, U.S. Public Health Service, but they have won slow acceptance due to exaggerated fears of harmful side effects. Catholicism is not a significant factor here.

Figure :4 SAN JUAN PUEBLO POPULATION INCREASE*
1890-1965



Figures:
1890-315
1900-379
1910-387
1920-422
1930-504
1940-639
1948-729
1960-1041
1963-1129
1964-1150
1965-1180

*adopted from census records, United Pueblos Agency

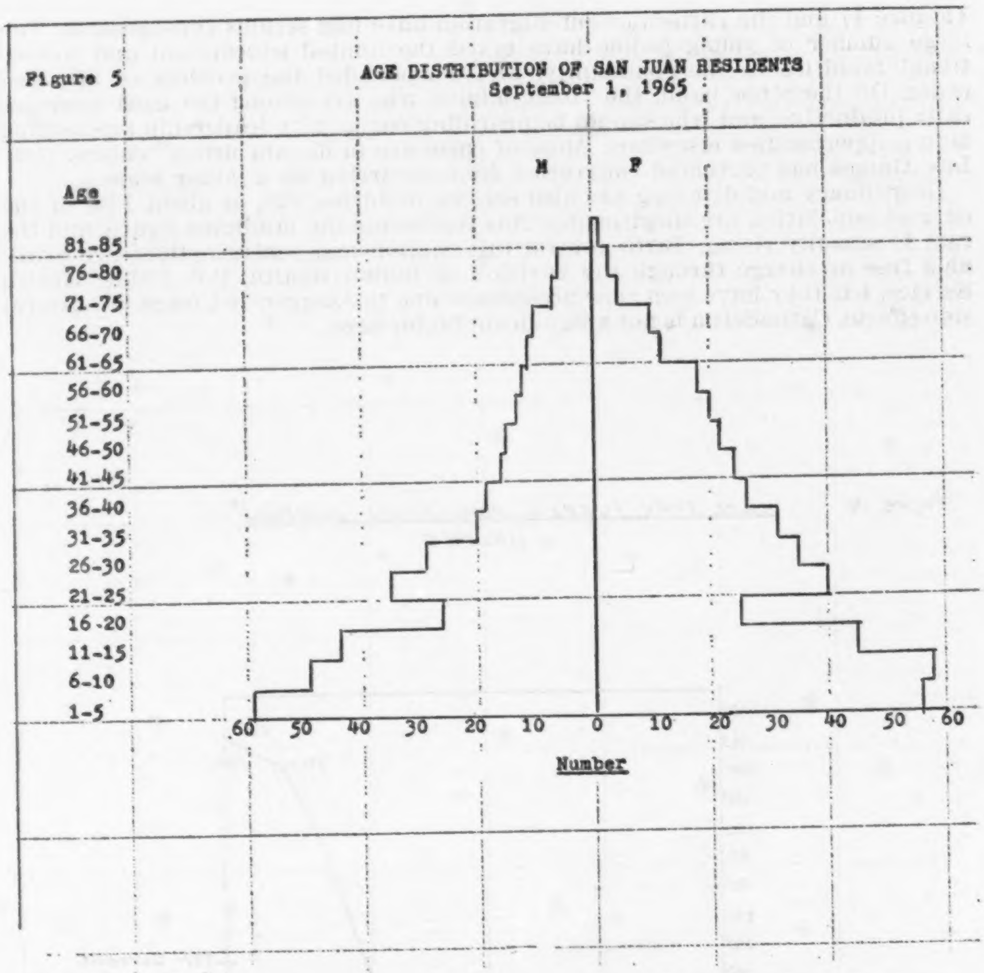


Figure 5 AGE DISTRIBUTION OF SAN JUAN RESIDENTS
September 1, 1965

The problem of drinking is more difficult to define, but only nine men in the community do not drink at all. The vast majority of those who drink do so frequently and to excess. The sale of liquor to Indians was prohibited by law until 1954, but drinking has now become a firmly entrenched pattern to which even the young fall prey. On the other hand, cultural sanctions prevent most women from drinking, and this lends some stability to family life.

General health conditions have improved markedly since the Public Health Service assumed responsibility for Indian health and medical needs in 1955. The Indian hospital in Santa Fe is still regarded by older residents as a place to which one goes to die, but medical services are utilized by everyone but a handful of these older people. A sanitation system is now in the process of being installed in the homes, but the problem of substandard housing remains. The average home in San Juan has three rooms, while the average family has six members.

Turning now to tribal government, San Juan, like most of the other Pueblos is still ruled in the traditional manner. A council of elders who serve for life appoint the Pueblo governor and his staff to one-year terms at the beginning of each year. The governor's staff includes two lieutenants, a sheriff, and four officials to assist the Catholic priest. Only the governor and his lieutenants are members of the council, so the balance of power remains vested in the permanent council of elders. They are committed to maintain the *status quo ante*, to protect native traditions from encroachment from the outside world. In fact, the governor and his staff are usually selected for their willingness to carry on these traditions. Only the governor becomes a permanent member of the council after he has served a year, and then only if he has discharged his duties in accordance with the elders' wishes. There is a general reluctance to serve, since all are unpaid positions. However, anyone who refuses runs the risk of having his land confiscated and of losing his rights as a tribal member.

This basic system of government has remained largely intact through the centuries following Spanish colonization, because it proved remarkably effective in regulating social change. Today it is the focal point of much ill-will and dissension among Pueblo residents. Many capable leaders are reluctant to serve as tribal officials because their powers would be severely limited by the elders; they feel that the council has served as a bottle-neck to forestall and prevent progress. Older councilmen, in turn, feel that the young are not fit to rule because they are often harsh in their criticism of traditional governing procedures. They ignore the critics and select the officials from a small group of men who are sympathetic to their views.

This long-term stalemate between conservative and liberal points of view has had unfortunate consequences; opportunities for reservation development have been lost because those most qualified to lend vision and experience have not been involved in the decision-making process; community pride and consciousness have diminished, and there is a widespread apathy toward public service.

Two events of recent years have resulted in a gradual shift in the attitude of the Pueblo Council toward social change and economic development. The first was the death of three conservative councilmen during 1963 and 1964. The second was the increased demands placed on their time as a result of complex new federal programs. They are increasingly calling upon educated young tribal members to advise them, and they are displaying an enthusiasm for the programs of the Office of Economic Opportunity. The increase in tribal revenue from $9,124 in 1962 (Meaders 1963:38), to an estimated $15,000 during 1964 has enabled them to effect community improvement programs which are impressing even the most dedicated skeptics. It appears that at last the necessary adjustments are being made in the centuries-old governing process of the Pueblo.

Moreover, several voluntary organizations which came into existence to fill the leadership vacuum stand ready to assist the Council. These include a Parent-Teachers Association which was organized in 1948, the Catholic Parish Council and the San Juan Youth Council. These and several other voluntary organizations have acted without Council aid or sanction for many years, but they have kept alive a large measure of community spirit. By coordinating their efforts in a few critically important areas of community concern, such as education and recreation, they have softened the problems of growing up for San Juan youths. These voluntary organizations, most notably the P.T.A., perhaps represent the real strength of San Juan as a community today.

II. THE HISTORY AND CURRENT STATUS OF WESTERN EDUCATION IN SAN JUAN

It appears that no systematic attempt was made to educate the people of San Juan during more than two and one-half centuries of Spanish and Mexican rule. Published historical documents are notably silent on this point. A few young men in each generation were taught to read and write Spanish by the parish priests, but their use of these skills was limited to the service of the Church. On the other hand, Spanish has long been a *lingua franca* throughout the Rio Grande Pueblos, and most of the people of San Juan speak it fluently by their early adult years.

A U.S. Indian Agent named Greiner spent a few days in San Juan in 1852. At that time the people allegedly indicated a desire to have a school (Abel 1915:495). Nothing was done until about 1880, when an educated Spanish-American named Alejandro Garcia opened a school in a one-room house at the northwestern corner of the village. Here a few Pueblo residents and Spanish-Americans from the neighboring villages learned the rudiments of reading and writing both Spanish and English. According to traditions among the older residents of the area, Garcia was often paid in grain, livestock or services, since cash was rare at the time.

While teaching the Indians and living among them, Garcia became interested in their culture and learned to speak Tewa. He became their confidant, and in turn imparted much of what he learned to early students of the American Indian who visited San Juan. Bourke (1936), who visited San Juan in 1882, acknowledges García's assistance, and Adolph Bandelier, one of the first American anthropologists, mentions García frequently in his journals for the period between 1883 and 1889 (Bandelier 1890:III).

In 1887 a mission school for Indian children was established by the Archbishop of Santa Fe. This second school succeeded the first. Classes were taught by nuns in a converted home just outside the village proper. In 1890, the school was contracted by the federal government, with the government providing part of the cost of operating it. This was the year the government first authorized payments to local schools in which Indian students were enrolled (Roessel:7). Soon thereafter, the school was moved to a building adjoining the church, and it remained there until 1909.

In 1909, the San Juan Pueblo Council agreed to donate two acres of land so that the growing school could be permanently located. This was done at the request of the BIA, through the Superintendent of the United Pueblo Agency. A two-room schoolhouse was built first, then a residential building to accommodate the teachers. Another schoolroom was added in 1927. In 1936, an extensive construction program was undertaken, resulting in a fourth schoolroom and supplementary buildings for craftwork, meetings and for storage. This was the beginning of the San Juan Day School. The agreement between the Pueblo Council and the BIA stipulates that all improvements on the two acres shall revert to the Pueblo when the school is discontinued.

During the first three decades of this century, many San Juan children were also sent to boarding schools located as far away as Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and Riverside, California. This was the period in which the stated policy of the BIA was to assimilate the Indians as rapidly as possible. It was believed that this could best be achieved by removing the child from his home environment at a tender age, and sending him to these distant boarding schools. The parents of the child often had little to say about the matter. One middle-aged man still tells of how he was first lured away with a bag of oranges and the promise that he was only being taken for a short ride. Native culture was deprecated at these schools, and there were often harsh penalties for even using the native language (Hawley, 1948, Havighurst, 1957).

Fortunately, not many San Juan children attended these schools, and most of those who did have remained away permanently. The few who did return have rarely been able to readjust to life in San Juan. Today they either provide the most vocal opposition to native culture, or they are the most apathetic to it.

Classes have always been conducted through the sixth grade in San Juan. Since the 1920's, those who were able to continue their education enrolled in the Santa Fe or Albuquerque boarding schools. A few have also attended Haskell Institute in Lawrence, Kansas, a post-high school vocational school for Indians.

It is not clear when the nuns left San Juan, following the establishment of the Day School, but in 1937 the public school in nearby Chamita was moved to San Juan, with the nuns taking over the teaching duties. In 1948, a court decision resulted in the removal of the nuns from the public schools of New Mexico. They then reestablished their old school adjacent to the church, the third elementary school to be located in the Pueblo.

A few San Juan parents began to send their children to the public schools after World War II, particularly in the seventh and eighth grades. Heretofore, they had regarded the Day School as superior, and beyond the sixth grade it had become traditional to send Pueblo children to the federal boarding schools in Santa Fe and Albuquerque. Indeed, after the 1936 improvements the Day School physical plant was impressive by comparison to those of the other two local schools.

The improved standard of living in the Pueblo, following hard upon the heels of wage labor at Los Alamos, made an increasing number of children reluctant to go away to boarding school. Three meals a day, and freedom from having to toil in the fields were no longer sufficient attractions. The increased Indian enrollment qualified the public school for much-needed federal aid under the terms of the Johnson-O'Malley Act of 1934, as subsequently amended. Indian enrollment increased from 12 in eight grades in 1951, to a peak of 60 in 1965. A large classroom building was erected for the public school in 1953, and a new lunchroom in 1963, with the aid of federal funds. Prior to 1953, the public school had consisted of one four-classroom building, with an old army barracks added for the lower grades in 1946.

The parochial school, on the other hand, has never been a very significant force in San Juan education. It cannot receive federal aid, so the physical plant has remained modest, and it has had to charge a nominal tuition fee. It has probably never attracted more than 20 Indian children, and these usually in the seventh and eighth grades. Enrollment there has actually decreased from a peak of well over 200 about 1960, to 127 today. Only six of these are from San Juan. St. Catherine's Indian School, a boarding school operated by nuns, was also popular until about 1960. It too enrolled up to 20 students on the junior high and high school levels.

FIGURE 6.—SAN JUAN DAY SCHOOL CENSUS, 1937–65

Year	Enrollment	Average daily attendance	Grades	Year	Enrollment	Average daily attendance	Grades
1937	82	----------	B–6	1955	108	----------	B–6
1938	89	----------	B–6	1956	100	----------	B–6
1939	85	----------	B–6	1957	111	102.0	B–6
1940	100	----------	B–6	1958	106	----------	B–6
1941	95	----------	B–6	1959	99	92.0	B–6
1942	115	----------	B–6	1960	101	97.0	B–6
1943	106	----------	B–6	1961	97	----------	B–6
1944–50 [1]	----------	----------		1962	79	----------	B–6
1951	117	----------	B–6	1963	74	70.4	B–6
1952	116	----------	B–6	1964	69	66.5	B–6
1953	111	----------	B–6	1965	68	----------	B–6
1954	104	----------	B–6				

[1] Figures for 1944–50 not available.

The public school's gain has also been the Day School's loss. It too has declined, from a peak enrollment of 117 Pueblo students in 1951, to 68 today (Figure 6), despite a dramatic rise in the school-age population of San Juan during the same period. The number of teachers was reduced from four to three in 1961.

A fourth school was built on Pueblo land, a mile outside the village, and was opened in 1964. It was named the John F. Kennedy Junior High School, and serves seventh and eighth grade children from San Juan and the four neighboring Spanish-American villages. There are plans to expand the facilities to include the ninth grade in the near future. Pueblo freshmen are currently enrolled in the Española Junior High School, five miles away.

Coinciding with the increased enrollment of San Juan children in the local public school, those of high school age began to enroll in the Española High School. This process was all but complete after the Santa Fe boarding school was converted, first into a junior high school, and then into the present art institute in 1960. All but six children of high school age currently attending school are in Española. Only one is enrolled in the Albuquerque Boarding School, because only those who have to be removed from adverse home conditions are accepted there. Two are enrolled in a combined art-academic program in the Santa Fe school, while three are attending St. Catherine's Indian School.

Through the entire history of San Juan, only seven persons who were born and raised there have earned college degrees. All of them have done so during the past two decades. Of the seven, only two have graduate degrees, and only three currently live in San Juan. Four students are now in college, and four other residents have had some college training. Twenty others have completed some type of vocational training program beyond high school, with the largest concentrations being in the building trades for men, and practical nursing for women.

FIGURE 7.—SCHOOL ATTENDANCE DISTRIBUTION OF SAN JUAN RESIDENTS, OCT. 1, 1965

Name of school and location	Grades	Number attending
San Juan Day School, San Juan Pueblo	Beginners to 6th	68
San Juan Elementary, San Juan Puebl	do	54
San Juan Parochial, San Juan Pueblo	Beginners to 8th	6
John F. Kennedy Junior High School, San Juan Pueblo	7th and 8th only	38
Española Junior High School, Española, N. Mex. (5 miles away)	9th only	15
Española High School, Española, N. Mex. (5 miles away)	10th to 12th	40
St. Catherine's Indian School (boarding school), Sante Fe, N. Mex. (28 miles away).	9th to 12th	3
Albuquerque Indian School (boarding school), Albuquerque, N. Mex. (90 miles away).	do	1
Institute of American Indian Arts (boarding school), Santa Fe, N. Mex.	do	2
	Post high school	3
Total		5
Other vocational schools:		
Albuquerque, N. Mex.		4
Chicago, Ill.		2
Oakland, Calif.		5
San Francisco, Calif.		1
Total		12
College		4
Total in school		246

Figure 7 summarizes the rather complex educational picture in San Juan today. It bears out the trend indicated in Figure 6; there has been an increased utilization of public educational facilities by the people of San Juan, even when similar facilities are offered by the federal government. Likewise, there has been a trend away from the use of the parochial schools.

The role of the federal government has increasingly been in the direction of providing vocational and higher educational opportunities for San Juan high school graduates and adult drop-outs. Three of the four students currently in college are receiving BIA grants. The twelve attending "other vocational schools" are doing so under the Bureau's Adult Vocational Training Program. Those enrolled in this program may train for a period of up to two years, and have their tuition and living expenses paid by the federal government. One BIA official reported during an interview that since the start of the program, 37 out of 54 persons from San Juan have completed their training. Of these, 35 have remained away for employment, many with families.

An additional 29 persons have been moved to distant cities for employment without training since the BIA Relocation Program began in 1952. The majority of the 83 persons relocated under both programs were married men with families who could not find local employment. The families of the relocatees are not included in the count. Twenty-one have returned to San Juan; most of these had large families and were dismayed at the living conditions they found in the city. Several more have been relocated twice before remaining away. The success rate of about 75% indicates, however, that relocation is an established trend.

There is also a BIA-sponsored adult education program in San Juan. It has been in operation since 1962, and is taught by one of the San Juan college graduates, in a classroom in the Day School. An estimated 25 persons have participated in the program, most of them only sporadically. To date, it has served mainly to stimulate native arts and crafts, since the teacher is a former art instructor at the Santa Fe boarding school. Literacy training and a commercial course are also offered, but they have been little utilized.

The extent to which the various educational facilities have been utilized would be difficult to determine without asking each San Juan adult the number of grades he has completed in school, but an example will serve to illustrate past trends. The educational history of the Day School sixth grade class of 1951 will be traced. There were 13 members of the class, and they were regarded by their teachers as among the most capable ever to attend the San Juan Day School. Those living are now between 26 and 29 years of age, and several are parents of Head Start-age children. *Four* of the 13 never finish junior high school, and one of these died in 1964 of a liver ailment resulting from acute alcoholism. *Three* more never finished high school, and of the six living drop-outs, three are unemployed. Only one of the six who did finish high school went to college, while *five* of the six no longer live in San Juan. This was one of the more intelligent groups of Indian children ever to share a classroom in San Juan. Their subsequent educational record has been typical for San Juan until very recent years. The most significant of the current trends is also clearly indicated: The better educated and the ambitious leave San Juan, while the poorly educated and less capable remain.

The present picture is not much more encouraging. There were 252 children between the ages of six and 18 living in San Juan on October 1, 1965. Only 227 of these were enrolled in school. Therefore, 25, or approximately 10% of all school-age children currently living in San Juan are not attending school.

Some broader conclusions may now be drawn about the current status of education in San Juan. First, formal education is now uniformly accepted as a desirable goal by the people of San Juan. This came about because they have been fortunate in having three types of elementary schools long available in the community. Consequently there is a great deal of concern about these educational facilities, and the better-informed parents feel there is not much to choose from. Indeed, two recent well-publicized investigations (cited in Meaders 1965: 15–16) of the country's public schools have again affirmed what San Juan parents have long recognized; that they are notoriously substandard. The parish pastor too feels that the nuns in the parocial school are far superior to all other teachers available in San Juan. Yet he also believes that the parochial school should close because it can no longer compete with the Public School's "physical plant, new lunchroom, and athletic program."

Secondly, most Pueblo residents, even those whose children attend other schools believe that the Day School should be kept in operation. They believe that the quality of education is at least as good as that offered in the Public School, and they fear that many Indian children would suffer socially and emotionally if they had to attend the Public School. Many of the parents whose children attend the Public School mention that they do so because of its proximity, bus service, free luncheons (provided by Johnson-O'Malley funds), and even the athletic program for the older boys. On the other hand, those who enroll their children in the Day School do so because they honestly feel it serves the needs of their children best.

There is also a fairly clear distinction between the family backgrounds of the 68 children attending the Day School, and the 54 attending the Public School. The Day School children come from traditional homes; those in which both parents are Indians, who participate in native cultural activities, and who speak Tewa in their homes. The public school children usually come from the more marginal families, those resulting from mixed marriages. English is usually emphasized in these homes. The traditional families are usually better-educated, more stable. and economically more self-sufficient. They include the majority of those employed in Los Alamos.

This preference for the Day School by an overwhelming number of San Juan families resulted largely through the efforts of three teachers. The first came to San Juan in 1937, and she immediately began to learn about the community by being a part of it. She visited Pueblo homes, ate with the families of her pupils. and showed an appreciation for the native culture. She left San Juan just before the close of World War II, but she is still fondly remembered as the best teacher ever to live there. The other two, a couple who came after the War, followed her example and went beyond. They founded the San Juan PTA and brought the parents into the school for the first time. Under their leadership the PTA converted one of the Day School buildings into an auditorium, raised funds to provide holiday gifts and activities for the children, and presented programs for the whole community. These three teachers taught the people of San Juan to identify with their Day School. The other two schools, conversely, have long been *in* San Juan, but not *of* San Juan; they happen only to be located there.

The point here is not that the Day School is more desirable—for by current trends it appears doomed—but that it has the support of the people. Actually, the majority of teachers who have ever taught in the Day School would probably agree with this statement, made by a recent teacher: "My authority and my responsibility lie only within this fence (motioning to the fence around the Day School). I don't know anything about what goes on in the community." This attitude is more typical of BIA personnel and the various programs they have instituted in the community. They have done things *for* the Pueblo, and sometimes even *to* it, but only the three teachers cited above have ever done anything *with* the people of the community on a sustained basis. Thus education has escaped much of the apathy which confronts other problems.

Basically there are only two complaints which San Juan parents have about elementary education in the local public school. First, their children learn to speak English with a heavy accent which they pick up from their Spanish-American teachers. It may be more correct to say that the accent is acquired from the Spanish-speaking children who comprise approximately 80% of the current enrollment; nevertheless, Indian parents blame the teachers. A second is that the teachers neither understand nor wish to understand the special problems presented by the Pueblo child's cultural background. Underlying this attitude is the feeling that the school does not exist for them, but for the Spanish-American population. The public elementary school faces a major task in selling some of the most enlightened of San Juan parents on the desirability of a public school education.

PROJECT HEAD START IN SAN JUAN: 1965

Before the Economic Opportunity Act was passed by Congress, it was discussed in detail at the meeting of the All-Pueblo Council, held during the summer of 1964. The All-Pueblo Council is a supra-tribal organization of the 19 New Mexico Pueblos. When EOA was passed, it was placed on the agenda for discussion at another meeting, which was called for mid-September. I was asked to prepare a report on the potential benefits to be realized by the Pueblos under this new legislation. Several other persons spoke on specific economic opportunity programs with which they were already involved.

Interest centered on Title II, and its provision for community action programs, so another meeting was called for the following month to discuss this portion of the Act. My report was repeated at this second meeting, and several new ones were presented. Four Pueblos had already been selected (among 16 Indian tribes nation-wide) to prepare pilot community action proposals. These four, among them the Tewa Pueblos of Tesuque and Santa Clara, already had their plans well formulated by this time, and they reported on their progress. What was most striking about these meetings was the keen interest aroused in all of the Pueblo officials by the prospect of preparing their own community action programs, and submitting them to Washington, idependently of the BIA. Several were unconvinced that they would have this independence, but all were sufficiently interested to begin organizing community action committees.

In San Juan, a community action committee was appointed by the Pueblo Governor in late October, and I was elected chairman. The committee included all four college graduates then living in the Pueblo, two of whom were also councilmen. The five other members included a woman with 15 years of experience in employment counseling, and a man who had just retired from 38 years of responsible service in the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

During the next two months individual committee members canvassed the community in an effort to determine local needs and to enlist the help and cooperation of local voluntary organizations and government agencies. Weekly committee meetings were held to assess progress and to weigh the feasibility of various programs suggested to committee members. Pueblo adults most often mentioned the need for educational programs—pre-school, remedial and tutorial.

When the necessary facts had been gathered, the task of preparing the proposal also fell upon me, and I began work on it immediately after returning to the University of Chicago in January. With the unanimous consent of the committee, a Head Start-type pre-school program was among the three for which funds were requested. The completed applications and supporting data were mailed to the San Juan Council in early February, 1965, for final approval and signatures.

At this point, two events occurred which will make the foregoing summary meaningful in the over-all context of this report. First, the three new members of the council who took office on January 1, knew little about the proposal and even less about the Economic Opportunity Act itself. They wanted to think about the proposal and discuss it before affixing their signatures. Predictably enough, they asserted that the previous governor had not kept them properly informed on the activities of the Community Action Committee. This was unavoidable, inasmuch as it is impossible for anyone to know who will be selected as governor by the council of elders. Traditionally unanimous consent of the Council is required on all important matters, so this process of discussion continued until early in April. At this time the Governor finally decided to support the proposal.

Meanwhile the second and inevitable event occurred. The requirements for community action proposals had been broadened and altered; the report had to be rewritten in accordance with new guidelines and specifications. The task was undertaken by the remaining committee members, under the leadership of the retired BIA official. The revised proposal was submitted in May and has been pending since. A request for supplementary information on the proposed pre-school program was made—and immediately fulfilled—in late September, 1965. The former BIA official has been appointed by the Council to oversee the progress of the proposal, and he shall also assume the directorship of the over-all program if it is approved. This is the first possibility for the future of Project Head Start in San Juan Pueblo.

Meanwhile, action was being taken on another front by the Northern Pueblo Council. This Council was organized in 1963, and it consists of the governing officials of the six Tewa Pueblos, plus the two Tiwa Pueblos of Taos and Piouris. It is subordinate to the All-Pueblo Council, and it was formed so that the eight northernmost Rio Grande Pueblos could discuss and act upon issues peculiar to their area. The Northern Pueblo Council had been meeting frequently in Santa Clara during the summer of 1965, to discuss their common problems and prospects under the Office of Economic Opportunity. They were exploring the possibility of submitting a joint proposal because they had heard that OEO was no longer viewing favorably those community action proposals submitted by small communities.

Representatives of six of the Pueblos were completely in favor of submitting such a joint proposal, but Santa Clara and San Juan were hesitant. Santa Clara was the only Pueblo in the group which had thus far been funded for a community action program, and they did not want to sacrifice any portion of it by aligning themselves with the other seven. Similarly, the San Juan representatives did not want to endanger the chances of their own proposal, although it was still in the process of review. Discussions and debate continued through several meetings held during August and early September.

A broad and comprehensive proposal was finally agreed upon by all, and a resolution passed to that effect at a meeting of the Council, held on September 10, 1965. The pre-school program requested would be taught by the Montessori method, patterned after the highly successful program in Santa Clara. Under the provisions of this proposal San Juan and Santa Clara are conceded their own pre-school centers. The four smaller Tewa Pueblos would have a centrally located center in Pojoaque, and Taos and Picuris would have another one in common, to be located in Taos. The programs would run for ten months of the year, and there would be an overall director to coordinate the three programs with the two successful Neighborhood Youth Corps programs which have been in operation among the eight Pueblos. The teachers would be given training in the Montessori method by the Director of the Santa Clara program, while the aides would be given special training in the Indian Education Center of Arizona State University. This is the second future possibility for San Juan.

It is to be noted that San Juan and the other northern Pueblos have sought unity with one another, however dispersed they may be (see map), rather than choosing to cast their lot with other non-Indian communities closer at hand.

A third possibility would be for San Juan to continue to participate in the Head Start program sponsored by the Northern Rio Grande Council on Youth. This brings us at last to Project Head Start in San Juan during the summer of 1965.

The Northern Rio Grande Council on Youth is a chartered private organization of teachers and community leaders from throughout the Espanola Valley. It was formed in 1964 to attempt to improve the quality of education available in the area. It consists entirely of Spanish-Americans and a few Anglos; there are no Indian members at this time. This organization received funds to conduct four Head Start programs in the Espanola Valley, of which San Juan was one. Their efforts are completely independent of those of the Pueblos, as described in the preceding section.

The San Juan Elementary School was selected as the site for the San Juan-based program, and its principal was appointed director. She has been with the San Juan school since 1949, and its principal since 1951, so she was thoroughly familiar with the people and the area. However, she was assigned the task of conducting a program for five communities—San Juan and its four Spanish-American neighbors. Their combined population is only about 2,000, but the Head Start program was funded to accommodate only 45 children. Ordinarily, this would have been a reasonable figure to plan for, but as indicated above for San Juan, an unusually high percentage of the population is between four and six years of age, and the majority of these are eligible for Head Start.

The 49 children who were eventually enrolled were distributed quite equitably among the five communities. Seven were San Juan Indian children, but they were not typical Indian children. None came from the more traditional families in which only Tewa is spoken; only one was more than half Indian, and she could not have participated if strictly economic criteria were used. She came from the only home in which Tewa was spoken regularly. Five came from economically deprived families, but then very few of the children in San Juan are ineligible by this criterian. Four have never spoken Tewa, and the father of one is employed by the BIA. Given the current economic picture in San Juan this was like enrolling the child of a corporation executive.

Let us return now to the age distribution of the present resident population of San Juan. On September 1, 1965, there were 71 Indian children between the ages of four and six living in San Juan. Forty-seven of these were five and six year olds, most of whom were eligible to participate in the San Juan Head Start program, as it was organized in 1965. In applying the economic criterion alone, 52 of the 71 should have participated in a Head Start program. In most of the 52 cases there are also adverse home conditions, and/or English is not spoken regularly in the home. The conclusion is inescapable: Head Start did not serve San Juan to any significant degree in 1965.

Why was there not more interest and participation on the part of the people of San Juan? The first and most obvious answer is that there were funds available for only 45, and when that quota was reached, active recruiting ceased. But the question of why seven atypical and not seven typical children participated remains. To answer this and other questions we shall have to return to the spring of 1965, when the plans of the Head Start program were being made. The following summary of these events is not a first-hand account, but it was corroborated by nine San Juan parents and teachers who are informed on all or a portion of these events.

Initial plans and contacts had to be made by the Director of the San Juan Head Start Center during May, so it was not until mid-June that she met with the San Juan Pueblo Council. It was an open Council meeting so several interested parents also attended to hear the Director explain the new program. She answered many questions and it appeared as if those in attendance understood what was being offered and why. When the meeting ended it was also understood that the councilmen would assist in notifying the parents of eligible children. The Director herself also went from door to door to recruit children, just as she had to do in the four Spanish-speaking communities.

When the Head Start program began on June 21, there were only the seven Indian children from San Juan. Two others from traditional families had originally agreed to come, but they never appeared. There was very little communication about Head Start from the Council, so most parents with eligible children simply were not aware of it. At least four Indian mothers attempted to enroll their children after they had heard about it, but they were turned away because the quota had already been reached and passed.

Keeping in mind the foregoing discussion of the governmental situation in San Juan today, the following factors entered into the communication breakdown at this critical juncture:

1. The members of the Pueblo Council do not represent a broad cross-section of the community in terms of education, age, occupation or even residence. Several of the older members are barely literate: consequently they missed the significance of the meeting, and the potential benefits to the community of what was being proposed.

2. Open council meetings are rarely held in San Juan, so there is no tradition for general participation in council deliberations. Those who did attend were families of past or present councilmen, or persons who are prominent in the several voluntary organizations. Most parents stayed away because they either were not notified of the meeting, or they felt that nothing they could say would effect the outcome of what was under discussion.

3. The very fact that the Head Start Director was also Principal of the San Juan Public School caused many to feel that it was a public school program, so it was greeted with some apathy. The Director herself is personally well liked and respected by Pueblo residents, but the participation of the public school was interpreted by those parents who do not enroll their children there as a sign that Head Start was really not intended for them.

The first two factors are of course the causes underlying the widespread apathy and resignation to the *status quo* which exists in San Juan today. What occurred at this Pueblo Council meeting has occurred in many council meetings; only the people and the proposals were different. This time the younger children of San Juan reaped the unfortunate harvest resulting from this condition. Nor has the problem gone completely unrecognized. A survey conducted in 1958 by one of the San Juan college graduates among 64 Pueblo residents indicated that 53, or 83% of them favored a new system of government for the Pueblo (Cata 1959:18). My own interviews too, indicate that the problem of combating apathy, and the need to bring about understanding and cooperation both loom large in the minds of San Juan parents.

This leadership vacuum and communication impasse do not exist to such a marked degree in the other Tewa Pueblos. When the opportunity to participate in Head Start was offered them, the four smaller Pueblos immediately agreed to enroll their children in the Pojoaque Head Start program. According to three of the governors from these Pueblos, San Juan officials were also offered this opportunity during the course of a Northern Pueblo Council meeting held in June, 1965. They declined by saying they would have their own Head Start program. It was, therefore, not for lack of opportunity that more children from San Juan did not participate in Head Start.

The third factor is a more fundamental one in determining how the people of San Juan will react to Head Start in the future. It is also more difficult of solution—if a solution is to be sought at all—because no one can readily be blamed for attitudes which have such deep historical roots. Nevertheless, the message is clear; the people of San Juan need to have their own Head Start program. Otherwise, whatever the reality of the situation, they will go on believing that Head Start is really not for them, or that their children will really not be served by Spanish-American teachers in a classroom where Spanish-American children comprise the overwhelming majority. It is not surprising that Indian parents rarely, if ever, visited the San Juan Head Start center, while there were Spanish-American visitors almost every day. It is also not surprising that five of the six Pueblo children who participated in the Head Start program are now attending the public school. Their parents would have enrolled them there in any case. Nor is it really a matter of segregated educational facilities, for the parents of San Juan merely want a program which is oriented toward serving their needs, as distinct from the needs of the Spanish-Americans. They want a program in which their children are in the majority, and in which they as parents can participate.

IV. THE NEED AND POTENTIAL FOR PROJECT HEAD START IN SAN JUAN

To return again to the 71 children of Head Start age now living in San Juan and to their families, information of the following types was obtained, either from the families themselves or from other Pueblo residents who were well acquainted with them:

(1) Occupational classification and approximate income
(2) Educational attainment of the family head
(3) Ethnic background of the parents
(4) Use of English in the home

The 71 Head Start age children belong to a total of 52 families. Figure 8 summarizes the main income source of each family and the number in each category who earn at least $3,000 per year. These figures reflect the general economic picture of San Juan. There are no professional people among the families, and the highest annual income earned by any one of these is just over $8,000. 70% earn less than $3,000 a year, while most of the 15 families who have annual incomes of $3,000 or more also have large families. Thirty-one of the 52 family heads are under 35 years of age.

The educational level attained by the 52 heads of families is also generally low. Only 18 have finished high school or gone beyond. None have finished college, but three have attended for a year or less. Five other high school graduates have had some additional vocational training, but only one is doing work for which he was trained. Twenty-three of the parents were high school drop-outs, and the remainder, eleven, never went beyond grade school.

FIGURE 8.—INCOME SOURCES OF 52 SAN JUAN FAMILIES

Income source	Number	Number receiving more than $3,000
1. Skilled and white collar	11	9
2. Unskilled, steady employment	8	5
3. Unskilled, seasonal employment	14	
4. Military service	4	1
5. Deceased father, unskilled working mother	3	
6. Retired	1	
7. Illegitimate children on ADC receiving welfare	9	
8. Receipients of other public aid	2	
Total	52	15

The factor of intermarriage figures very prominently in San Juan today. In 18 of the homes, only one of the parents is from San Juan. Two of them are from other Tewa Pueblos, and nine, or one half, are from the neighboring Spanish-American villages. The other seven are from non-Tewa Indian tribes. These are among the youngest of the parents of Head Start age children, because intermarriage on a large scale, particularly with non-Indians, has been a relatively recent phenomenon in San Juan. Those who married non-Indians in the past were usually forced by public sentiment either to leave San Juan, or to establish their homes at some distance from the village proper. In the community as a whole there are 46 persons who have married in and who currently reside in the Pueblo. Thirteen of these are Spanish-Americans, 32 are non-San Juan Indians, and one is an Anglo-American. Of the 32 non-San Juan Indians, 22 are Pueblo Indians and six are from other Tewa Pueblos.

The fourth question, that of the use of English in the home, is the most reliable index of cultural deprivation in San Juan. San Juan parents feel that the primary aim of the schools should be to give their children a good speaking, reading, and writing knowledge of English. This is a major reason why most Spnish-Americans are not highly regarded as teachers, whatever their other qualifications. In the past English was merely a tool for dealing with the non-Spanish-speaking external world. Anyone who prided himself on his knowledge of English was accused of behaving like an Anglo. Today English has completely replaced Spanish as the desired second language, and an effective speaking knowledge is a much desired status symbol.

English is spoken regularly in 27 of the 52 homes. In the remainder the children do not have the opportunity to learn English until they enter school. Intermarriage has been an important factor in promoting the regular usage of English. In all of the homes where one of the parents is not Tewa, English is used, even when the non-Tewa parent is a Spanish speaker. Tewa is still learned by every child who is raised in San Juan.

Other important factors which may be enumerated for the 52 families are substandard housing, excessive drinking, and illegitimacy. Thirty-seven of the families live in sub-standard homes; homes which are in a bad state of repair, too small for the family, or lacking in minimal sanitation facilities. If the presence of indoor toilet facilities is taken as the index, all but three of the homes would be sub-standard.

A total of 16 men are problem drinkers to varying degrees. Drinking is regarded as a problem if it deprives the family of an important part of their livelihood, or if the parent repeatedly runs afoul of the law while under the influence of alcohol. This judgement is made on the basis of many years' acquaintance with each of the men.

Illegitimacy too is a serious problem, as Figure 8 indicates. In the past there was little stigma attached to it, because it was so widespread and because children were so highly valued. Today there are indications that the familiar cycle of generations on relief is beginning.

These statistics and enumerations of course clearly establish the critical need for an expanded Head Start program in San Juan. Next year (1966), when the 28 children who are currently three years old replace those who are six, the need will become greater. The following section is devoted to a discussion of the relevant cultural context of this need.

Being faced with the prospect of having very little to evaluate, and the fear of not being able to reach the traditional families to examine the relevant cultural variables, I decided to conduct an experimental class for pre-school age children in San Juan. A precedent for this had been established during the Summer of 1964, when three students from the Phillips-Brooks House Social Welfare Program of Harvard University conducted a similar program. Their program was conducted for six weeks. They had used an empty house which I own, so I decided it would not be too difficult to re-institute the class, but I limited to Head Start-age children.

A local teenage girl and a graduate student from the University of Chicago who was working in the area were enlisted to assist me. On the day before the first class was to be held, a few children were asked to notify others of the fact. They were to be told they could draw and paint; this was the only inducement offered. I also received permission to use a classroom at the Day School on the first day, which was a Saturday. The room was larger than any in my house, and I did want to get as many children as possible on the first day. Later I thought I could select a few about whom I could learn as much as possible.

On the appointed morning I went to the homes of twelve children who represented the more traditional background; they and others like them were the ones for whom the special effort was being made. I explained my purpose briefly to a few mothers, and all of them sent their children with me. During the course of the first day, approximately 50 Indian children appeared. We could accommodate only 36, 19 of whom were of Head Start age. The rest were regretfully turned away.

The class was moved after the first day to my house, where it was continued for portions of two weeks. Most of the children's time was occupied in drawing and painting, they being free to choose their own subjects. During the week, only the younger children who were not in school returned, and the class was conducted in an orderly fashion, with at least two teachers in the room at all times. A total of 44 children participated at some time, and seven of the older ones were tested (see Appendix II). Detailed personal and family information was obtained on all 24 who were between four and six years old.

The point to this detail of course is that *there is an interest in, and a desire for this type of program*, however, modest it may be. This was demonstrated the previous summer by the students from Harvard—although they were strangers to the community—and it was demonstrated again during this experiment. This belief was what initially motivated the experiment, and it was well-received by the parents and children because it was clearly for them. The *potential* therefore exists for Head Start to serve San Juan, and this fact should require no further elaboration.

The cultural factors which still operate to influence the young child's learning process do so with subtle, yet very real force. By cultural factors I mean only those institutionalized attitudes, beliefs and values which guide and determine behavior. This is not the whole of culture as the anthropologist uses the term, but it is the only area which has not yet been considered. For convenience of presentation I shall organize the discussion around the values of moderation, equality, and cooperation and sharing. Each of these of course has corollaries, and a negative counterpart.

First, let me make a few statements about contemporary family life in San Juan. Children are treated with an extreme permissiveness and indulgence during their early years. As infants they are rarely permitted to cry; they are constantly passed from one pair of arms to another. There are always enough relatives around to keep them from becoming bored. Crowded living conditions make this concern for the child's comfort almost unavoidable. During their early years they may wander about the Pueblo at will, without fear of harm. Every mother of a young child looks out for those of everyone else. When a child becomes thirsty or hungry in his wanderings, he may walk into any open door to request what he wants. All of the families in San Juan are well-acquainted, and all of them are ultimately related, so this pattern of behavior is accepted and shared by all.

Consequently, until he enters school the whole Pueblo is the child's playground, and everyone is a potential playmate. Games involving large groups of children are the norm, and children are rarely alone during the waking day. The relatively simple living conditions and the absence of strangers make it very unlikely that children would be hurt. There is also not enough mechanical gadgetry present in most homes to present much danger, and the small size of the average home rarely permits the child to be out of range of parental scrutiny.

This is a very group-oriented society; individualism, personal creativity and self-reliance are discouraged. It presents a homogenizing atmosphere for young children. Those who spend their first years in the city undergo a very traumatic experience in adjusting to life in San Juan, but they always adjust because coercion comes from *everyone* else, and not just a majority. So pervasive is this aspect of the socialization process that parents living in nearby cities always have considerable difficulty in reconciling their young children to a more limited share of the family's attention, after a two-week visit in San Juan. Those who visit from distant states are often confronted by children who would rather stay in San Juan than return home with their own parents. There is even a term for this ailment—San Juanitis. This social milieu obviously operates very forcefully to create an atmosphere of security within total conformity.

OnOce the child is in the classroom, his early life in the Pueblo represents a comfort to the teacher with regard to discipline, and problems when it comes to teaching and instilling motivation to explore the new and the unfamiliar. The emphasis on moderation and its negative counterpart—unaggressiveness—are often interpreted by the teacher as indicating a lack of desire to learn. Yet any attempt to induce sharp competition usually fails. One device used in the past by a teacher in the Day School was to have a number of the children march to the blackboard to see who could add a long column of numbers first. The fastest child always made certain that he would not win by more than a fraction of a second by glancing over to examine his neighbors' progress. No student truly stands out because this extreme is leveled by group pressure.

Misunderstandings can also arise from the opposite direction. Many years ago a boy in the Day School suffered quietly at the hands of his teacher each time there were class drawing sessions. He was left-handed and could not draw well at all; he preferred instead to read the encyclopedia while his classmates drew.

The teacher, on the other hand, was convinced that all Indians had natural artistic talent, and he took great pride in having the children's better sketches and paintings hung in display around the school. The boy could not communicate his distaste for drawing, so he had several yardsticks broken across his back during the course of the year.

The belief in equality and in equal treatment for all is also reflected in classroom behavior. If one child is punished all are resentful; if one is singled out for special praise by the teacher, he is embarrassed and may expect to be berated by his classmates after school. The students from Harvard who conducted the summer class in San Juan during 1964 one day criticized the drawing of a 5 year old girl in the class. She was so hurt by the ridicule before her classmates that she never returned. On another occasion, involving students conducting a recreational program in one of the other Tewa villages, the son of a tribal official was severely reprimanded. This time *all* of the children who had been participating stayed away for several days. In neither case did the students know that praise or punishment should not be given to only one, and certainly never in public.

The emphasis on sharing and cooperation provides another insight into the cultural influences on the Tewa child's learning process. The child is trained at home to claim or request, without inhibition, what he needs, and, conversely, to be generous with what he has when someone else is in need. This, when carried into the classroom often results in behavior which the non-Indian teacher has been taught to regard as cheating. Answers to questions are readily provided for all by the more intelligent, as are completed class assignments when they are requested. The teacher who deals with this practice too harshly risks erecting a monumental wall of mistrust between himself and the community. It was once common in the San Juan Day School for beginners to run away at recess, during the first few weeks of school. They feared the teachers, and were reluctant to communicate even their need to go to the bathroom. Misunderstandings still rarely come out into the open, but are instead reflected in a high rate of absenteeism, and occasionally in parents keeping their children out of school until they are seven years old.

These and other cultural influence stand out more clearly yet among Indian children in public schools. They are regarded as clannish and incommunicative by their teachers because they say little, read poorly and usually retire to the back of the room from the first day of classes. Most public school teachers, especially Spanish-Americans, report that their greatest difficulty with Tewa children is in drawing them out for class participation.

The influence of the native culture also includes telling non-Indians as little as possible about it. Secrecy is what has insured the survival of the culture, and secrecy persists today because of past attempts to undermine the culture. As we have seen, the community still provides enough security for its members so that they look to themselves and to the home for answers to most questions. Anything totally new is difficult to reconcile to this inward orientation and respect for tradition.

To summarize, there are two apparent paradoxes with regard to the present role of native culture. The first is that cooperation is oriented toward making social relations in the home and in the community function smoothly. It is little concerned with helping the community adjust to change, or with preparing the child for life in a rapidly changing environment. Too many of the people still know too little about the larger society, due to the isolation of the community.

The second is that what may be called cultural deprivation in San Juan consists of behavior contrary to native values, and in conformity to American middle-class values. Aggressiveness, competitiveness, self reliance, personal ambition and a desire to accumulate material wealth have no place in traditional San Juan culture; yet these same traits are valued in the larger society. Cultural and economic deprivation by no means need coincide within this framework. These twin paradoxes present the challenge for Project Head Start from another point of view.

V. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

San Juan Pueblo today is a changing, demographically imbalanced and heterogeneous community. It is also a community which can provide little in the way of economic opportunities for its people. This factor has resulted in many of its most able citizens leaving San Juan to seek a livelihood elsewhere. This pattern of emigration and a high birth rate have in turn combined to bring about the demographic imbalance which exists today. The imbalance itself consists of the presence of an abnormally high percentage of children on the reservation.

San Juan is heterogeneous because of the presence of a large non-Tewa population through intermarriage. These non-Tewa members of the community but not of the culture, have played a fundamental role in changing the character of San Juan. They have brought English into regular usage in their homes, and thereby begun to render necessary what was once regarded as merely a convenient tool for dealing with white men. They have helped open San Juan to the larger American scene by bringing different backgrounds and different values. They have also brought problems, for a leadership vacuum exists partially because they could not be integrated into the culture.

The change and heterogeneity have, in their turn, gradually resulted in a lessening dependence upon the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and a decreasing sensitivity to fluctuations in its programs and policies. But this same change and heterogeneity have brought in their wake a greater sensitivity to the conditions of the larger society. At a time when problems are becoming more numerous and more complex, adequate leadership is not available to enable the people of San Juan to make meaningful choices toward their future as a community.

The need for adequate educational opportunities underlies all of the problems facing San Juan, whatever may be the terms in which these problems are described. Education has long headed the lists of needs as seen by concerned organizations and agencies working with the Indians of New Mexico. The efforts of the State Commission on Indian Affairs have centered for many years on providing higher educational opportunities for Indian youth (Minton: 1962–1964). The most recent report on the current status and needs of the Indians of New Mexico still cites education as the most critical need (Smith 1965). Tribal leaders too have long pleaded for better educational opportunities for their people, and it is the need which most absorbs their attention today. This is why Project Head Start has been received with such general enthusiasm by the Indian population of New Mexico.

San Juan too is a part of this broader picture. Although the people have long had the opportunity to experiment with and evaluate three kinds of local educational facilities, they feel their educational needs are critical. Head Start is viewed by them as the most fitting beginning to a solution to the whole problem. Their recommendations, as presented in the following section, are unusually sophisticated, and they tend to view Head Start as a potential solution to *all* of their educational problems. This view has not been discouraged.

These specific recommendations represent a thorough synthesis of the information obtained through interviews. They represent the views of 16 well-informed Tewa parents and tribal leaders, ten local teachers of Tewa children and one clergyman. Primary emphasis is placed on the views of the parents and tribal leaders but every valuable observation is represented, from whatever source it may derive. They are listed separately for convenience of reference.

Sponsorship.—The people of San Juan want their own Head Start program, or at least a central program in which they, in cooperation with their other Pueblo neighbors, can formulate policy and plan programs. This point has presented a consistent theme in this report.

Duration.—They want a Head Start program which would be conducted troughout all or most of the year. They feel the need is too critical to have a preschool program which is limited to a few weeks of the summer months. The weight of the material presented herein bears out their belief. This is why they have requested a Montessori school which would operate through ten months of the year, patterned after that of Santa Clara.

Teachers.—The people of San Juan want teachers who are sincerely interested in serving the educational needs of their children, and they want these teachers to be provided special training for work among Indian children. The need for such teachers to be aware of the cultural differences of Indian children has been indicated, and training in this area is available in the Indian Education Center of Arizona State University.

Native cultural materials.—They deplore the fact that available materials on the native culture have heretofore not found wide usage in local classrooms. A case in point is Tewa folklore. There are several volumes of Tewa folktales available, but few of the people of San Juan are aware of them. Native cultural materials appropriate to the ages of the children should be incorporated into the Head Start program.

Audio-visual materials.—Head Start should develop regional libraries from which film strips and other audio-visual aids can be made available to local programs. This arises from a desire to widen the Indian child's horizons by bringing aspects of the larger world into the Head Start classroom.

The medical aspect.—This is the least understood by the people of San Juan so visual materials should also be made available to demonstrate modern medical practices and correct hygiene. Head Start can also perform a valuable service to the Pueblo by demonstrating to the children the correct use of the sanitation facilities which are now being installed in the homes.

Language training.—The greatest emphasis, however, should be reserved for giving the child a working vocabulary in English before he begins school. San Juan parents are unanimous in citing the need for beginning language training early and intensively. They recognize this as the principle determing factor in the child's later performance in school. So concerned are tribal leaders about this aspect of the educational process that they have requested the services of a trained linguist as part of the joint Northern Pueblo Council proposal.

Children with special needs.—There should be a program to identify slow learners before they start school. There are three slow learners in the San Juan Elementary School who are Indians, and there was a mongoloid child in attendance until she was 18 years old. Some special provision should be made by Head Start for children such as these, and for those who are retarded.

The social aspect.—Broadening social activities should be planned carefully in consultation with the parents. They want their children to be given adequate opportunity to see things which are alien to their environment. The San Juan PTA once provided the children with regular visits to urban facilities, and they believe these have been helpful in instilling curiosity and motivation in the children, and in expanding their horizons.

Eligibility for participation.—San Juan parents are unanimous in their wish that there be no exclusions, whether on income or any other criteria. The need for Head Start is regarded as general, and no family currently living in San Juan should be excluded. Language and other cultural factors provide formidible enough obstacles for the Tewa child in school. The exclusion of ony some children is viewed as unnecessarily cruel, for they do not understand why they are excluded.

Criteria of need.—All parents and leaders agree, however, that if limitations be imposed, those who most need Head Start be given first call. This should be done on the basis of the child's total family background, and not just income per se. The problem of involving the most needy will require much preliminary groundwork, but the PTA is ready to assume this responsibility.

The future.—The people of San Juan want assistance at the outset to prepare for the time when federal assistance will no longer be available. They want their own people trained to carry on the work; this is why they place such emphasis on having their own Head Start Program.

APPENDIX I.—RESULTS OF 20 GOODENOUGH DRAW-A-MAN TESTS, SAN JUAN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL, SEPTEMBER 1965

Name	Age	Raw score	Standard score	Percentile rank
Nancy Bustos [3]	5	19	105	63
Ann Silva [2]	6	20	100	50
Kenneth Sanchez [3]	5	12	89	23
Tammy Tagner [3]	6	14	85	16
Kenneth Villareal [1]	6	7	70	2
Gilbert Martinez [1]	6	9	75	5
Catherine Tapia [3]	6	9	72	3
Peter Montoya [1]	6	25	117	87
Patrick Atencio [3]	6	8	73	4
Lloyd Garcia [3]	6	7	70	2
Sixto Mascarenas [1]	6	10	78	7
Lenore Aguilar [2]	6	17	93	32
Lawrence Maestas [1]	6	4	62	1
Maria Roybal [1]	6	23	108	71
Priscilla Garcia [1]	5	13	87	19
Beverley Cruz [4]	6	4	60	1
Fernando Torres [3]	5	11	86	18
Linda Zamorra [5]	6	12	80	9
Darlene Martin [5]	6	9	72	3
Orlando Orietta [3]	6	16	94	34

[1] Spanish American Headstart.
[2] Spanish American non-Headstart.
[3] Indian and Headstart.
[4] Indian non-Headstart.
[5] Anglo-American non-Headstart.

APPENDIX II.—RESULTS OF 7 GOODENOUGH DRAW-A-MAN TESTS,[1] SAN JUAN PUEBLO, SEPTEMBER 1965

Name	Age	Raw score	Standard score	Percentile rank
Joe Garcia	12	60	127	96
Vicente Cruz	13	10	54	1
Bernadette Cruz	10	16	67	1
Raymond Atencio	12	25	80	9
Patrick Aquino	11	29	88	21
Fidel Archuleta	9	10	65	1
Lawrence Atencio	11	29	88	21

[1] All are fullblooded Indian students attending the San Juan Day School.

Note: Scored by Mr. Alan Entin, Committee on Human Development, University of Chicago. All drawings scored on "Man Point Scale," Harris' revision of Goodenough. Standard score computed on: Table 32 for boys (drawing of a man, by boys): table 33 for girls (drawing of a man, by girls). Percentile ranks, table 40. D. Harris: Children's Drawings as Measures of Intellectual Maturity, 1963.

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AMERICAN INDIANS AND EDUCATIONAL LABORATORIES

By Willard P. Bass and Henry G. Burger

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Southwestern Cooperative Educational Laboratory, Inc.
117 Richmond Drive NE
Albuquerque, N. M.

November, 1967

FOREWORD

This monograph on the current situation, American Indians and education, is an outgrowth of the presentation by the national system of educational laboratories made in Washington on October 5 and 6, 1967. Hence the monograph presents a broader picture than SWCEL and its work with the Indians of that four-state region.

It is hoped that the monograph will serve the purpose intended: to call attention to some objective data related to the Indian education problem and perhaps, at the same time, to generate more interest in the solution of some of the problems described. Many problems of Indian education which have been fairly well identified for years have been permitted to lie dormant. It is encouraging that now much work is being started in this and other vital areas of education. Perhaps a publication like this may contribute to further work on the problems described or implied.

Several members of the SWCEL laboratory staff contributed to the publication. Especially to be mentioned are Dr. Burger and Mr. Bass, principal authors and editors. Among the others were Drs. Stanley Caplan, Paul Liberty, and Mavis Martin; Mr. Guy Watson and Mr. Wilburn McClintock were responsible for preparing the graphics for the report.

Paul V. Petty, Director
Albuquerque, New Mexico

October 31, 1967

AMERICAN INDIANS AND EDUCATIONAL LABORATORIES

Summary:

A most deprived but least visible member of the great society is the American Indian. The United States' educational system traditionally favored and favors the "Yankee" or "Anglo" culture rather than American Indian.

The recently federally-established Regional Educational Laboratories offer a basic opportunity for researching and perhaps helping to correct this situation. Several Regional Educational Laboratories are now attacking the problem with pilot programs (not to be confused with mass dissemination of results). One of these, the authors' group, is developing a program to strengthen American Indian understanding and pride of heritage, improve bilingual skills, and teach teachers bi-culturalism. These represent one of the rather few large-scale attempts in American history at applied social science; but the discipline has barely begun.

Indian Diversity Amidst Anglo Homogeneity

The middle class of the United States is relatively homogeneous. It speaks essentially one language, English, and enjoys relatively a single polity, a federal government that has been reasonably stable for almost 200 years. Middle class Americans -- largely including the educationists -- may therefore tend to neglect the fact that the "Melting Pot" has by no means melted ethnic minorities. Indeed, sociological evidence suggests that minorities and stratification may even be increasing.

This article deals with only one of those many minorities,

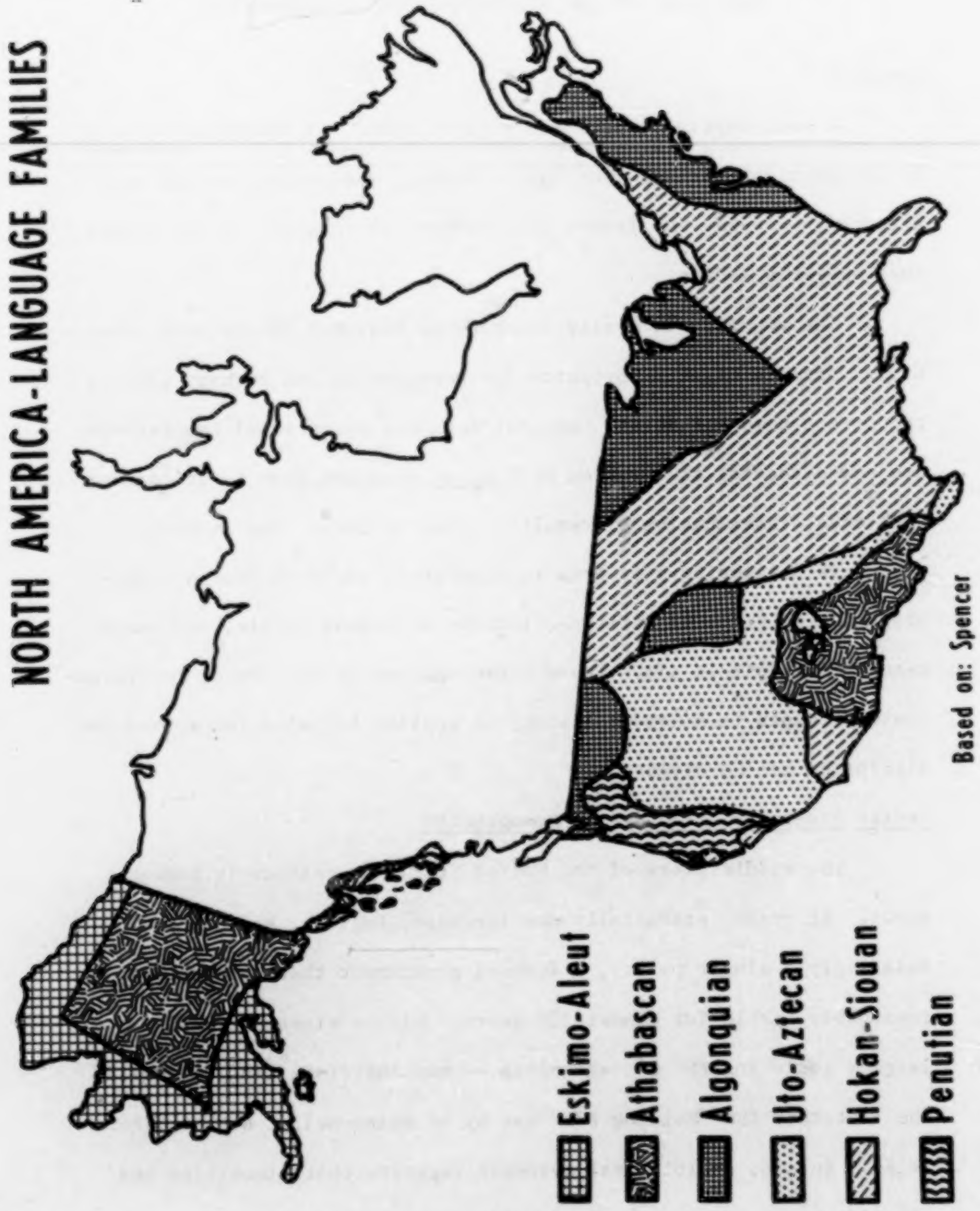

NORTH AMERICA-LANGUAGE FAMILIES
▦ Eskimo-Aleut
▨ Athabascan
▩ Algonquian
▤ Uto-Aztecan
▧ Hokan-Siouan
▥ Penutian
Based on: Spencer

Figure 1

NORTH AMERICA–LANGUAGE FAMILIES

Eskimo-Aleut
- Aleutian
- Eskimoan

Athabascan
- Northern Athabascan
- Southwestern Athabascan (Navajo-Apache)
- Californian Athabascan (Tolowa-Hupa)

Algonquian
- Wakashan
- Salishan
- Algonquian
- Californian Algonquian (Yurok-Wiyot)
- Plains Algonquian (Arapaho-Cheyenne)

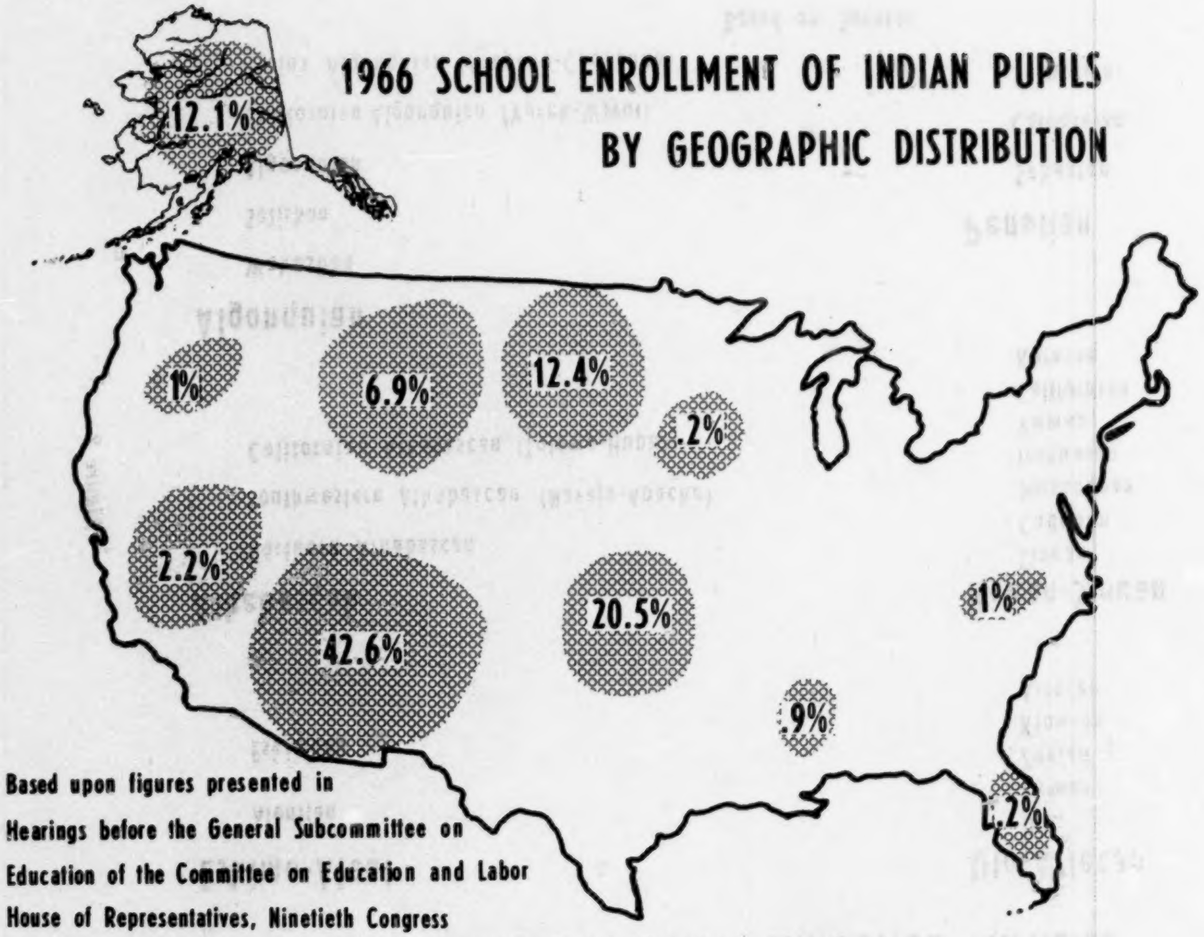
Uto-Aztecan
- Ute
- Tanoan
- Zunian
- Kiowian
- Aztecan

Hokan-Siouan
- Siouan
- Caddoan
- Muskogean
- Iroquoian
- Yuman
- Californian
- Keresan

Penutian
- Sahaptan
- Californian
- Tsimshian

Based on: Spencer

Figure 2



1966 SCHOOL ENROLLMENT OF INDIAN PUPILS
BY GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION

Based upon figures presented in
Hearings before the General Subcommittee on
Education of the Committee on Education and Labor
House of Representatives, Ninetieth Congress
June 28 and 29, 1967, page 398

Total 100%

Figure 3

that one which is perhaps most different and exotic from traditional Yankee -- the American Indian. (In accordance with Bureau of Indian Affairs nomenclature, "Indian" includes Eskimo.)

The difficulty of Indian education may be seen, first, in the fact that the American Indian is not a homogeneous unit. Indeed, the concept of the American Indian is a very recent one, an amalgam offering certain political advantages. Culturally, however, American Indians are a most diverse group. Merely considering the broad categories of Indian languages, the United States has six major groups, as shown in Figure 1. Within these major language groupings are many sub-languages (Figure 2) and cultures, most of which are unintelligible or barely intelligible to other Indian occupants of the "same" language area.

The Indians of Oregon and California alone speak over 25 different families of language (Gleason, 1961, Page 475).

In fiscal year 1966, the schooling situation of Indians aged 6 to 18 was as follows:

Number Type of Schooling

141,694-----------In school (public, federal day, federal boarding, mission, other).

7,757----------Not enrolled in school.

(Note: These figures do not include the 9,000 students over 18 years of age, nor adult education.)

These Indian students are, however, by no means distributed equally throughout the United States. Instead, they are highly concentrated, especially in the Southwest, as shown in Figure 3.

THE PLIGHT OF THE INDIAN

SOURCE: Education Age, April, 1967

	Indians	General Population
MEDIAN FAMILY INCOME	$1,500	$6,882
UNEMPLOYMENT RATE	45%	4.6%
AVERAGE SCHOOLING FOR ADULTS	5 years	11.7 years
AVERAGE LIFE EXPECTANCY	63.5 years	70.2 years
INFANT MORTALITY RATE (Per 1,000 live births)	35.9	24.8
INCIDENCE OF TUBERCULOSIS (Per 100,000 pop.)	184	26.6
AVERAGE SCHOOL DROP-OUT RATE	50%	29%
BIRTH RATE (Per 1,000 pop.)	43.1	21.0

Figure 4

Thus, the Indians, who once occupied the entire sub-continent of the United States, are now essentially located in the Rocky Mountain area and in Alaska, with the greatest concentration occurring in the Southwest. While the general population trends evermore toward urban clusters, the Indian favors the very areas that are least visible: the Rocky Mountain West and its rural, even desert regions.

The Socio-economic Disadvantage of the Indian

The story of Anglo contact with Indian is one of retreat by the latter, step by step, into conditions which are summarized briefly. The Indian is compared with the general U. S. population in Figure 4.

Thus, in many important categories of daily life, the Indian is at a disadvantage as compared with the general population. His income is only two-ninths as much. His unemployment rate is almost ten times greater. His school dropout rate is almost double. He has less than half of the schooling. He enjoys some seven years less of life. Half again as many of his infants die. Tuberculosis strikes seven times as many people. His birth rate is about double.

We must not, however, take these statistics too literally, for they involve certain value judgments. It is industrialism, not Indian culture, that considers a high birth rate a disadvantage, and that so organizes work and market-system payment as to define employment and unemployment.

The Anglo child's home life includes from infancy both materials and activities and simultaneous naming of them. But the disadvantaged are denied both the associated sensory-motor activities and the symbols for them. In this connection, Jean Piaget has shown how early percepts and cognitions are associated into later concepts (Kamii and Radin, 1967). Hence the disadvantaged infant's lag is parlayed by the accelerated enculturation that is formal schooling.

Thus, equal educational opportunities for individuals are lacking by reason of race, color, religion, or national origin in public educational institutions of all levels in the United States. Recently the United States Office of Education issued a comprehensive examination of educational opportunity in the United States, the so-called Coleman Report. As part of this report, entitled "Equality of Educational Opportunity," the Commissioner listed certain statistics showing the educational achievement of various minority groups.

The Indians were one such ethnic minority covered in this report. The tests that were reported did not purport to measure intelligence, attitudes, or qualities of character. Furthermore, the tests were not intended to be "culture free." The report concedes categorically that the tests given were "culture bound." They measured skills that are most important in our society for getting a good job and moving up to a better one, and for full participation in an increasingly technical world. Consequently, a pupil's test results at the end of the public school provide a good measure of the range of opportunity open to him as he finishes school. [illegible] a wide range of choice of jobs or colleges if these skills are very high, a narrow range that includes only the most menial jobs if these skills are very low.

The overall test results shown in the report "Equality of Educational Opportunity," revealed sharp differences for different racial and ethnic groups. The report clearly shows that the degree of educational disadvantage at the end of twelve years of high school, for those who remain in school that long, is very large.

The disadvantage shows most clearly for _reading_ comprehensive and verbal ability. In twelfth grade verbal ability the Indian scores tend to be almost one standard deviation below that of the majority. This means that about 85% of the Indian scores are below the average of the majority, versus only about 50% of the whites.

In some cases, notably _verbal_ ability, at the twelfth grade level, the Indians' median score is almost at the lowest quartile of the majority test scores. Indians in the first grade were found to lag in _nonverbal_ test scores by only 1.1 standardized test points but they lag in _verbal_ (i.e., English, not Indian languages) by a significant 5.4 test points. By the twelfth grade, furthermore, the lag in achievement reached 4.9 points for nonverbal and 8.4 points for verbal. Twelfth grade scores were also obtained to show the relative standing of Indians versus the majority of the population in reading, mathematics, and general information. These appear in Figure 5.

It might be thought that the superiority of the national norm is due merely to geographical rather than ethnic differences. After all, it is well known that certain sections of the country, notably the Northeast, have higher taxable school bases, a better educational-sociological network, etc. Yet, the lag cannot be attributed to mere geography. We may compare the traditionally leading sector of the U.S., the Northeast, with the Anglo group that is otherwise closest to the American Indians, rural Southwest. We find that the Southwestern

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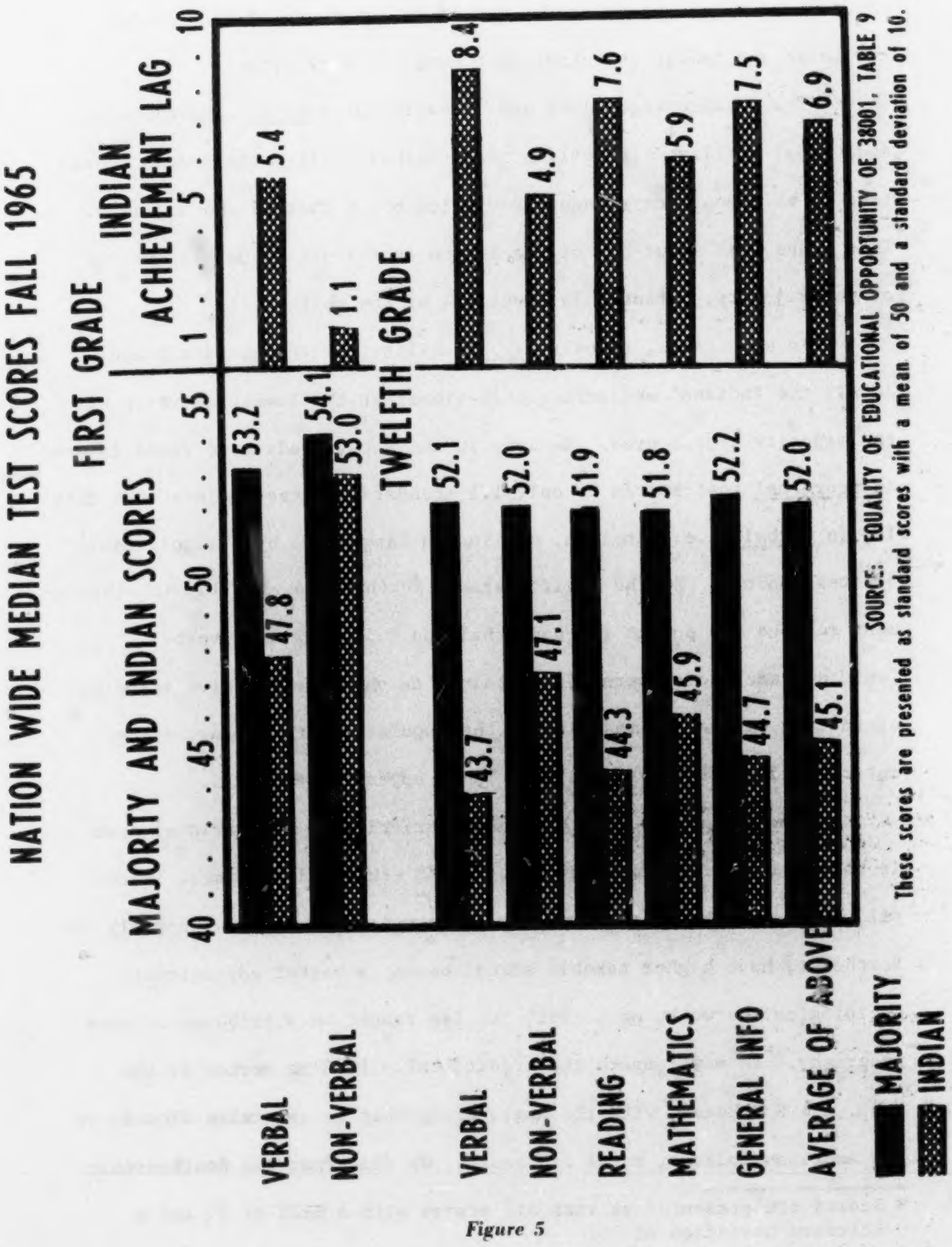
* Scores are presented as standard scores with a mean of 50 and a standard deviation of 10.



SOURCE: EQUALITY OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY OE 38001, TABLE 9

These scores are presented as standard scores with a mean of 50 and a standard deviation of 10.

Figure 5

Anglo group scores quite close to the Northeast, whereas the Indians living nearby score very far down, as shown in Figure 6.

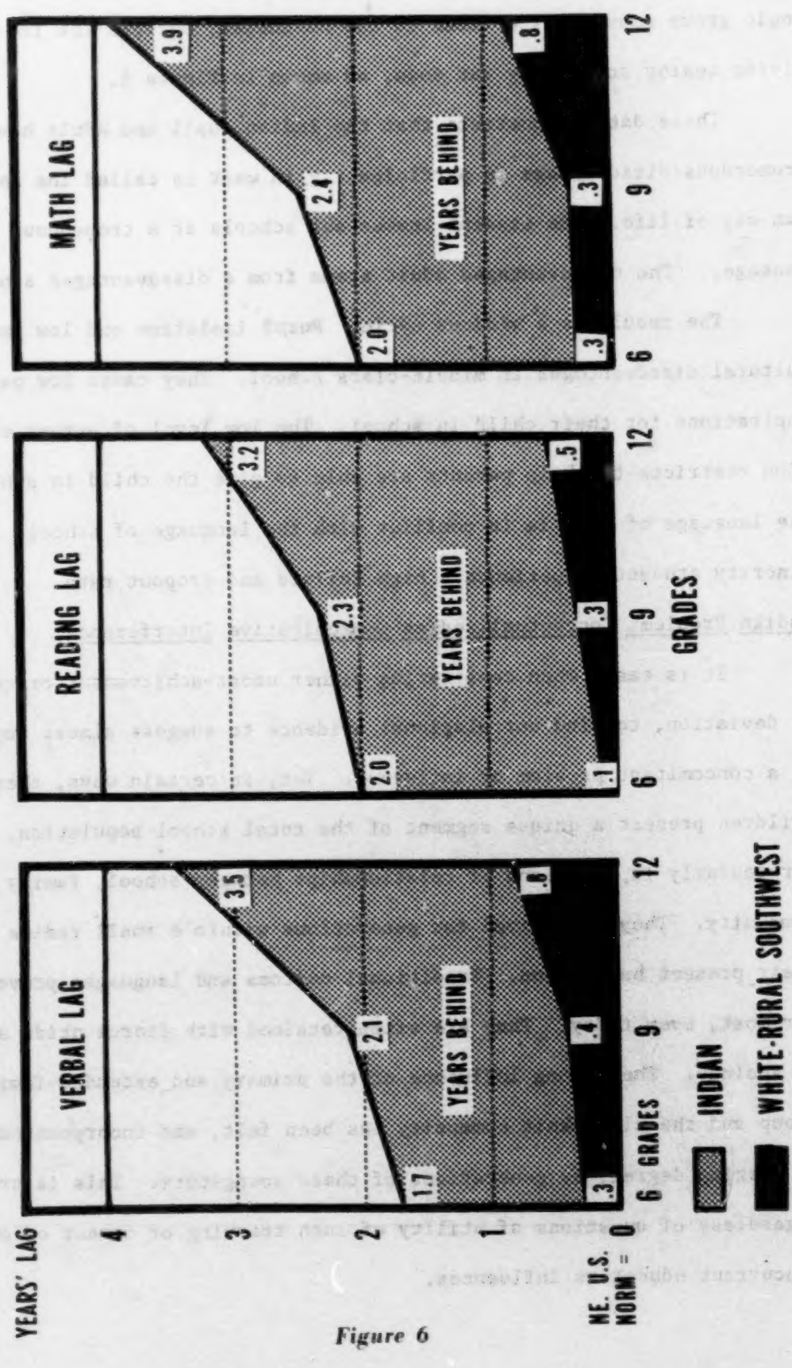
These data demonstrate that the Indian pupil and adult have a tremendous disadvantage in participating in what is called the American way of life. The student leaves our schools at a tremendous disadvantage. The disadvantaged adult stems from a disadvantaged student.

The result is a vicious cycle: Rural isolation and low income= cultural disadvantages in middle-class school. They cause low parental aspirations for their child in school. The low level of parent education restricts the help parents are able to give the child in school. The language of home is in conflict with the language of school. The minority students experience a high failure and dropout rate.

Indian Problems Conceptualized as Communicative Interference

It is easy, when considering either under-achievement or cultural deviation, to find correlational evidence to suggest almost anything as a concomitant problem or influence. Yet, in certain ways, these children present a unique segment of the total school population, particularly in questions of relationships between school, family and community. They have lived for generations within a small radius of their present habitation. Traditional customs and languages prevail for most, even today. They are often retained with fierce pride and no apology. The strong influence of the primary and extended-family group and the close-knit community has been felt, and incorporated to an amazing degree, by generations of these youngsters. This is true regardless of questions of utility of such training or impact of other concurrent educative influences.

GRADE LEVEL LAG OF WHITE RURAL SOUTHWESTERN AND INDIAN STUDENTS AS COMPARED WITH STUDENTS LIVING IN NORTHEASTERN UNITED STATES



SOURCE: EQUALITY OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY OE 38001, TABLES 3.121.1, 3.121.2 AND 3.121.3

Figure 6

Yet the optimal learning/teaching environment is one in which free flowing two-way communication exists. In any educational environment, the leader, either through his direct efforts or through some form of mediation provides stimuli to the student. If the channel is clear, the student receives the stimuli, interprets or decodes the teacher's input, and forms a response. The response is received and evaluated by the teacher. He in turn decides what the next stimuli or message will be, and so on. In this fashion, learning progresses through the grades.

But "noise" in many forms disrupts the channel. For some, the "noise" is minor, like thoughts of a fishing trip blotting out the teacher's message. But for the Indian the "noise" is so disruptive that the channel is closed and communications cease to be effective. This situation is diagrammed in Figure 7.

These are some of the factors that produce the communications failure. These problems emanate from the total environment of the child, not just from the school curriculum. What can be done to combat them and open up minority group communications, and hence learning?

The Pressure to Operationalize Social Science

Minority groups have always fascinated the social scientist. Yet large-scale attempts to befit their special need have been a relatively recent phenomenon. The planning of "directed cultural change" (sometimes called telesis) suggests that some persons will plan, and others will be planned. This concept clashes with several basic Yankee values, such as the Puritan ethic of individualism, and the democratic spirit of equalitarianism. Today, however, we witness

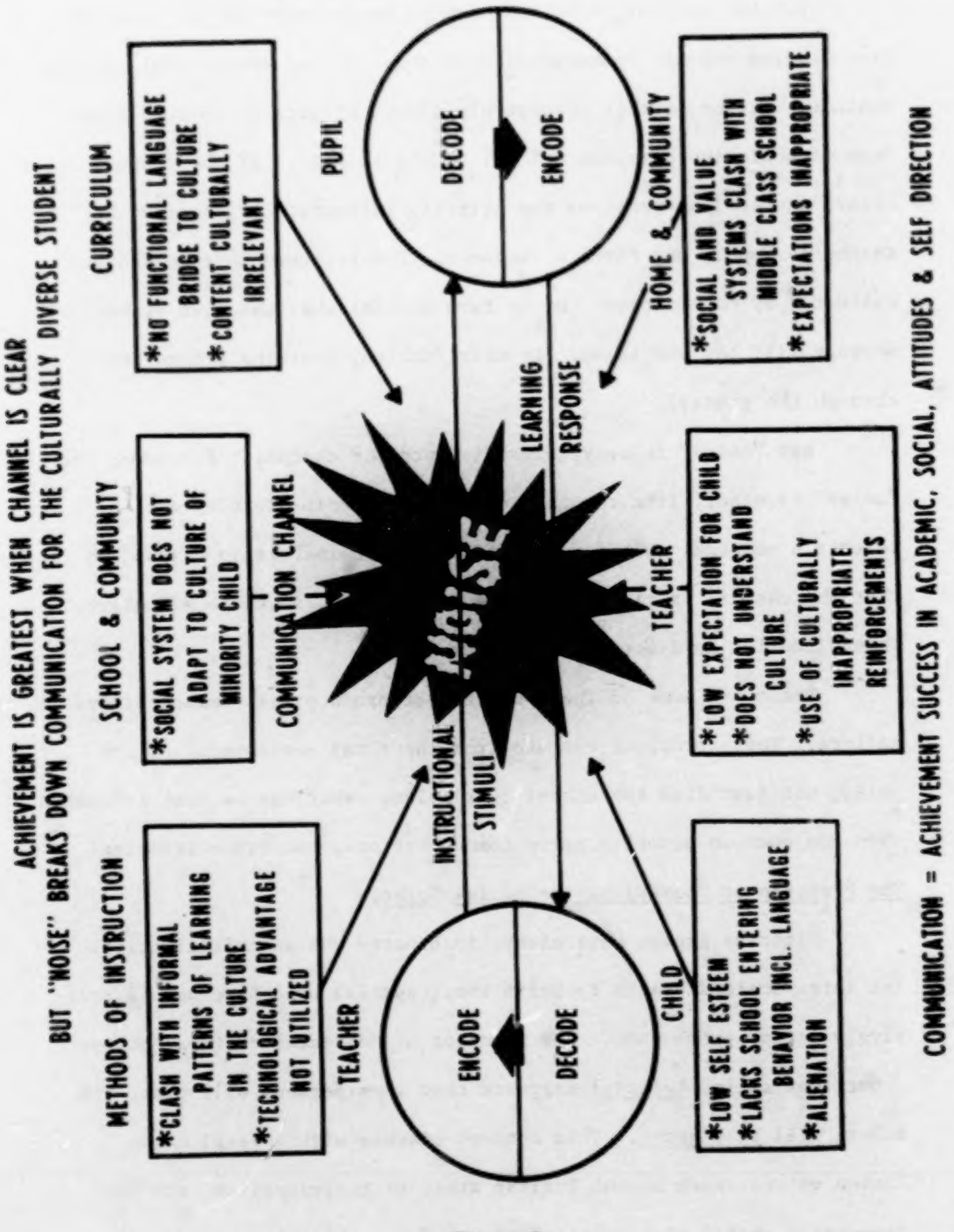

ACHIEVEMENT IS GREATEST WHEN CHANNEL IS CLEAR
BUT "NOISE" BREAKS DOWN COMMUNICATION FOR THE CULTURALLY DIVERSE STUDENT
METHODS OF INSTRUCTION
*CLASH WITH INFORMAL PATTERNS OF LEARNING IN THE CULTURE
*TECHNOLOGICAL ADVANTAGE NOT UTILIZED
SCHOOL & COMMUNITY
*SOCIAL SYSTEM DOES NOT ADAPT TO CULTURE OF MINORITY CHILD
CURRICULUM
*NO FUNCTIONAL LANGUAGE BRIDGE TO CULTURE
*CONTENT CULTURALLY IRRELEVANT
TEACHER
ENCODE
DECODE
COMMUNICATION CHANNEL
INSTRUCTIONAL STIMULI
NOISE
PUPIL
DECODE
ENCODE
LEARNING RESPONSE
CHILD
*LOW SELF ESTEEM
*LACKS SCHOOL ENTERING BEHAVIOR INCL. LANGUAGE
*ALIENATION
TEACHER
*LOW EXPECTATION FOR CHILD
*DOES NOT UNDERSTAND CULTURE
*USE OF CULTURALLY INAPPROPRIATE REINFORCEMENTS
HOME & COMMUNITY
*SOCIAL AND VALUE SYSTEMS CLASH WITH MIDDLE CLASS SCHOOL
*EXPECTATIONS INAPPROPRIATE
COMMUNICATION = ACHIEVEMENT SUCCESS IN ACADEMIC, SOCIAL, ATTITUDES & SELF DIRECTION

Figure 7

a revolt against "rugged individualism" and the material concept of Economic Man.

There was formerly a belief that the integration of culture prevented the maneuvering of any one of its sectors alone, and hence it would be theoretically impossible to maneuver the culture. Today, such "futilitarianism" is disappearing (Burger, 1967, especially Chapter 3). There is emerging a facet begun a century ago, but dormant almost entirely since--the sub-discipline of applied anthropology. Its readiest target is the segment of the populus which the culture both wishes to change, and which cannot politically prevent itself from being changed. We refer, of course, to children. The education of the young is, in the truest sense, directed cultural change (Skinner, 1955-56, pages 287-289; cf. page 244). The democracy discourages the "hidden persuasion" of directed acculturation toward adults, yet encourages it toward children. The explanation may lie in a single fact: Children may not vote.

Because the Indian so grossly violates the bourgeois norm, his incorporation into the Great Society becomes a test. It is a test of whether the U.S.A. is a system ("Americanism") that can proselyte any human into fellowship, or whether it is merely one temporal pattern ("Yankeeism") that is self-limited to middle-class white Anglo-Saxons. If it is the latter, it is likely to flare but a moment in the Toynbeean reel that is history.

Today's burst of educational research can be estimated from the size of such periodicals as Research in Education (U.S. Office of

Education). Furthermore, many projects go on with funds provided otherwise:--Merely in the field of non-USOE educational research on the American Indian, there is a wide range of projects, typified by the two dozen current schemes summarized in Appendix 1.

The Establishment of Applied Social Science

Perhaps the major new institutional venture of education in the U.S.A. is the establishment of Regional Educational Laboratories. Twenty such regional groups were established in 1966 under Title IV of the federal Elementary and Secondary Education Act. Together, these non-profit corporations, distinct from universities, cover all fifty states; our Southwestern Cooperative Educational Laboratory serves the area of Arizona, New Mexico, West Texas, and Oklahoma. Each Laboratory is governed by a board of directors whose membership consists of representatives from the public schools, private schools, colleges and universities, state departments of education, and business and cultural institutions of the region. Coordination is ensured by the Division of Educational Laboratories of the U.S. Office of Education. Thus, the Laboratory is sponsored both by the federal government, the state governments, and private groups (Ripley, 1967, page 7). Entree is thereby facilitated to all levels and types of institutions.

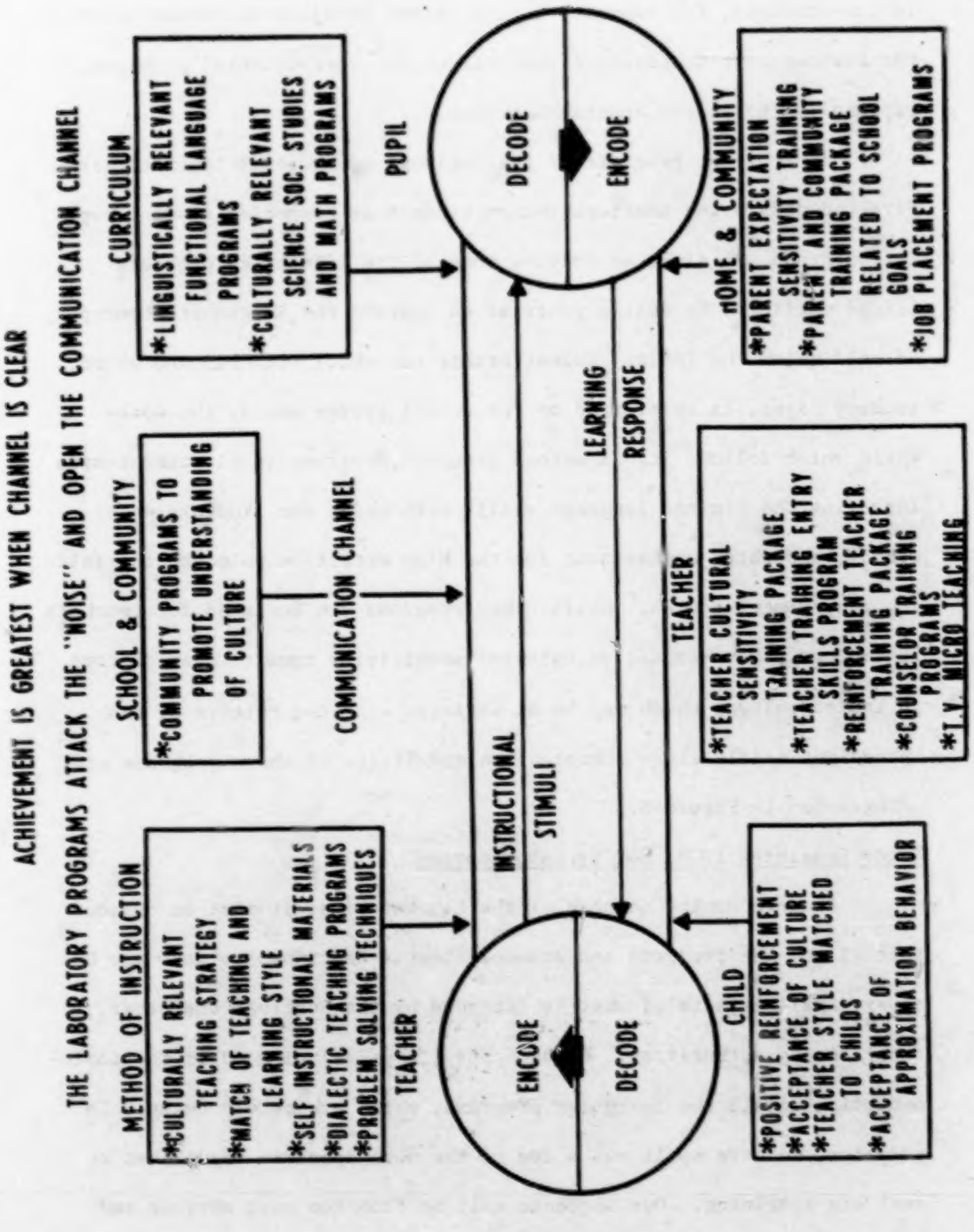
Five Laboratories are concentrating on the educational problems of the Indian: Southwestern Cooperative Educational Laboratory, headquartered in Albuquerque; Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development, Berkeley; South Central Region Educational Laboratory, Little Rock; Southwest Educational Development Laboratory, Austin; and Upper Midwest Regional Educational Laboratory, St. Paul. Because of the concentration of ethnic groups mentioned earlier (28.5%, of all

Indian students, for example, living in the Navajo Reservation alone), our Southwestern Cooperative specializes in cross-cultural problems, especially Indian and Spanish-American.

The current programs of the Regional Educational Laboratories directed toward the American Indian student as a special student population group are aimed at solving some of the identified problems listed earlier. We design programs to improve the inadequate concepts of self which the Indian student brings to school with him and which, in many cases, is reinforced by the school system and by the work-world which follows it. A second group of programs is directed toward improving the limited language skills with which the students enter school, and which may account for the high attrition rate and the falling achievement scores. Still other programs are designed for teachers to improve psycho-social or cultural sensitivity toward those factors in Indian culture which may be at variance with the culture of the prevalent middle class school. The modalities of these programs are diagrammed in Figure 8.

Needs Remaining to be Met by Laboratories

Because of the newness of the Laboratories, it must be obvious that all of the projects and accomplishments described to date are but a very small measure of what is intended by the Congress and other constituting authorities. Consequently, a principal need is the implementation of all the foregoing programs, which are barely begun. In addition, we here spell out a few of the more specific needs that we feel are remaining. Our sequence will be from the most obvious and concrete problems to the broadest, most strategic, and most subtle needs.


ACHIEVEMENT IS GREATEST WHEN CHANNEL IS CLEAR

THE LABORATORY PROGRAMS ATTACK THE "NOISE" AND OPEN THE COMMUNICATION CHANNEL

METHOD OF INSTRUCTION
*CULTURALLY RELEVANT TEACHING STRATEGY
*MATCH OF TEACHING AND LEARNING STYLE
*SELF INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS
*DIALECTIC TEACHING PROGRAMS
*PROBLEM SOLVING TECHNIQUES
SCHOOL & COMMUNITY
*COMMUNITY PROGRAMS TO PROMOTE UNDERSTANDING OF CULTURE
CURRICULUM
*LINGUISTICALLY RELEVANT FUNCTIONAL LANGUAGE PROGRAMS
*CULTURALLY RELEVANT SCIENCE SOC. STUDIES AND MATH PROGRAMS
COMMUNICATION CHANNEL
TEACHER
ENCODE
DECODE
INSTRUCTIONAL STIMULI
LEARNING RESPONSE
PUPIL
DECODE
ENCODE
CHILD
*POSITIVE REINFORCEMENT
*ACCEPTANCE OF CULTURE
*TEACHER STYLE MATCHED TO CHILDS
*ACCEPTANCE OF APPROXIMATION BEHAVIOR
TEACHER
*TEACHER CULTURAL SENSITIVITY TRAINING PACKAGE
*TEACHER TRAINING ENTRY SKILLS PROGRAM
*REINFORCEMENT TEACHER TRAINING PACKAGE
*COUNSELOR TRAINING PROGRAMS
*T.V. MICRO TEACHING
HOME & COMMUNITY
*PARENT EXPECTATION SENSITIVITY TRAINING
*PARENT AND COMMUNITY TRAINING PACKAGE RELATED TO SCHOOL GOALS
*JOB PLACEMENT PROGRAMS

Figure 8

Technological development. Among the obvious and easily defined problems remaining is the introduction of the new technology, such as audiovisual equipment and computerized programmed learning, to the target populations. The examples just cited (such as computerization) are the extreme modern cases. In fact, much simpler equipment, such as record players for language records, are probably needed in many of the target schools.

Compensatory innovation. A somewhat related need concerns not the technology itself but the locus of the introduction of the newer methods. Because of the phenomenon called "secondary acculturation" (Burger 1967: 126-29), any social structure tends to intensify itself. Consequently, dominant groups tend unconsciously to favor themselves through budgetary, sociological, and other phenomena, as diagrammed in Figure 9.

The result in our own case is that, if it were not compensatorily checked, the benefits of the innovations would tend automatically to go to the groups already highest in the social scales--Anglo (rather than Indian and the other minority target groups). Consequently, the Laboratories must constantly make an effort to spread the benefits of their programs geographically and socially to the less obvious areas.

Subject coverage. A similar disproportion danger, and future need, concerns the subject matters of the program improvements now being designed. Our Southwestern and the other Indianist Laboratories have touched only a very small number of subject areas, particularly language arts. There are a number of important subjects which have scarcely been influenced, such as the natural sciences and mathematics.

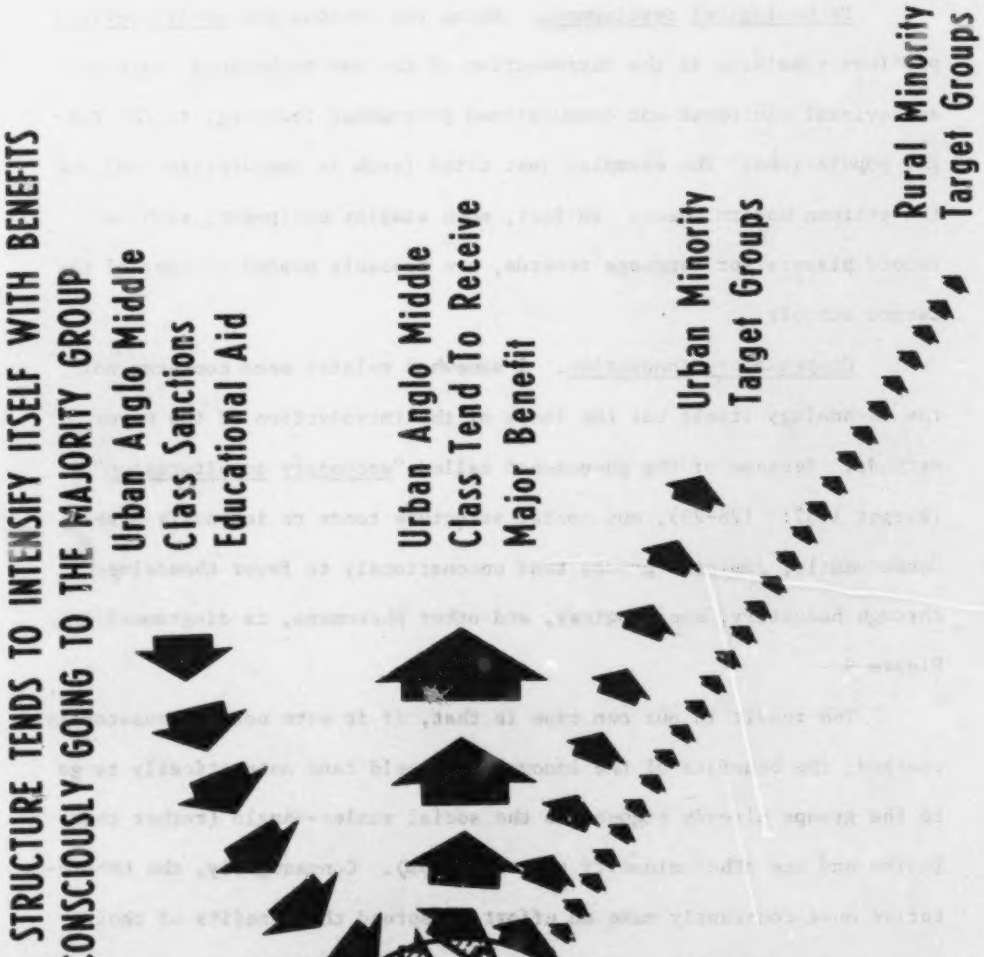

ANY SOCIAL STRUCTURE TENDS TO INTENSIFY ITSELF WITH BENEFITS UNCONSCIOUSLY GOING TO THE MAJORITY GROUP
Urban Anglo Middle Class Sanctions Educational Aid
Urban Anglo Middle Class Tend To Receive Major Benefit
Urban Minority Target Groups
Rural Minority Target Groups
Innovative Laboratory Research Efforts Aimed At Minority Groups

Figure 9

Cross-cultural sensitivity for teachers. Not only must the Laboratory programs aid the pupils of these subjects, but the entire area of teacher sensitivity has barely been touched. It is one thing to draw up lesson plans which will aid the teacher in imparting specific skills and knowledge of certain items. It is a more difficult task to make the teacher sensitive to the basic attitudes of life by the cultural minorities he is trying to teach. In the long run, it may be necessary to prepare guide books concerning each ethnic group for study by teachers and/or pupils. These guide books would give the teacher a cultural background and insight into the ethnic group, and would not attempt to teach any specific substantive matters, such as mathematics.

In this connection we find a beginning in a new course to teach students (not yet to teach teachers) being done for the Sioux Indians. The creator of this course is John F. Bryde. Dr. Bryde has designed a course called Acculturational Psychology. In it, Sioux students, using a makeshift workbook, in turn discuss each Sioux value, contrasting it with the white value. For example, a part of one lesson contrasts the Anglo value of acquisitiveness (the desirability of working for one's own benefit) with the old-time Sioux value of sharing or generosity.

Here is just one beginning of one textbook for one group (Sioux students). The same idea should be carried not only to Sioux but all other cultures, not only to students but to teachers. Not only is literature needed for analysis of the cultural differences, but also creative suggestions as to how it may be syncretized with modern values in the larger American culture surrounding these students.

De-skilling teacher functions. A related problem is to find a method of obtaining sufficient teachers for these additional duties. Since the country faces such a great shortage of teachers, it becomes obvious that the Laboratories will not only have to develop these teacher skills, but then find ways of breaking down the skills, or "de-skilling" the values. For example, virtually nothing has been done in methods to separate teaching of substantative matters, such as mathematical formulas, from the role of the teacher as a second mother figure, a tender-loving-carer. Yet it may well be that in our specialized society there will develop separate types of teachers, particularly to solve the ethnic problems of frustration and *goallessness*, where the affectional values become so important. Similarly, only a small beginning has been made in applying substitute teacher methods, such as the Laubach method of each-one-teach-one, or even self-instruction methods like the programmed texts. These devices are only beginning in middle-class Anglo schools. A vast gap remains to spread them into the culturally disadvantaged groups with which the Laboratories are greatly concerned.

Evaluation of effectiveness. There always remains the problem of standardization of evaluation of effectiveness of all innovations. This is, of course, the entire area of management procedures, such as the rapidly developing concepts of PERT. These management procedures are not only mass (statistical) but also individual. That is, with the use of computers and other modern techniques, we can simultaneously find averages and identify the needs of individual students.

Information carry-over. A related need which will plague us for some years to come is the problem both of retrieval and of dissemination of information. The essence of this problem, it presently seems, is to codify the research results. At present, and traditionally, they typically codify by input topic, such as the ethnic target (Navajo Indians, for example, are filed under the letter N). Also in use are such well-known systems as Dewey Decimal (cf. Cutter), Library of Congress, Human Relations Area Files, Psychological Abstracts, etc.

Yet these are of limited generative potential. For a vicious cycle limits output *to the same categories* as filed. However, this totally disregards the possibility of finding analogies by scientific principles underlying many target areas. For example, we should think that certain problems in translating cultural concepts into visual devices, as for videotapes, would be common to many cultures. As far as we know, very little has been done on devising classification techniques and number systems for the scientific *principles* themselves. Furthermore, many individuals and institutions in the U.S. and around the world are attacking problems which bear on these types of programs. We consequently consider a major function of our Laboratory to be the coordination and dissemination of such information, and not merely the initiation of our own programs.

Separating education from ethnocentrism. As we continue to raise the level of remaining problems, we come to the crucial problem of ethnocentrism: To what extent can scientists be free from the cultural biases in which they themselves grew up? Can any test, whether intelligence tests, attitudinal tests or otherwise, truly reflect a standardizable quantity? Can there truly be fair comparisons

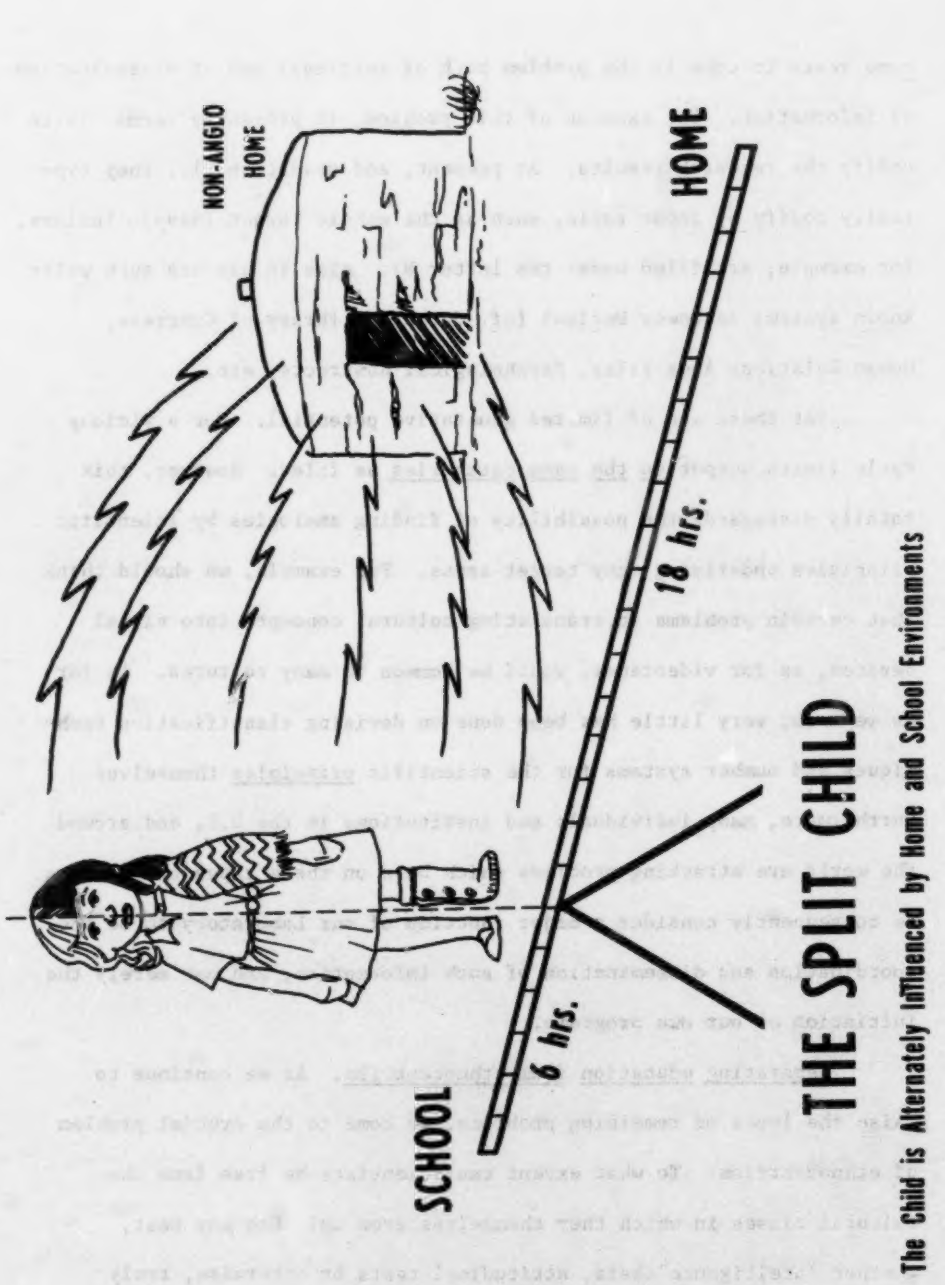

NON-ANGLO HOME
HOME
18 hrs.
6 hrs.
SCHOOL
THE SPLIT CHILD
The Child is Alternately Influenced by Home and School Environments

Figure 10

between Anglo values and, for example, Indian values? Is it justifiable that we should teach our minority groups to become quasi-Anglos? This issue deals, of course, both with the testing procedures, and with the larger purposes of education. Because of the newness of the educational involvements with such social sciences as cultural anthropology, the Laboratories have given little strategic thought to the longer range purpose of these curricula. If, for example, there can be found suitable types of employment and cultural satisfaction in methods which are not fully Anglo, but which retain Indian elements, then there would be no point in trying to adjust the Indian school child toward becoming merely another Anglo. In other words, there may yet remain many curricular possibilities which would be intermediate between Anglo and Indian, rather than, as at present, a goal of making the minority seemingly an imitation Anglo.

Correlating school and home life. This leads us into the broader problem of pupil motivation. If the parents of the child remain in a minority culture and minority values, to what extent can we expect that the few hours the child spends in school each day will really influence his life and his values? Surely the division between the Anglo type schooling and the traditional type home life of many families makes peculiar the situation of the school child, who feels a division or split between the two cultures. His education then seems highly irrelevant to his insistent needs. There is no holism between school and community, as is diagrammed in Figure 10.

Here again, the Laboratories have only touched on the subject. We have been spending most of our effort on the school day, and virtually disregarding the home life, which is the majority of hours in the day, and to which the school child presumably brings his new skills. The entire problem remains, then, of environmental holism.

Creative solutions not mere test reports. And a final, even broader, problem remains for the Laboratories to tackle. This is the problem of translating *description* of needs into creative solution of needs, *prescription*. Most traditional social science effort, has gone into the definition of problems and bench marks, rather than into their solution.

If we may translate this problem into medical terms, it would be as if physicians were to spend most of their time in diagnosing patients, and little of their time in prescribing. Obviously, this would be only a part of their problem.

True, we need to determine bench marks--that is, description of the personality and social situation of these minorities. But bench marks must prod us to solutions. There remain many obstacles. For example, let us suppose that the Laboratories identify a correlation between school success and family nuclearity. That is, suppose we find that the family having the larger extended kinship (resident in or near the home) tends to be the family which has the poorer student in school. By no means can we then merely recommend idealistically that the home life be changed and that the grandparents be sent away! In other words, *description does not lead to prescription*. There is always a gap between applied science and implementation, according to Henry S. Hatfield's law of implemental innovation (Agassi, 1966, page 361). The difficulties of institutionalizing bridges for this gap help explain why engineering flourished in Europe as a profession for some two centuries before becoming correlated with pure-science theories. Then another gap appears as we try to correlate from natural (i.e., sub-social) to social science. Theory is inadequate; an entire range of "ethological" disciplines remains to emerge and existing institutions may be, once again, perpetuating the disproportion.

Thus, the federal government obligated science research funds in fiscal 1966 as follows:

	Basic Research	Applied Research
Social sciences	2.1%	2.9%
Non-social sciences	97.9	97.1
Total	100.0%	100.0%

(Source: U.S. HEW 1967, Page 160)

This entire area of "Hatfield" implementation is the area of social engineering. It has barely been touched in our democracy. Applied social science, which is the essence of Laboratory work, is quite a virgin field. Not only is social science understaffed, but virtually all of its practitioners are teaching in schools. There they repeat and develop theories, but pay very little attention to the application of these theories. Even the principles of organizing for applied social science are quite virginal. For example, some laboratories, including our own, are beginning to find that a line-and-staff organization may be a superior way to apply social science. That is, the better scientists may perhaps be utilized to advise on all operational projects, and the administrators of those projects may better be operational (and "less scientific") people. We cannot say for sure at this early time. We would only indicate that there is a dearth of information and of practice in applied social science.

Educational Behavioral Science Needs Sustained, Not Sporadic, Support.

Educational laboratories are, then, in about the same situation in social science as physical-science laboratories were perhaps a century ago. At that time, only a few laboratories were being set up for specific ends such as Thomas Edison's Menlo Park Laboratory (designed to develop electrical and aural devices such as the phonograph). Yet even physical science, involving fewer elements than social science, took years of perfection before it could develop both devices and human organization to operationalize them. We know, for example, that it took World War II before the idea of large-scale applied physical science was found highly practical, as in the atomic engineering investigations. Billions of dollars of priority and endeavor were funded before important results were found. *Educational laboratories, involving the relatively untapped field of applied social science, cannot be expected to produce such miracles after just two years of operation.*

Summary of Remaining Needs.

We must, in sum --

1. Make a sustained effort to spread rather than concentrate the benefits of our problems.

2. Gradually improve all subjects, and not merely language arts.

3. Offer training, and especially guidebooks, to help teachers understand the cultures of each minority group.

4. Identify and specialize the many nonintellectual functions

of teachers, such as tender loving care.

5. Devise prototype data retrieval system that will enable Laboratory findings to be retrieved by their essential scientific principles (processes, not merely substances).

6. Seek for teaching goals that blend Anglo values and the values of the minority group, rather than forcing the minority group into a purely Anglo pattern.

7. Translate the description of needs we are finding into creative solutions for these needs.

These, then are the issues and directions on which the educational laboratories must act if we are to improve the conditions of the Indians--and other Americans.

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APPENDIX I

The following list of typical current non-U.S.O.E. research projects, either completed within the past six months or now in progress, is offered as representative of current Indian education research interest. This list has been compiled largely from a summary of such research presented by Dr. William Kelly in a paper delivered at the National Research Conference on American Indian Education, Pennsylvania State University, May 25, 1967.

1. Father John F. Bryde, Holy Rosary Mission, Pine Ridge, S.D.

   Psychological experiments with curriculum and teaching methods leading to development of a secondary school course to give the Sioux Indian student a conscious awareness of his traditional tribal culture and values as a basis for adjustment in biculturalism.

2. George P. Castile, University of Arizona.

   A description of the history and existing patterns of relationship between members of the community and the Navajo Demonstration School at Rough Rock, Arizona.

3. Center for Applied Linguistics, Washington, D.C.

   A study of ten boarding and four day schools operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs to determine needs and develop recommendations for English language teaching programs for American Indians.

4. James R. Clark and Lyal Holder, Brigham Young University.

   A study for the development of a program of teacher education in Indian education, a project in translating educational materials into the languages of Indian groups, and a study in public schools relative to peer group and community relationships between Indian and non-Indian students and parents as these relationships affect academic and social achievements of Indian students.

5. Le Roy Condie, University of New Mexico.

   A project in the development of a sequential series of curriculum materials in the social studies for Navajo Indian pupils in grades K-12.

6. Enki Corporation, San Fernando, California.

   Evaluation of a number of Bureau of Indian Affairs projects such as: TESL on the Navajo Reservation; enrichment of the educational program in the Choctaw Agency Area; an elementary guidance program in the United Pueblos Agency Area.

7. EVCO, Inc., Albuquerque, New Mexico.

   A study of the effectiveness of the use of films, prescribed daily by computer techniques on the basis of tested concept deficiencies, as a means of filling in existing gaps in the cultural continuum of the Indian child.

8. Robert Gentry, University of Oklahoma.

   Experiments in the effectiveness of workshop training in securing attitude changes among public school teachers of Negro and Indian children.

9. Theodore Graves, Joseph Powers, and Byran Michener, University of Colorado.

   A study designed to secure data on a number of socio-cultural and psychological variables for approximately 1000 male high school Indian seniors and to test the relationships of these variables and both the students' classroom performance and post graduate success.

10. Joel Greene, Harry Saslow and Mary J. Harrover, New Mexico Highlands University.

    A multi-purpose, dormitory centered project concerning the psycho-social adjustment of students in an Indian boarding school and involving research, research and development, in-service training, and service for personnel and students.

11. Arthur M. Harkins, University of Kansas.

    A study of public education on a Minnesota Chippewa Reservation describing the community and school life from the viewpoints of major participants in the life of these institutions.

12. Judith Holt, Brigham Young University.

    A study of the relationship between ACT scores and achievements of Indian students at Brigham Young University.

13. Inter-Laboratory Committee on Indian Education Claremont Hotel, 1 Garden Court, Berkeley, California.

    A project to develop eight experimental and demonstration schools in Alaska, Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota, New Mexico, Arizona, and Washington, where promising curriculum, teaching methods, and administrative practices will be developed and incorporated to serve as models for the improvement of education of Indian children.

14. William H. Kelly.

    A study of the Indian school age population of Southern Arizona to identify the more crucial economic, social, linguistic, and personality factors related to low academic achievement among Indian students.

15. Myles McConnon.

A project to develop a bilingual education program for Taos primary children which will include instruction and drill in the sound values of both English and Indian, using the International Phonetic Alphabet reduced to simplified phonetic systems for both languages.

16. Charles K. Ray and Frank Darnell, University of Alaska.

Studies of personal characteristics and traits predictive of success in teaching Alaskan "bush" schools, teaching patterns and factors lending themselves to improved teacher training, and the development of appropriate teaching materials.

17. Rough Rock Demonstration School, Chinle, Arizona.

An experiment in various aspects of Indian education for children and adults, and in Indian involvement in, and control of, a community school.

18. Bernard Spilka, University of Denver.

A study of achievement, educational adjustment and alienation among 7-12 grade Sioux designed to measure and analyze a number of social and psychological variables related to possible combinations of school performance and alienation.

19. George D. Spindler and Louise Spindler, Stanford University.

Case studies in culture and personality factors related to Indian education. These studies are part of a long term program the Spindlers have engaged in, or have encouraged others in, of "building a body of careful empirical cases of educative process in the socio-cultural milieu, and their functional analysis."

20. Carolyn Steel, Brigham Young University.

A study of the relationship of cultural background to academic achievement of Indian students at BYU which will identify some specific cultural problems which lead to academic difficulty.

21. Southwestern Cooperative Educational Laboratory, Inc., Albuquerque, New Mexico.

A longitudinal study, funded by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, which measures achievement gain of a sample of 3,500 high school Indian students in over twenty schools in seven states and seeks to investigate the relationship between achievement and certain social, economic, linguistic, and personality variables.

22. Murray Wax, Rosalie Wax, and Mildred Dickeman, University of Kansas.

A study of education of American Indians in rural and urban schools in northeastern Oklahoma which will measure and describe the educational consequences of isolation and the development of pupil peer societies.

[Extracts From The Sioux Indian Student: A Study of Scholastic Failure and Personality Conflict, by John F. Bryde, S.J., Ph.D.]

CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

Among the many sources of cultural values, economic factors rank high in determining the patterns of belief and response which characterize a society. The manner in which its members make a living from natural resources is thus of prime significance in understanding social motivation. Therefore, as long as the ecology of a culture remains intact, behavior indigenous to that ecology is normal to that culture.[1]

What is of interest, though, is that when the economic basis of a culture is destroyed and its natural ecology disrupted, the values that originally arose from that economy tend to remain active and alive, but relatively inoperable in the now changed culture. This is the current history of the great Sioux nation. When their manner of making a living—hunting the buffalo—was taken away, their natural economic basis was removed, their ecology disrupted, and an alien conquering culture tried to force a new economy upon them, one to which their traditional values bore no relation.

Unlike the quiet Pueblos whose values arose largely from a peaceful agrarian economy and who, even when surrounded by the dominant white culture, could continue exercising their values via agricultural behavior, the nomadic and warlike Sioux, with their natural ecology ruined, could and cannot exercise their traditional response patterns, even though their high valuation of physical bravery, generosity, individual autonomy, good advice and leisure are still vibrant and active (Macgregor, 1946).

Immersed in the alien, dominant White-American culture which forces, for the most part, new and conflicting patterns of belief upon them, the Sioux, trying to utilize behavior normal to their heritage, meet constant frustration. Deleterious changes in behavior, arising from such frustration, are psychologically inevitable. In this setting of face-to-face contact with White people, any behavior is regarded as deviant. For instance, the refusal of the Sioux to accept the White man's value of working from eight to five in exchange for something, led to charges of his being lazy. The great Sioux values of individual autonomy and appreciation of leisure also made the White man regard him as irresponsible.

In short, the White man's behavior is demanded of the Sioux, even though the latter does not share the values from which the former's behavior would psychologically follow. It may, therefore, be reasonably theorized that this clashing of cultural values should have adverse effects on the personalities and educational performance of Sioux Indian students. This area of cultural confrontation thus constitutes the focus of this study.

CHAPTER II. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

A review of the literature pertinent to this study embraces the following areas: sources of the historical foundations of Indian behavior, sources of the historical foundations of Sioux behavior, culture change and personality stress, culture change and Sioux personality stress, the intelligence of Indians, the educational achievement of Indians, the educational achievement of Sioux students. In order, these are discussed in the following pages.

I. SOURCES OF THE HISTORICAL FOUNDATIONS OF INDIAN BEHAVIOR

Among early writers on the Indians, Grant (1933), Wissler (1938; 1946), Catlin (1959), and Hans (1964) offer excellent insights into Indian behavior prior to and immediately following initial contact with the Whites.

Modern writers who have provided good general histories of Indians are LaFarge (1956), Driver (1961), Hagen (1962), Lowie (1963), Brandon (1964), and Washburn (1964). Collier (1947), in his survey of the history of the Indians from the Incas to the present, in less than two hundred pages, is necessarily sketchy; nevertheless, he is successful in describing their general ethos and astonishing sources of survival. Underhill's (1953) comprehensive treatment of Indians is used in many colleges as a textbook. McNickle (1961) offers a general survey of the past, the current situation, and some insights into the probable future of American Indians. He points out that, across all tribes, common pyschological traits can be identified which will insure Indian cultural persistence indefinitely, in spite of past and current stress. Fey and McNickle (1959) have analyzed the contribution of Indians and review the treatment they have received in their governmental relations. Simpson and Yinger (1957) also present useful articles on modern legal, demographic, economic, health, educational and political conditions of Indians today. The Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institute, Washington, D.C. has extensive reference lists on Indian history, culture and traditions, while the Bureau of Indian Affairs of the Department of the Interior, Washington, D.C., offers publications on every facet of Indian life today.

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[1] Ecology refers to "The Study of the relationship between humans in their environment or between organism and habit," (Winick, 1958, p. 182) and, "the relationship between the distribution of human groups with reference to material resources, and the *consequent social and cultural* patterns." (Webster, 1962, p. 458.)

II. SOURCES OF HISTORICAL FOUNDATIONS OF SIOUX BEHAVIOR

Hyde (1937; 1956; 1961) and Hassrick (1964) provide the best and most recent general histories of the Sioux in which one can see most vividly the origins of Sioux values. Jackson (1965) in her book which was very influential in the later 19th century devotes a chapter to the Sioux. Textor (1896) has always been a basic source on the Sioux and their relations with the government. Oehler (1959) depicts the fierce pride and spirit of the Sioux, and Robinson (1904) presents much information not found in other histories.

Riggs (1940), Finerty (1962), and Sandoz (1961) give vivid accounts of Sioux life when the Sioux were still relatively uninfluenced by the Whites. In his classic work on the North American Indian, Curtis (1908) devotes volume three to the Teton Sioux. Vestal's classic works (1932; 1934), although they have a strong Indian bias, are standard sources of Indian history and of the Sioux in particular. Mooney (1896) still is the standard authority on the last days of the Sioux during the time of the Ghost Dance, while Utley (1963) presents the latest and most critical analysis of this same period.

Neihardt (1932) and Brown (1953), drawing upon the same revered holy man of the Sioux, Black Elk, as their source, have plumbed the deeper dynamics of the ancient Sioux religion and mysticism.

In summary, much of the large body of literature on the American Indian is of a romantic or emotional nature. The above-cited books furnish excellent and reliable sources for the historical foundations of Indian behavior.

III. CULTURE CHANGE AND PERSONALITY STRESS

Culture, as one of the major determinants of personality, is recognized by most behavioral scientists (Spiro, 1959; Barnouw, 1963, p. 26). It is a basic Freudian tenet (Mead, 1947; Wallace, 1962, p. 179) that in the normal development of personality one undergoes severe stresses at various stages. Among the many responses exhibited by large numbers of people, great variations are to be expected, even in an homogeneous culture.

As Kubie points out (Kubie, 1957), all people are potential neurotics. Individuals who, for various reasons do not conform to cultural norms, are subject to psychic stress. There are people like this in all cultures (Hallowell, 1936). Normality and abnormality of behavior, therefore, must be judged in the light of one's cultural context (Benedict, 1936).

Opler (1959) writes that culture includes the transmission, through families and social units, of traditional systems of regulating behavior, ethics and attitudes. This transmission "does not occur with perfect regularity and elements which ultimately are incorporated from the culture into personal functioning may, in a range of families and individuals, produce a series of problems best called mental illness. * * * A culture is often enough in flux, or divided in its structures, to contain serious conflicts in values and action patterns, throwing whole families and individuals into states of empty, unsatisfying, or disturbed functioning" (p. 9).

If a person lives in a constant state of worry, fear or threat, his body processes are kept mobilized on a chronic basis (Selye, 1956). Whether the source of the threat is physical or emotional, the resultant, chronic mobilization and resulting disorder may be the same. It is a matter of medical record that physical ailments which stem from prolonged emotional mobilization have become a major problem (Coleman, 1956, p. 133).

Coleman continues:

"Society, as well as individuals, can develop unhealthy ways. * * * Such faulty development both lowers the stress tolerance of the group and provides a pathological climate for the rearing of its members. And in much the same way that the individual may show decompensation in response to excessive stress, society may undergo decompensatory changes which, in turn, affect the individuals in the group (131).

It is to this unhealthy state of our modern society, with its unreasonable competitive stress and goals unworthy of human beings, that Goodman (1962) assigns as the cause of the deviant behavior of modern juveniles. The frustrations of the "closed system" distorts behavior. As Stagner (1961) says:

"We may speculate that the child who has encountered too many frustrations may reject his parents, his society, and the values they represent; or, alternatively, that the aggressive tensions built up by these frustrations bring him into conflict with social rules so that he bahaves badly" (219).

Stagner further points out that children of low socio-economic status will experience more frustrations and more personality problems (p. 499) and Coleman says that these children are often ashamed of their parents and are quite hostile towards them (p. 144). Such stresses and anxieties not only cause personality maladjustments, but inefficient functioning in the classroom (Pacheco, 1963). Margaret Mead (1947) writes that our modern American culture is changing so fast that, not only are cultural conditions different from generation to generation, but any given generation of parents changes while the children are growing, with the result that the children do not get a constant, stable view of life and this makes for fragmented development.

Since behavoral deviation can be expected even in homogeneous cultures, where only one set of vales is operating, *a fortiori* such deviation may be expected, and in greater variety and numbers, in situations where people are living under the stress of two sets of cultural values.

Malinowski (1945) was one of the first to point out the tensions and frictions inherent in cultural adaptation. Kennedy (1961), for example, writes that culture change may create conditions of anomie and conflicting orientation within a community to the point where personalities are affected in an adverse manner. Leighton (1959), in the same vein, hypothesizes that rapid and extensive acculturation affects the mental health in a population and rapid acculturation can create social disorganization. If long sustained, this can lead to an increase in the number of psychiatric disorders in the group. Barnouw (1963), after presenting a thorough treatment of the cultural determinants of both personality and its disorders, claims that the major categories of mental illness, such as schizophrenia and paranoia can be found in all cultures, but there may be variations in behavior content and characteristic symptoms from one culture to another (p. 374). Paul Benedict and Irving Jacks had earlier noted this among primitive peoples (Benedict, Jacks, 1954).

Spindler and Goldschmidt (1952) similarly write:

"Persons in the transitional category, alienated as they are from the cultural symbols of their ethnic past and at the same time not having internalized the symbols which constitute the value system of western society, will exhibit more symptoms of personality disorganization than members of groups closely identified with the symbols of either of these culture types" (p. 80).

Thurwald (1954) describes the usual long period of rejection of the dominant culture on the part of the smaller cultural group which is followed by partial acceptance under stress.

Wallace (1962), one of the more highly regarded modern authorities on personality and culture change, says that culture change goes through four stages, temporally overlapping, but functionally distinct, though all are fraught with tension. The first stage is simply that of a steady, slow pressure to change. The second period, however, is "the period of increased individual stress * * * the socio-cultural system is being 'pushed' progressively out of equilibrium * * * climatic and biotic change, epidemic disease, war and conquest, social subordination, acculturation, etc. Under these circumstances, increasingly large numbers of individuals are placed under what is to them intolerable stress by the failure of the system to accommodate the satisfaction of their needs. Anomie and disillusionment become widespread, as the culture is perceived to be disorganized and inadequate; crime and illness increase sharply in frequency as individualistic asocial responses" (p. 147).

In the third stage, that of cultural distortion, groups are seen as attempting to adjust as individuals did in the second stage.

"Some members of the society attempt, piecemeal and ineffectively, to restore personal equilibrium by adopting socially functional expedients. Alcoholism, venality in public officials, the 'black market,' breeches of sexual and kinship mores, hoarding, gambling for gain, 'scapegoating' and similar behaviors which, in the preceding period, were still defined as individual deviancies, in effect become institutionalized efforts to circumvent the evil effects of 'the system'" (ibid).

The fourth period is that of revitalization in which, through a transfer culture, there is constructed a new, Utopian image of socio-cultural organization. What is of interest (and which we will develop later) is that, after over 400 years, the majority of Indians have not arrived at this fourth stage.

Asserting that mental disorders are universal, Wallace (1962) also notes that cultural differences make for local differences in the content of the symptomotology and the occurrence of the disorders (p. 178). Of primitive groups, forced into cultural change, he writes:

"Anthropologists frequently have made note of the fact that primitive groups, who have been forced into situations of culture conflict and of partial, unorganized acculturation, seem prone to a higher frequency of the milder neurotic and personality trait disorders. Chronic anxiety and tension, psychosomatic complaints, alcoholism, narcotic addiction, delinquency and crime, witch fear, regressive or stunted personality development: such disorders proliferate under the conditions produced by culture conflict and partial acculturation * * * the position that culture change is associated with mental disorder has a certain obvious plausibility" (p. 184).

Wallace concludes by saying:

"Semi-primitive peoples, living on the shabby fringes of Western civilization, migrants in new lands, occupants of slum areas, and lower racial, ethnic, and socio-economic classes, generally are characterized by high incidences of both neurosis and psychosis" (p. 185).

Spiro (1959), writing in the volume, *Culture and Mental Health*, reasserts "That culture and personality are interdependent variables is a proposition that today evokes almost universal assent" (p. 141). He adds that it is moreover widely assumed that some culture contact situations are more pathogenic than others.

"It is frequently noted in support of this view that contact between aboriginal and European peoples is a pathogenic situation par excellence" (ibid).

Spiro concludes:

"Individuals whose life experiences were idiosyncratic developed mental illness either because extant cultural means for tension reduction were ineffective * * * or because these experiences gave rise to tensions for which cultural means for reducing tensions were nonexistent" (p. 170).

Scott (1958), in a comprehensive review of the social and psychological correlates of mental illness and mental health, notes that the literature falls into two broad categories: a) The demographic-environmental, which relates the prevalence or incidence of mental disorder to diverse ecological and cultural factors; and b) interpersonal correlates, the social interaction processes in the development of social disorders. He observes that most of the studies show that the lower one goes down the socio-economic scale, the more psychosis one finds.

The classic study of mental illness and social class was that of Hollingshead and Redlich (1958). More neurotics are found in the higher socio-economic levels and the lower socio-economic classes exhibit a higher incidence of psychosis. Diagnostic biases may account for these findings. Riessman, Cohen and Pearl (1964) in a later survey of mental health in the lower socio-economic levels question the conclusion of Hollingshead and Redlich "that a distinct inverse relationship does exist between social class and form and extent of mental illness" (vii). The authors hold that one must appraise the various sub-groups and not the poor as a whole, but grant that "the prevalence treated mental illness is related significantly to an individual's position in the class structure" (p. 16).

Within our own American culture, there are subcultures in depressed and lower socio-economic area which are also undergoing the pressure of culture change from the more affluent levels of our society. Attendant maladjustments in personality and school performance are commonly observed. Ressman (1962) presents one of the most complete descriptions of the tragic consequences in the maladjustments of these lower groups. Shaw (1963), for example, claims:

"These children often have great difficulties in personal adjustment. Delinquency is more concentrated and destructive aggression more widespread in problem areas; psychoses and completely disabling breakdowns are disproportionately high. One reason is that they receive relatively little of the ego satisfaction, the rewards, and the feeling of belonging that society has to offer" (p. 92).

Conant (1961) did much to draw national attention to maladjustments and tragically low achievement of students, Negroes and Whites, in these slum areas. He ascribes the causes as cultural. Della-Dora (1963) writes on the same underachievement and maladjustment of the culturally deprived child and notes that "Parents exhibit apathy toward school and a high incidence of social or emotional maladjustment" (p. 227).

Studies by Ludeman (1930) of isolated colony children in this country, Sherman and Key (1932) of isolated mountain children, Skeels and Fillmore (1937) of orphanage children. Thorndike (1940) of culturally deprived children, Decter (1964) of Negro children in slum areas confirm reductions in intelligence and achievement as the children grew older.

Spiro (1955) noted that all the studies on acculturation show a positive relationship between acculturation and social mobility. Ethnic groups remaining in the lower classes are the least acculturated. "Social mobility * * * is a threat both to the group's social solidarity and to its cultural survival" (p. 1243). He concludes by saying, "That acculturation creates severe problems of emotional adjustment is a finding of all those who have dealt with this problem" (1248).

For Negro children in culturally deprived areas, Vontress (1963) suggests:

"A course in Negro history may be effective in helping the student acquire an historical frame of reference. A course in the psychology of adjustment may be an immediate way to heal wounded personalities, bleeding from self-pity, shame, and a lack of courage to achieve" (p. 81).

Sachar (1965) stresses a similar theme relative to the status and history of the Jews in western civilization when he asserted that "No people can remain vigorous without a glowing pride in its past" (p. 326). Kaplan urges that teachers of culturally disadvantaged children be specially trained in order to understand their students:

"Especially important is the need to work with the entire staff of the schools involved. Many teachers, often unconsciously, may be psychologically rejecting these students; all teachers in such a program should have the opportunity to participate in in-service training to examine their attitudes, expectations, and practices in regard to these youngsters" (p. 74).

In summary, all leading scholars investigating the dynamics of culture change report widespread personality stress and an almost inevitable increase of mental health problems.

IV. CULTURE CHANGE AND INDIAN PERSONALITY STRESS

Although much cultural variation exists among different tribes of Indians, there seem to be almost universal psychological characteristics of Indians in general. Concerning such common characteristics, Honigman (1961) states that "A number of reports * * * suggest quite convincingly that a high degree of psychological homogeneity characterizes the American Indian" (p. 123). As McNickle (1962) writes:

"In any case, Indian characteristics exist and remain in play after centuries of Indian-White association. The Dominican monks who in 1544 described Indians as 'not acquisitive' and 'satisfied with having enough to get along on from day to day,' were describing traits that are complained of in modern times, by aggressive, hustling, white men" (p. 8).

Four hundred years after this brief description by the Dominican monks, George and Louise Spindler (1957) were able to draw an almost identical, but more detailed, description of Indian personality in general. Summarizing certain widely shared psychological traits depicted by the Spindlers, McNickle writes:

"Restrained and non-demonstrative emotional bearing * * * generosity, expressed in varying patterns of formalised giving or sharing; autonomy of the individual * * * high regard for courage and bravery often patterned as aggressive acts against the out-group; fear of the world as a dangerous place * * * detailed, practical, and immediate concern in problem situations, rather than advance planning to prevent future difficulties * * * " (ibid., p. 7).

Lesser (1961) makes a similar observation, noting that external acculturation is not the total picture.

"* * * modern studies of Indian communities show that adoption of the externals of American life is not neatly correlated with accompanying changes in basic

Indian attitudes, mind and personality * * * Studies among the Cherokees of North Carolina, for example—considered one of the Five Civilized Tribes for more than a century—and among the Navajos of the Southwest reveal the same inner Indian feelings about the world and man's place in nature, the same noncompetitive attitudes, the same disinterest in the American drive for progress and change" (p. 3).

The Spindlers (1957, 154–157) also distinguish four main classes of Indians, or four levels of acculturation. The first level refers to those who have changed very little from the time of their ancestors; they exercise all the old time virtues and will die that way. The other extreme is that of the completely acculturated Indian "probably not represented in many reservation communities today, for when a man reaches this stage in most situations, he leaves the reservation and is assimilated." Between these two groups is the reaffirmative native type, made up of younger men who have doubts about the traditional culture but continue to affirm it because they feel themselves thwarted in respect to the white culture. Finally there is the transitional type who is aggressive and unpredictable "shifting abruptly from one stance to another"; some of them passively withdrawn and others acculturation-oriented * * * "suspended" * * * personality structure is "badly corroded by regressive breakdown." (p. 157).

Vogt (1957) writes that, in spite of pressure from the dominant culture, there are still basically Indian systems of social structure and culture perduring with varying degrees of vigor in different parts of the country. Vogt along with Hagen (1962) approves of the newly emerging Pan-Indianism as a source of identity and solidarity for the Indians, as well as a bridge between the two cultures.

Hallowell (1957), for example, found three distinct levels of acculturation among the Ojibwa: the traditional or unacculturated group, the transitional group, and the completely acculturated group. Yet, throughout the three levels, he found a clearly discernible constellation of personality characteristics identifying the aboriginal culture. Among the transitional and traditional types, he observed a cultural impasse and regression in personalities. Rorschach responses were similar to those of children with the result that "these regressive trends in their personality structure makes an optimum of mental health impossible under the conditions that confront them" (p. 366). On all three levels there were individuals who expect very little from others and who were not apt to develop close emotional ties. The traditional and transitional groups appeared to be characterized by introversiveness, with phantasy playing an important role. Among the most advanced group, he found that the strains of acculturation had taken its toll. These people exhibited a weakening of the rigid control characteristic of the traditional Ojibwa personality, but without the acquisition of any new compensating factors. There has thus emerged an apathetic type of personality "with a great paucity of inner resources" (p. 352).

Concerning the children of these people, Watrous (1949) noted the same general pattern, with the most acculturated showing the greatest of stress. Barnouw (1963) cites Watrous in describing these children as "oversensitive, hypercritical, with fearful attitudes toward people, emotional aggression, underlying psychic conflicts, and an unsatisfactory rapport with their surroundings" (p. 252).

Hallowell (1938) had previously pointed out that, although some Ojibwa fears seem irrational and neurotic to us, they are not to the Ojibwas; in fact, if an individual had not reacted to these culturally induced fears he would have been neurotic. People in a given culture who manifest quantitatively and qualitatively different phobias from the rest are therefore regarded as disturbed. "From an etiological standpoint, genuine neurotics will remain comparable insofar as we can account for their behavior in terms of common dynamic processes" (p. 47).

Wallace (1962) referring to Hallowell's regressive personality findings in the Ojibwa writes:

"The 'marginal man,' indeed, is an ideal type constructed to label persons caught precisely in the vortex of such dilemmas, unable to forsake the old culture, yet, because of experience of the new, unable to be happy in either" (p. 162).

Kaplan (1954), in evaluating the Rorscach as one of the principal instruments used in cross cultural personality research, including that of the Indian personality, concludes that responses vary, careful interpretation is needed, and that this particular technique is far from perfected. Instead of abandoning this instrument, he urges further study with it in order to make it as effective as possible.

Arthur (1941) found somewhat different results in her research on the Chippewa (Ojibwa) children at Ponemah on the Red Lake Reservation. Noting that "intelligence quotients * * * seem to have little value as a basis for predicting what these children can do in life situations," (p. 188) she concluded that these children are fairly well adjusted:

"* * * as nearly as I could make out, there is little mental illness and the little that does exist is organic rather than functional * * * A people who have courage, who can meet deprivation with dignity, who have perspective in seeing themselves in relation to the universe and who can exact the maximum pleasure from the present moment, are likely to be an emotionally comfortable people, not given to psychosis, suicide or other exaggerated reactions" (p. 194).

In a study of a highly selective group of Indian high school seniors, Arthur (1944) found that in comparison to the control group of youth of the same age (university freshmen males and females) the latter scored higher than Indian boys on the psychopathic scale of the MMPI and Indian girls showed a slightly greater tendency to depression than did the white university girls. Indian students also revealed less of a tendency to hysteria than the university students. She concludes that, as a group, they give evidence of good emotional adjustment:

"Apparently they are more highly organized nervously than the university group with which they were compared. They seem to react to more stimuli and be more aware of what goes on inside and outside themselves than are the white students of about the same age, but with more academic training. The Indian students give evidence of being objective in their observations. They look at themselves and others fairly critically. They are more like the adult white group than like those of their own age in seeing below the surface and not taking things at their face value" (p. 250).

Seward (1958) conceptualizes personality according to the following schema: identification, expressive styles, ego defense systems, and moral controls. When one or the other is weak within a society or because of culture conflict, there is likely to be resulting stress and maladjustment.

"In cases of submerged subcultures which fail to give their members a rationale for positive identification, there will be a few inner resources with which to combat the unmitigated threat from without. Individuals reared in such subcultures can hardly escape ambivalence in their self concepts" (p. 4).

Spilka and Bryde (1965) found support for this contention. Seward, in recalling the emphasis in the literature in recent years on the importance of aggression as a factor in personality development and socially approved means for its release, cites the example of Hopi childhood aggression and the inevitable stress caused by conflict through its expression in a white contact situation.

"In considering aggression among the Hopi, it should be explained that the young Hopi child is customarily indulged and literally 'lord of the manor' as far as his immediate surroundings are concerned. The adults in his environment cater to his needs and desires, so that the Hopi child discovers early in life that aggressive behavior brings prompt and effective results. Rather suddenly, however, at school age—this pleasant state is interrupted, and the child's relatively unrestrained personality is molded into its conceptually ideal pattern of a smooth, selfless, cooperative being. The egocentric, aggressive behavior which had been so pleasantly effective and easy during the first few years of life is the antithesis of that which is now expected of the young Hopi * * * creating * * * new sources of frustration" (p. 165).

Writing in much the same vein, Wallace (1959) in studying the institutionalization of cathartic and control strategies in Iroquois religious psychotherapy, discerns a shift in emphasis from catharsis to control, as the Iroquois moved from an organized to a disorganized sociocultural situation, with its attendant stresses and strains. This shift is "* * * congruent with a general hypothesis: that in a highly organized sociocultural system, the psychotherapeutic needs of individuals will tend to center in catharsis (the expression of suppressed or repressed wishes in a socially nondisturbing ritual situation); and that in a relatively poorly organized system, the psychotherapeutic needs will tend to center in control (the development of a coherent image and self-and-world and the repression of incongruent motives and beliefs)" (p. 182).

Voget (1956) writes that in forced cultural change, some societies resort to nativistic movements, while others do the opposite, i.e., passive resistance or apathy to the dominant culture so that "* * * the disorganizing and restraining effects of a pervasive anxiety so predominates that at best a passive or adjustive nativism emerges. In such instances, compulsive hostility and anxiety seem to immobilize individuals, setting them adrift between two cultural worlds" (p. 249).

He cites Macgregor's description of the Pine Ridge Sioux as illustrative of passive or adjustive nativism, but doubts that it extends to the majority of the Sioux. He writes that Peyoteism and Shakerism are reformative nativistic movements, which, although not encompassing the majority, represent a movement toward pan-Indianism.

Mead (1932), using the fictitious name of the Antler Tribe, describes the deleterious changes in a real American Indian tribe caused by contact with the White culture. As the dominant culture breaks down the native culture:

"Within this disintegrating social structure. the individual develops a formless, uncoordinated character * * * the primitive culture breaks down and the individual member of the primitive society is left foundering in a heterogeneous welter of meaningless, uncoordinated and disintegrating institutions" (p. 222).

George and Louise Spindler, writing in one of the great foundation volumes of Psychology (Koch, 1963), outline the convergence of psychology and anthropology in the study of culture change. They analyze psychological constructs in Siegel's sample of 94 books and articles on acculturation from 1929 to 1952 (1955) as well as a similar analysis of all articles on culture change published in the *American Anthropologist* from 1952 to 1962.

Accepting the "now well-established conception of functional correspondence between personality and social structures," (p. 530) they point out that in rapid cultural change, established cultural patterns "may even become dysfunctional and therefore threatening to the individual who is trying to adapt to the new situation . . . behaviors become comparatively, though never wholly randomized" (p. 516).

They cite three postulates of Osgood (1960) concerning the growing emphasis on cognitive theory for culture-change studies, in which one can see the conflict and anxiety intrinsic to such change:

"(1) Cognitive modification results from the psychological stress produced by cognitive inconsistencies. * * * It is clear that rapid and disjunctive culture-change situations provide a legion of cognitive discongruities. * * * How long can he tolerate the stress induced by this discongruity?

"(2) If cognitive elements are to interact, they must be brought into some relation to one another * * * This can be interpreted as one way of resolving cognitive discongruity—by compartmentalizing the cognitive elements so that they are not brought together in such a way as to induce stress.

"(3) The magnitude of stress toward modification increases with the degree of cognitive inconsistency * * * In rapid and disjunctive culture-change situations, the degree of cognitive inconsistency may become so great that the stress induced cannot be coped with and the individual stops trying to reduce inconsistency. He withdraws and becomes totally passive. * * * It seems probable that native-oriented groups on American Indian reservations recruit new members largely through this process * * * The situations created by rapid culture-change are ego-threatening, and consequently, anxiety arousing" (p. 547).

Gillin (1942), James (1951), and Boggs (1958) also write of the personality stress inherent in culture-change.

More recently, much attention is being given to Indian mental health problems, especially in school children, caused by the cultural conflict. Hoyt (1962) simply writes that three hundred years of mental and cultural disturbances among Indians have accompanied contacts of Indians and Whites in the United States. She regrets how widespread are the mental health problems of people undergoing cultural change and how little we know of constructive measures to deal with them. She also quotes the Spindlers in claiming that the great majority of Indian adults stood between the old and the new in various degrees of confusion, anxiety and insecurity. In analyzing the essays of 582 Indian students, fifteen to seventeen years of age, Hoyt found few references to tribal values. Whereas, White pupils of the same age were concerned with *which* job to choose, the Indian youth were anxious about getting any kind of a steady job, albeit on a lower economic level. Indian youth also showed more humility of ambition and much less confidence than the white students.

V. EDUCATION AND INDIAN PERSONALITY STRESS

In efforts to understand these difficulties more fully, Cobb et al (1960) are studying emotional problems of Indian students in boarding schools and related public schools plus ways and means of solving them. Zintz (1958; 1962) has investigated how different cultural values can cause maladjustment and underachievement in the classroom. Most recently, he (Zintz, 1963) has engaged in an effort to instruct teachers in the values of Navaho, Pueblo and Spanish-American children in order to understand and teach them better. He also notes that lasting contact of two cultures causes friction and maladjustment and "as minority ethnic group children progress through the school grades, their achievement falls farther and farther behind" (p. 117). Marinsek (1958) points out the same lack of achievement in the classroom caused by different cultural values and supports the position of Zintz that, in order to have any success in the classroom at all, the teacher must be aware of the values of the students. He also provides an outline of Pueblo values.

Coladarci (1960), concerning Indian students in the Southwest writes:

"There is, as would be expected, a correlation between intellectual ability and scholastic achievement; but approximately 75% of the variation in achievement in any group is not explained by variation in the measures of intellectual capacity of the students. It must be accounted for by other factors such as motivation, level of aspiration and emotional blocking" (p. 25).

He hypothesizes that the negatively accelerated curve reflects a school curriculum that becomes increasingly dysfunctional for the Indian student and his approaches a "requirement of failure." What teachers regard as proper school *objectives, rewards and punishments are thus decreasingly* shared by the Indian children as they progress from grade to grade.

Sasaki (1960) writes, concerning the Indian reaction to a White classroom situation:

"Rapid change from the Indian way of life may leave the Indian with the problem of being confused as to which set of rules to live by. The difficulty of making decisions in this situation may result in emotional problems. The Indian may withdraw from situations where he has to make such decisions or he may even go back to tribal ways altogether * * * much work needs to be done to relate types and symptoms of mental illness to the various acculturation situations" (p. 5).

Leon (1960) delineates some symptoms of Indian maladjustment in school:

"Learning difficulties may also be symptoms of emotional maladjustment * * * First and most simply a child may be so fearful that he cannot concentrate. If he is a withdrawn, well-behaved child, this anxiety may be overlooked. Or a child may be rebelling against his parents and authority. In this case, refusal to learn is a way of expressing hostility * * * Children who are depressed tend to be withdrawn and lack the energy and motivation to learn * * * other behavioral symptoms of emotional unrest * * * are such things as restlessness, stealing and running away and sexual acting out in adolescents" (p. 15).

Greene (1964) in an investigation currently underway of Indian student behavioral problems says that the general cultural and environmental circumstances of a given group of children can produce problems of adjustment which may not readily be observed in overt behavior. He seeks to identify problems of adjustment of the students to school and adjustment problems of the staff to the Indian students.

Segel and Ruble (1962) investigated, in a transitional neighborhood student values, needs and adjustment problems with a view to enlightening the school staff and orienting the school facilities toward better guidance and adjustment of the students. A school of the Junior High School level was chosen because "the symptoms of maladjustment in both personal and social adjustment, variations in achievement, and changes in aspirational level seemed to become acute during the junior high school years" (p. 1).

Ulibarri (1960), writing on teacher awareness of socio-cultural differences in multicultural classrooms, points out that tension can arise between the teacher and the class if the teacher is not aware of the cultural values of the children. The cultural setting to which he referred was the Southwest, where the teacher frequently has three different cultures in one class, Indian, Spanish-American and Anglo.

Finally, all the struggles and frustrations of the Indian people are poignantly epitomized in the real flesh and blood struggle of Polinqaysi Qoyawarma, an educated Hopi woman and successful teacher. After struggling for years to gain an education and after teaching her people for many years, the misunderstandings and suspicions of both the White and Indian people became almost unbearable.

"She became silent, introspective, brooding. Once more she was trapped in a spider-web structure of suspicion, based on her own fears. The more she tried to push it away, the more entangled she became. The sense of rejection which had haunted her all her life bowed her spirit down with grief. Because of her Hopi heritage, she told herself, she would never be fully accepted by the White world, and her own Hopi people resented her interest in that world and her ability to work in it. Which way could she turn?" (Qoyawayman, P. and Carlson, V., 1964, p. 152).

VI. CULTURE CHANGE AND SIOUX PERSONALITY STRESS

If other Indian tribes have resisted acculturation with attendant stresses, *a fortiori*, the Sioux, the greatest of the Plains Indians who "haughtily dominated the heartland of the Northern Plains for nearly a century," (Hassrick, p. 57) could be expected to resist even more vigorously, with even greater stresses. One has to live among the Sioux of today only a short time before he is aware of the fierce pride of race that they still have. Of the Sioux living only a hundred years ago, Hassrick wrote:

"To characterize the Sioux as anything less than vainglorious would be inaccurate. Their arrogance was born of successful conquest. * * * They could hardly help being aware of their great power. The Sioux were far more than aware: they were overbearing in their vanity" (p. 67).

The Sioux were forced by sheer weight of numbers to submit to the White man's ways. Still conscious of their superior past, it is no wonder that the Sioux, of all the Indian tribes, resist most bitterly the overtures of the Whites for acculturation.

Goldfrank (1943) writes:

"The Teton makes little effort to adjust himself to the 'civilized' life. The old live in the past, the middle aged on their right to rations, the young accept their lot without joy, the children without hope" (p. 82).

Mekeel (1936) described the current economy of the modern Teton Dakota community, with its destitution, apathy and poverty. Malan (1963) delineated the ancient value of the Sioux, showing how it is still operative today. In an earlier work (1961) on the socio-economic status of the Sioux today, he relates employability directly to degree of acculturation. Large numbers of Sioux driven by poverty, have gradually drifted to nearby cities. White (1959; 1961) and Lovrich (1951) have studied the tragic effects of personality disintegration caused by the increased contact with White culture in the urbanization of the Sioux. Hurt (1961) made a similar study in the urbanization of the Yankton Sioux.

Hagen and Shaw (1960) characterized the Sioux of today as "being passive, apathetic, and hostilely dependent" (p. 8). Mekeel (1936, B), observing the conflict and tension in Sioux children in the classroom, writes that the Sioux "* * * still holds to certain life values or to certain patterns once expressing those values, which definitely oppose the assumption of certain American values and the configurations on the part of any individual of that community. * * * The great failure of Indian education is that, along with specific knowledge, the life values and drives possessed by a white community have not been, and perhaps cannot be, transferred to the Indian. Without that transfer his knowledge is useless" (p. 155, 157).

Perhaps the most discerning analysis of Sioux personality tensions is that of Erikson's (1939). It must be pointed out, though, that at the time Erikson wrote, the Sioux were still relatively organized and isolated from frequent and pressing contact with the Whites. It was after the Second World War, with the return of the veterans that the demographic picture began to change. After 1945, when horses and wagons were still common family transportation, second hand cars began to appear, access to liquor and nearby towns made available, and the general contact area widened and increased.

Of these Sioux before World War II, Erikson wrote that they thought it was the Whites who, in many respects, were abnormal. The Whites, for instance, let their babies cry and spanked their children. In order to understand the school performance of Sioux students, Erikson continues, we must look at his behavior in the light of his conscience. School discipline is successful only in so far as it is an extension of the parents' conscience, and an Indian school is by no means the extension of the parents' conscience.

"In the vast majority of the problems of Indian education, a neurotic conflict cannot be present because, for one thing, the white teacher has never really been accepted as representing in any way the parents' philosophy or the child's conscience.* * * This, it seems is the most astonishing single fact to be investigated: Indian children can live for years, without open rebellion or any signs of inner conflict, between two standards which are incomparably further apart than are those of any two generations or two classes in our culture. * * * Adjustment takes the form of a general and intangible passive resistance against any further and more final impact of the white standards on the Indian conscience than toward neurotic tension" (p. 122, 124).

Erikson holds that since the Sioux child does not have a "bad conscience" in not cooperating with the White teacher, he does not have neurotic conflicts.

Outbreaks of delinquency should, therefore, not spring from lack of conscience but from an impasse created by the contact of two opposing systems of consciences. Strictly neurotic and psychotic states exist when one's actions set him apart from his own people, and this is not true here, contends Erikson.

The Sioux, forced to depend on the Whites who were an enemy far greater than any inimical Indian tribe, "* * * developed an attitude toward past and future which is something comparable to the compensation neurosis in individuals in our culture. * * * How this attitude affects the mental state of individual members of the tribe deserves systematic investigation; one would probably find much character malformation (with increasing petty delinquency) both in the Indian and White sense. * * * On the other hand, the very fact that the Sioux can afford to avoid a testing of his communal strength on the realities of today, allows him to preserve an unachronistic system of child training which remains the continued source of inner peace under desperate communal conditions (Erikson, 1939, p. 151).

Erikson says that he voices the suspicions of many others that, even if the buffalo and Black Hills gold were returned, the Tribe would never forget its traumatic defeat, and habits of dependence, and further would not be able to create a community "adapted to the present day world which, after all, dictates to the conquerors as well as to the conquered" (p. 105). Even if "turned loose" today to work or starve, "* * * it would in all probability only serve to demonstrate how socially sick the Tribe really is and how unable to manage aggression" (p. 152).

It is almost psychologically impossible for individuals to escape this cultural pathology. Erikson quotes Mekeel as saying:

"There is an almost malicious attempt to keep a man to the level of his fellows. If he is ahead in wealth, he is eaten out; if ahead by virtue of position, he is calumniated. But how much conscious malice there is in it is impossible to judge" (p. 117).

After over fifty pages of intensive analysis, Erikson concludes in a rather pessimistic tone:

"The second possibility (other than 'turning them loose') would be the proper influence on and the wise utilization of the Sioux child's early education * * * even if this is done, they will probably join the racial minorities of the poorer American population. * * * Unavoidably, the psychological effects of unemployment and neurosis will be added to the tuberculosis, syphilis, and alcoholism which the Indians have acquired so readily. In the long run, therefore, only a design which humanizes modern existence in general can deal adequately with the problems of Indian education" (p. 1952).

Eleven years later, Erikson (1950) noted that the Sioux had sunk even deeper into his compensation neurosis. "He receives all his sense of security and identity out of the status of one to whom something is owed" (p. 103). The old time Indian virtues have even more become vices in the modern confrontation.

Macgregor (1946), in one of the standard works on the modern Sioux, wrote that the Sioux child finds the world quite hostile. "The behavior of adolescents reflects an almost sudden withdrawal, confusion and inability to find a satisfactory role" (p. 195). Adolescent boys, in particular, were frightened, unsure of themselves, felt the ill will and unfriendliness of society and since life on the reservation for them seems empty, they tend to retreat from life (p. 195). Results for all subjects on emotional response tests were "* * * an index of their delinquent behavior, their lack of opportunity to express aggressive impulses in socially approved ways, and their reaction against the felt hostility of their environment" (p. 195).

Macgregor found much fantasy escape * * * which is poor preparation for the actualities of life, to say the least. The conflict of these daydreams with the realities of modern life on the reservation and of white society adds to the insecurity and the resultant anxiety in the child's mind. * * * The Dakota child personality seems crippled and negative, as if it rejected life. The unfriendly environment, which offers so little opportunity or satisfaction, retards the growth of personality and prevents it from becoming positive, rich and mature. Life is lived on the defensive" (pp. 207, 209).

Havighurst and Neugarten (1955) tested one thousand Indian children from the Papago, Hopi, Zuni, Zia, Navajo, and Sioux tribes for their types of emotional and moral responses, rewards and punishments, and compared them with seven hundred white children from a midwestern city.

What is pertinent here is that the Sioux children showed no identification with the father as a source of fear (p. 65), but had fewer guilt feelings, from conscience, rather than from self consciousness than any of the other Indian groups. Hagen (1962) states that the fathers are rejected as "ineffective models" (p. 498). In the psychoanalytic theory, then, the Sioux child would have a weak super-ego, with hardly any norms internalized. Self conscious of the censoring attitude of the dominant culture, he would possess a high anxiety level in a White contact situation, such as a school. Of the persons involved in sadness responses, the Sioux father accounted for only four per cent, compared to thirteen per cent for White fathers. Sioux mothers, on the other hand, accounted for fourteen per cent of sadness responses, and White mothers accounted for fifteen per cent.

Personal failure and inadequacy, as a source of shame, accounted for only one per cent of the responses of Sioux boys, compared to nine per cent for the Sioux girls, and twenty-two and twenty-one per cent for the White boys and girls respectively. This would seem to indicate a sad lack of pride and identity in the Sioux boys.

"Thus we find the Midwest and Sioux boys consistently giving more attention to the mother than to the father in all four roles—rewarder, praiser, punisher, blamer. * * * What appears to be the case, then, is that the father's role is a less important one in the life of the Midwest and Sioux boys than in the other tribal groups and that in these two societies, the mother takes a more important place in the boy's life" (p. 196).

Pertinent to these findings is the statement of Seward (1956), comparing the Pine Ridge Sioux men and women. Compared to the Pine Ridge Sioux women.

"* * * the men have suffered great losses of respect through their inability to find work. The gross discrepancies between the roles for which their training fitted them and those actually open to them under present circumstances, have made the contemporary fathers a lost generation. The grandfathers can still take pride in outmoded traditions and live on memories, but they cannot provide realistic models for their sons to follow. They are, if anything, models to be avoided. * * * Instead of stirring the ambition of the contemporary Sioux, their only effect is to make them feel inferior to both their own great past and the modern American culture. Inability of these hapless Indians to find an identity in their foster society has led to family disruption, delinquency, and ego breakdown expressed in emotional withdrawal, apathy, and a generalized rejection of life" (p. 230).

Lee (1962), writing on responsibility in the Dakota value system, says that responsibility arose from feelings of relatedness with the universe. The self was coexistence with the universe, yet completely autonomous. Children were assigned tasks, but never supervised, in order to develop their autonomy. Coercion and persuasion were unacceptable to them since no person could decide for another.

"Autonomy was a prerogative of all, young and old, men and women. Children learned early to act at their own decision * * * it was a tenet of the society that no man could decide for another" (p. 65).

It is evident that the exercise of this traditional value would cause much frustration in the white world for the Indian child.

Wax and Wax (1964, B), studying the Sioux child in modern White schools, observed that tensions arising in the school situation are not so much between the child and the school as between the child and his peer group.

"Teachers do encounter difficulties in conducting their classes, because some pupils do not wish to recite publicly or do not wish to be placed in a competitive situation with their classmates. The difficulty here is not one of direct conflict with White and Indian values, so much as a struggle between school and Indian peer society. This peer society tends to organize about a set of values and behaviors quite distinct from those formally espoused by administrators as suitable for pupils" (p. 114).

The peer group, in turn, is sabotaging the educational process more than parents and teachers realize. Frustrated and suppressed as they are, however, the Waxes in another publication (1964, A) noted 'a people whose lust for life reminded us of the descriptions of Restoration England * * *" (p. 18).

It is of interest to note that Devereux (1951), using largely dream analysis in the psychotherapy of a Plains Indian, reoriented him to the reservation. Since the breakdown of the Indian was caused by his inability to face the White man's world and live in it in daily contact, the major emphasis in the therapy was to restore identity by orienting the Indian toward the reservation where he was more comfortable. Despite the current misery of reservation life, Hagen (1962) forsees change for the better in the not too distant future.

In summary, studies to date on the Sioux have shown that the cultural impact has taken its toll in obstructing the development of the young Sioux personality. The young Sioux people meet the demands of the dominant culture with a passive resistance. This in itself, however, causes hostility, withdrawal and a general feeling of rejection. They cannot turn back and are not motivated to go forward. They are truly caught between the cultural stresses of the old world and the new.

VII. THE INTELLIGENCE OF INDIANS

In one of the early studies of the intelligence quotients of Indian children, Rowe (1914) tested 268 Indian children and 547 White children with the Binet-Simon scales. The Whites scored higher than Indians in every area. The Indian children were, however, weaker in comprehension and definition than in pure perception and memory. Goodenough (1926), using her Draw-A-Man test, found that among 16 different racial groups tested, southern Negroes and Indians placed lowest, with mean I.Q.'s of 78.7 and 85.6 respectively. She pointed out that the rank order of the groups corresponds with the results of other investigators who employed verbal tests.

Garth, Serafini and Dutton (1925), Fitzgerald and Ludeman (1926), Garth, Shuelke and Abell (1927), Jamieson and Sandiford (1928), and Telford (1932) studied the intelligence of Indian groups using instruments standardized on White children. The mean I.Q.'s reported in these studies range from 69 to 88. Arthur (1941), in testing Chippewa children, found that the I.Q. was of little value for predicting behavior in real life situations. Peters (1963), employed four different intelligence tests on Hopi children, and observed that peak performance was attained in the third and fourth grades, and then followed by gradual and consistent declines in apparent capacity.

It is of interest to note the difference in intelligence scores when the Indian groups are divided into groups by degree of blood. The most common divisions are: one-quarter Indian blood, one-half, three-quarter and full blood. Garth, Shuelke and Abell (1927) and Hunter and Sommermier (1922) found a coefficient of correlation between degree of White blood and I.Q. scores of .42 and .51 respectively. Hanson (1937) found that half-bloods excelled full bloods.

Even though degree of Indian blood correlates negatively with intelligence, current psychologists are loathe to ascribe a genetic difference as the reason. All argue for cultural differences (Shuey, 1958). Full blood children tend to be culturally farther away from the dominant culture than one-quarter blood children and should be expected to score lower than White children and quarter-blood children. Coombs, Kron and Collister (1958) had noted that most of the city dwelling Indian students were mixed-bloods and most of the reservation dwelling Indian students were full bloods.

Bryde, Van Doornick, Elkind and Spilka (1965) found a significant coefficient of correlation of .641 for quarter-blood Indian children in ambiguous picture tests, while full blood children had a coefficient of correlation of .125. They also found that the majority of the mixed-blood Indian children lived in towns and the majority of full blood children lived on the reservation.

In support of cultural variables as the basis for lower I.Q. scores among Indian children, the study of Rohrer (1942) is eminently pertinent. Rohrer hypothesized that if Indian children could be found who were equal to White children in socio-economic level, cultural opportunities and comparable schooling, there would be no difference in thier I.Q. scores. He found such a group in 235 Osage Indian children who lived in circumstances similar to their White neighbors and were on a par with them educationally, economically and culturally. He found no significant differences between the Indian children as a whole with the White group, nor any significant relationship with degrees of blood.

VIII. THE EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT OF INDIANS

It has been noted earlier (Ludeman, 1930; Sherman and Key, 1932; Skeels and Fillmore, 1937; Thorndike, 1940; Decter, 1964) that culturally deprived children show not only less achievement and lower intelligence quotients, but drops in achievement and intelligence as they grow older.

The same findings can be expected from Indian children and all studies bear out this expectation.

Symptomatic of poor performance in the classroom and compounding the Indian educational problem is the high dropout rate. As Thompson (1963) writes:

"Sixty percent of Indian high school students did not stay in school to graduate. Comparatively speaking, the Indian high school dropout problem at that time (1958–59) was about fifty percent greater than the national dropout rate" (p. 1).

Havighurst (1957) claims that, although the Indian students have innately the same ability, they have different motivation. Since they are not competitive, but cooperative, their culture does not prepare them for traditional academic work. As a result, they achieve less and less as they grow older.

Cowen (1943) tested Indian students in the state of New York. Although the mental ages of the grade school children were above the grade norms, 46 percent were achieving below their grade norm. All the Indian high school students had mean achievement scores below the mean of the White ninth grade students. Turner and Penfold (1952) found their Indian group with significantly lower scholastic aptitude than a control group of White students. Witherspoon (1962), in testing Ute children, revised and modified tests to minimize verbal content, eliminate separate answer sheets and time limitations. The Indian children were consistently below White children in all tests and areas. He likewise found the separation of the Indian and White groups to become greater as they progressed through grade school. Kayser (1963) also studied Ute children and obtained similar results. Peak performances for these children were in the third and fourth grades. He holds that Anglos achieve better from the sixth grade on because attendance at college is a more realizable goal for them and motivates them accordingly.

Townsend (1963) studied the reading achievement of eleventh and twelfth grade Indians in New Mexico. He found for this group that "Indian students generally achieve at least five years below grade level" (p. 10), and recommended better preparation of teachers for Indian students. Rist (1962), also found Shoshone Indian students to be considerably lower in basic skills than White pupils in the same school. Shoshone children apparently make normal progress to the fourth grade and begin their drop in achievement in the fifth grade. He hypothesizes that, in the lower grades, the White and Indian children are "less cognizant of each other," but that in the middle grades, this feeling increases with the results that "in the junior high school grades it becomes so prevalent it is detrimental to learning" (p. 58). This interpretation appears rather superficial.

Lloyd (1961) studying Indian and White students in an integrated school found that both Indians and Whites decreased in mental maturity scores as grade levels increased. Safar (1964), however, in testing Shoshone and Arapahoe students, who live next to one another, found no decrease in mental maturity scores of Indians and non-Indians with increasing grade levels. Although Safar's Indians were below Whites in general in maturity, achievement and personality scores, he writes:

"The data in this study clearly demonstrate that Indian pupils are achieving as well as can be expected when compared to their non-Indian classmates * * * The academic progress of Indian pupils will be facilitated when it is reasonably certain teachers no longer have the belief the Indian pupils are under-achievers" (p. 63, 64).

Currently, there is much research underway to solve the Indian educational problem and "get through" to the Indian student. Prominent in this field is Roessel (1962) who is doing much to educate teachers of Indian students to understand the Indian child in his given culture. The Annual Conference of the Coordinating Council for Research in Indian Education, sponsored by the Arizona State Department of Public Instruction (1962; 1963) publishes annually the results of on-going research in Indian education. Arizona State University (1960) offers a master's degree in Indian education. Quimby (1963) researched variables in the cultural and academic areas in order to discriminate successful and non-successful Indian college students. Variables in the academic area, such as grades in high school were more significant than variables in the social area.

Zintz (1963) has already been cited in his efforts to train teachers to teach Indians. Largely because of him, the Tutoring Counseling Program for Indian Students at the University of New Mexico was formed to prepare promising Indian high school graduates for college by intensive summer school work and counseling. The Navaho Orientation Program, sponsored by the Navaho Tribe, seeks to do the same thing for their students

In these several programs, not only are basic skills built up, but every effort is made to orient potential Indian college students toward a way or a style of life which will be a combination of the two cultures. As Angers (1960) notes, a person will approach a learning task when it is felt to be associated with his notion of success. "Educational influences are likely to be accepted only when they seem to hold a promise of success for the individual's style of life" (p. 181).

In summary, investigations of educational achievement of Indian students show almost universally poorer achievement when compared to White students. Most researchers agree that cultural, not genetic, factors make the difference in the relative achievements of Indian and White students.

IX. THE EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT OF SIOUX STUDENTS

A number of studies have been conducted on Sioux students. Macgregor (1946, p. 187), for example, found that Pine Ridge Sioux children scored above average on the Arthur Point Performance Scale and the Goodenough Draw-A-Man test.

Peterson (1948), Anderson Collister and Todd (1953) and Coombs, Kron, Collister and Anderson (1958) have all made extensive surveys of the achievement of Indian students, including the Sioux, finding generally lower educational achievement for Indians than Whites. In general, children who attend public school better than those in reservation federal schools. Anderson et al (1958) found peak performance in the fourth grade.

Artichoker (1957), in an extensive study of Sioux high school students, found their performance to be low relative to comparable White South Dakota pupils. In another study, Artichoker (1958) found that among 1,404 Indian children in grade school during the 1954–1955 school year, 27.8 per cent were over age for their group. During the 1957–1958 school year, the number dropped to 22.3 per cent. Truancy and late enrollment in the first grade accounted for 54.7 per cent of the students. In studying Sioux college students (Artichoker, 1959) further found that poorer academic training, lack of money, concern about family affairs and inability to relate educational and vocational objectives to the future, were major causes for maladjustment and dropout in college.

Deissler (1962) observed that Sioux students scored below the state norms in all educational areas. It is of interest, though, to note that these pupils ranked as a group, in the 51st percentile in interpreting reading materials in the natural sciences.

Ross (1962) compared academic achievement and attendance patterns of full blood and mixed-blood Sioux students in a federal school. He found that the mixed-blood students missed fewer days of school, were socially more mature, and scored higher on achievement and intelligence tests than the full blood group.

Krush, Lello and Warner (1961) compared five different school grades of Sioux children and Whites in the same community between 1959 and 1961. The Indians consistently achieved much lower than did the Whites. Kizer (1940) earlier had obtained similar results. Although the intelligence quotients of his Indian group were almost normal, they were retarded about two and a half years in academic achievement.

Galuzzi (1960), using SRA Tests of General Ability which are supposed to be culture free, obtained a mean score for his Sioux Indian group 14 points less than White students in an integrated school. Seventy-eight per cent of the Indians scored in the low average range, while only 41.2 per cent of the Whites responded similarly. Among the latter, 15.6 per cent were in the bright to superior range, in comparison to .9 per cent of the Indian children.

Bollinger (1961) also compared the achievements of Sioux and White students in an integrated school. He wrote that "Indian pupils in grades 4, 5 and 6 scored above national norms on the California Achievement Test, while Indian pupils in grades seven through twelve scored below national norms on this test" (p. 41).

Johnson (1963), used the Michigan M-Scale to assess motivational factors in the academic achievement of White and Sioux students. On the total test, which has five scales, the White students scored higher than the Sioux.

"The difference in academic ability as measured by the DAT–VR (Differential Aptitude Test, Verbal Form; one of the sub-tests) indicates that the Indian male and female have significantly less aptitude to achieve in school work than the Caucasian students have * * * the DAT–VR is a more effective predictor of school achievement for the Indian than the M-Scale * * * but a combination of the DAT–VR with the M-Scale is a better predictor of grade point average for the males than for the females (Indian)" (p. 62).

One of Johnson's hypotheses that factor analysis of the scores for Indian males would yield a motivational factorial structure different from that derived for the White students was not supported.

Attempting to assess the role of alienation in academic achievement, Spilka and Bryde (1965) found alienation and its components, powerlessness, normlessness and social isolation to be significantly negatively related to achievement among 105 Sioux students in an Indian high school.

The latest and most comprehensive compilation of the achievement of Sioux grade school children are on file in the Aberdeen Area Office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (1965). On the California Tests, these are the mean achievement scores, by grade, of all the federal Indian schools, thirty-eight in number, in North and South Dakota:

	Norm	Average	N
Grade 4	4.1	4.3	636
Grade 5	5.1	5.2	627
Grade 6	6.1	5.8	667
Grade 7	7.1	6.9	618
Grade 8	8.1	7.7	626

In summary, the educational achievement of Sioux students, after about the sixth grade, is considerably less than that of White students. One can see, however, that each year Sioux students achieve slightly better than the previous year, and that Sioux students living in town environments achieve better than Sioux students on reservations.

* * * * * * *

BACKGROUND MATERIAL FOR SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON INDIAN EDUCATION SUPPLIED BY JOHN F. BRYDE, S.J., PH. D., FORT YATES, N. DAK.

(1) It is generally agreed by all educators that one of the prime ends of education is to meet the needs of the children.

(2) Beyond the (a) basic biological and (b) human needs for love, security, and personal fulfillment common to all mankind, all other needs are learned, or culturally induced.

(3) Education, therefore, should also be very concerned with meeting the cultural needs of the students.

(4) In cross-cultural education, this means that the goals and cultural needs fulfillment should be initially and primarily in the context and norms of the cultural being educated, and not in that of the dominant culture that is doing the educating.

(5) The reason for this is that the system of rewards and punishments—or motivating factors in one culture is not necessarily the system of rewards and punishments—or motivating factors in another culture.

(6) For the subject at hand, Indian education, this would conclude that the system of rewards and punishments in the dominant Non-Indian American culture is not necessarily the system of rewards and punishments, and, consequently, motivating factors in the Indian culture.

(7) In Indian Education, therefore, the Indian system of rewards and punishments—or the Indian value system—should be the source of goals and motivational factors for Indian self-fulfillment, as well as for motivation to face the modern world in which everyone must live today.

(8) We have assumed too long that, by offering the Indians the Non-Indian American educational system with its built-in reflection of the value of the Non-Indian dominant culture, these values would motivate the Indian student

to the perceived desirable goals of the dominant culture; namely, upward social mobility.

(9) The fact that the national Indian dropout rate is 60 percent would seem to indicate that Indian students are: (a) not responding to the system of rewards and punishments in the Non-Indian culture and that, (b) their cultural needs are not being met.

(10) In addition, recent research has shown that mental health problems are increasing among Indian Students in proportion to their daily confrontation with the Non-Indian culture, especially in the schools where the main contact is made.

(11) This value conflict has caused serious problems of identification for the Indian youth, resulting in alienation and anomie, not only from the dominant Non-Indian group, but from his own Indian group as well.

(12) In Indian education, therefore, the students should be educated first of all in their own value system, in order that these values, operating at the unconscious level until examined, can be brought to the conscious level to enable them to understand their behavior and to be able to utilize these values for motivation for self fulfillment, first of all within his cultural context, and then within that of the larger society.

(13) What has been said so far, does not mean these Indian cultural courses should be the total content of the Indian school curriculum, or that the non-Indian American school curriculum should not be taught at all. Since the Indian student needs much of the curriculum content of the non-Indian American school system as necessary tools to live in the modern world, he should be taught as much of the non-Indian American school curriculum as is pertinent to his needs in facing the modern world. What is recommended is that the non-Indian American school curriculum should be based *on* the Indian courses as a) the pedogogically logical starting point of beginning with the student where he is, and b) as well as the psychologically logical motivational source for his bicultural adjustment.

Practical implications

(1) On the part of *Indian parents:* Indian parents should control the education of their children, and set their own educational goals for them consonant with their cultural needs and these of the larger society.

(2) On the part of the *Government:* Pursuant to the goals set by Indian parents, financial and educational technical assistance should continue to be given until Indians can support themselves with dignity at whatever they choose.

(3) On the part of *teachers of Indians:* Teachers, from the time of Socrates, have been admonished that, before they teach, they should know their human subject thoroughly. In Indian cross-cultural education, therefore, teachers of Indians should have institutes, workshops, and seminars instructing them thoroughly in the value system of their Indian subject in order to: (a) understand the behavior of their Indian Students (b) utilize these values to motivate them to goals of self fulfillment acceptable to Indian Culture, and (c) be able to make the Indian student see that he is sincerely accepted by the teacher as a worthwhile person within the Indian's cultural context and not necessarily within the cultural context of the teacher, and, in turn, (d) avoid alienation of the Indian student (by unconsciously signaling his own goals and norms of acceptability which the Indian student often perceive as either unacceptable or unattainable to him.)

(4) On the part of *Indian students:* Since the majority of research on Indian students reveals rising and severe mental health problems, caused by the cultural conflict and resulting in severe alienation, anomie, and loss of identity, it is recommended that a course of Indian studies be introduced on *each grade level* from pre-school to 12th grade high school, according to the following rationale outline.

Rationale

Most Indian students, after about the seventh grade, show themselves to be seriously alienated and unidentified. Personal pride and identity come primarily from one's racial group. Most Indian students lack personal, prideful, identity, because they are unaware of their racial historical past, due to the fact that it has not been taught to them in schools. Since values, until examined, operate at the unconscious level, most of them are also unaware of the great Indian value system that has made them the longest lived race on the face of the earth. (American Heritage Book of Indians). Their History Value System should be the rock bottom source of their prideful identity. In order to give Indian students a) prideful identify, and b) motivation to modern world adjustment as socially contributing citizens, the above mentioned course of Indian studies is recommended according to the following general outline.

Outline

1. Introduction: What Modern Indian Psychology is.
2. What culture is: How cultures are different.
3. What values are. How values arise and endure in a culture.
4. What the Indian values are. Indian motivation.
5. Indian History—Indian values in action.
6. Non-Indian values.
7. Psychology of behavior and adjustment. Defense Mechanisms.
8. Specific conflicts from Indian and non-Indian values.
9. Probable behavioral deviations from Indian and non-Indian value conflicts.
10. Indian psychology of adjustment: How to use the Indian value system as motivation for adjustment to value conflict.
11. The modern Indian—a unique personality, self made from the best of both cultures: your prideful and enriching contribution to American society.

CURRICULUM VITAE

Name: John F. Bryde, S.J., Ph.D.

Address: Box 116, Fort Yates, North Dakota 58538.

Present Occupation: Superintendent of Schools, Red Cloud Indian School, Holy Rosary Mission, Pine Ridge, South Dakota 57770. (Currently on leave of absence and residing at the above address.)

Education:

A.B. St. Louis University, St. Louis, Mo., 1943.
M.A. St. Louis University, St. Louis, Mo., 1944.
Ph.L. St. Louis University, St. Louis, Mo., 1945.
S.T.B. St. Louis University, St. Louis, Mo., 1952.
Ph. D. University of Denver, Denver, Colo., 1965.

Publications:

Bryde, J. *The Sioux Indian Student: A Study of Scholastic Failure and Personality Conflict.* St. Louis, Mo: J. S. Swift Co., 1966.

Bryde, J. A Perceptual Study of Sioux Indian Children. *Rocky Mountain Psychological Association*, Denver, Colo., 1965.

Spilka B. and Bryde, J., Alienation and Achievement among Oglala Sioux Secondary Students. *Rocky Mountain Psychological Association*, Denver, Colo., May, 1965.

Bryde, J. Culture Change and Sioux Personality Stress. *South Dakota Educational Association Journal.* To be published.

Bryde, J. Indian Education and Mental Health. *Association on American Indian Affairs*, New York, November, 1966.

Narrative: John F. Bryde, S.J., was born August 4, 1920, near Augusta, Kansas. He received his elementary and secondary education in Wichita, Kansas. On completing high school, he entered the Society of Jesus (Jesuits) September, 1938. In 1945, after finishing the first stage of his training during which he earned the A.B., M.A., and Ph. L., degrees from St. Louis University, he was sent to the Red Cloud Indian School, Holy Rosary Mission, on the Pine Ridge Sioux Indian Reservation, Pine Ridge, South Dakota, where he taught English, Latin, Mathematics and Business Education for three years. During this time he learned the Sioux language (Lakota) fluently. Returning to St. Louis University in 1948, he completed his training in 1953, earning the S.T.B., degree.

From 1953 to 1955, he was a missionary among the Sioux, caring for seven churches in an area approximately sixty by ninety miles. During these years, he studied the people and their language more deeply and began work on a Sioux Indian dictionary. In 1955, he was made superintendent of the Red Cloud Indian School, Holy Rosary Mission, which, with its enrollment of 500 students in the grade school and high schools, is the largest private Indian School in the country.

In 1961, he began work on his doctorate in order to research the causes of and to seek solutions to the "crossover" phenomenon among the Sioux Indian students. This phenomenon refers to the following: Sioux Indian students perform scholastically and socially above national averages until the seventh grade. At this age of adolescence a sharp drop begins in their achievement which continues in its negative curve for the rest of their schooling. This is accompanied by socially maladaptive behavior indicative of severe mental health problems. In 1964, he received a $10,000 grant from the National Institute of Mental Health to complete this research. He received his doctorate in psychology from the University of Denver in August, 1965. The causes of and proposed solutions to the crossover phenomenon were published in 1966, in his book, listed first in the above publications.

He is currently applying the results of the research by teaching courses in and writing the text books for a new field he developed called Acculturational Phychology, eventually to be taught at each level of school, from pre-school to senior year high school. This new approach to Indian education seeks to utilize the value system of Indian culture (and not the value system of the non-Indian culture) in assisting the Indian to complete mental health and to adjustment to the modern world.

In addition to this, he has a weekly inter-donominational radio program in the Sioux language aired by eleven stations over a five state area. He serves as a consultant to colleges, government and private agencies, and spends his summers teaching in institutes for teachers of Indians at Regis College, Denver, Colorado.

He is currently residing at Fort Yates, North Dakota, on leave of absence from his position as superintendent of Holy Rosary Mission, in order to write, under contract with the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the above described text books on Indian Psychology.

ACCULTURATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY—HOW TO BE A MODERN INDIAN

COURSE OUTLINE

1. Introduction: What Acculturational Psychology is.
2. What culture is. How cultures are different.
3. What values are. How values arise and endure in a culture.
4. What the Indian values are. Indian motivation.
5. Indian History,—Indian values in action.
6. Non-Indian values.
7. Psychology of behavior and adjustment. Defense Mechanisms.
8. Specific conflicts from Indian and non-Indian values.
9. Probable behavioral deviations from Indian and non-Indian value conflicts.
10. Indian psychology of adjustment: How to use the Indian value system as motivation for adjustment to value conflict.
11. The modern Indian,—a unique personality, self made from the best of both cultures: your prideful and enriching contribution to American society.

VALUE CONFLICT OF:

Old time Sioux.—Adjustment to nature (includes people), cyclical existence, survival leisure.

In short: *Activity to adjustment to nature.*

Non-Indian culture.—Scientific progress (conquer nature), progress for itself, activity and work for itself.

In short: *Activity to improve:* themselves—nature.

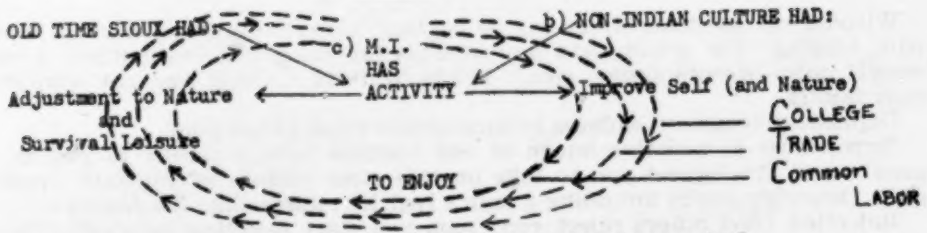
Depression.
Stress from unwilling conformity.
Guilt (doing "nothing" when others are "working").
Rejection, alienation.
Fantasy identification (withdraw to dream of O.T.).
No self actualization (got to improve enough to live).
Acting out (giving away to feelings of the moment because of a long frustration).

HOW TO HANDLE STRESS

Recognize or realize.—(1) (a) Activity to survive is no longer the issue. (b) There is a new way of making a living to survive. (c) In this new way, I have to *improve myself* or gain a new skill in order to survive and support my family. (Old skill: bow and arrow, horse—can't use now). (d) How much improvement—or at what level I want to support my family (low level, moderate level, high level) is up to me: (A) common labor, (B) a trade, (C) college level. (e) Therefore, *some schooling* is necessary, because here is where we learn new skills.

(2) I've got to take on some activity in the improvement direction (if not of nature) at least of myself in order to survive.

IN BRIEF:


a) OLD TIME SIOUX HAD:
b) NON-INDIAN CULTURE HAD:
c) M.I. HAS ACTIVITY
Adjustment to Nature and Survival Leisure
Improve Self (and Nature)
COLLEGE
TRADE
Common LABOR
TO ENJOY

a) Begin with "a" and follow arrow: O.T. Sioux activity for survival leisure & Adjustment to Nature
b) Go to "b": Non-Indian culture activity to improve self and nature
c) Go to "c": Modern Indian: ....
ACTIVITY TO IMPROVEMENT SIDE (get new skill)
TO ENJOY: OLD VALUE OF SURVIVAL LEISURE & ADJUSTMENT TO NATURE

Old time Sioux.—Good advice from Indian wisdom (Philosophical or Wisdom founded on knowledge of experiences of human nature; deals with humanistic and theological principles). Usually went with old age. Sees all things as one and related, judges people for what they are, not by what they have.

Non-Indian culture.—Efficiency and practicality: Appreciated knowledge: How to make money; quickest and best way of doing things—directed first to money-making, then to material comfort; sometimes both together. Philosophical and theological knowledge not valued; "egghead stuff."

Inferiority.—Can lead to this: (if the Indian doesn't appreciate that his system is best). He sees all the technical know-how of the whites—how to make cars, electric lights, guns, etc., and, if he is weak, can start to think that this is better knowledge than his. Also, seeing non-Indians regarding him as ignorant, he can start to look at himself in the same way, i.e., ignorant.

No task orientation, passive, not active.—Can lead to this sometimes. Instead of rolling up your sleeves and getting to the job, you take advantage of the values of sitting back and doing nothing and advising others. Become passive not *practically* active, which is needed sometimes in the new setting (E.G. the type who is great at suggesting committees etc., but who won't serve on one).

Psuedo Good Advice (false) as compensation.—Growing old, without having done a lot of *thinking and reflecting*, doesn't guarantee wisdom. Now some people, aware of their passiveness and their failure to contribute much of anything including their own family, can fall back on this value and tell themselves, "Well, at least I can give good advice". They then proceed to talk every chance they get, usually not saying much. They feel better for it, (are compensating), but are not really wise, and don't give true and reliable good advice.

HOW TO HANDLE THE STRESS OF THE CONFLICT

Recognize and realize.—(1) Because of the new setting, and because survival is first, in order to survive, I take in the new knowledge *with* my "good advice" knowledge.

(2) In short, I use *both.*

(3) Survival is by some of the non-Indian knowledge (being a carpenter, mechanic, electrician, etc.) Therefore, I take on what I need of it to survive.

In short: I continue being Indian (using by value of good advice) and simply take on new knowledge (being a carpenter, mechanic, doctor, etc.) to survive.

If I keep the Indian knowledge necessary to give good advice and get some of the new knowledge, I have *two sources of knowledge* and am better than the average non-Indian who has only one source—(being a carpenter, etc.)—or simply how to make a living.

Old time Sioux.—Bravery (doing the hard thing), doing the hardest thing (risking life), once in a while (then enjoying survival).

Leftover attitude today: *A man works once in a while.*

Non-Indian culture.—Achievement and money, success by working all the time (around the clock—or *8 to 5* (Pret. ethic)).

Leftover attitude today: *A man works 8 to 5.*

POSSIBLE DEVIATIONS

Withdrawal (because others say he is "lazy") and fantasy indentification with past (saying "I'm better than you because my ancestors—with whom I *make myself once*—were supreme men). Leads to doing nothing and not supporting your family.

Depression (constant sadness because others think bad of you).

Introjection to negative image of self (Others have a picture of you as "no good"—and this causes you to take on this same picture of yourself—leads to guilt (knowing you're not doing a man's real job: supporting his family).

Rejection (feel others reject you; soon you start rejecting yourself). This is alienation.

No role identification (for young people) Some fathers are "ineffectual models". This leads to a feeling of: Being lost—or anomic.

Defense Orientation (too busy defending yourself to yourself to enjoy life).

Frustration and acting out periodically (giving way finally to your feelings of the moment).

HOW TO HANDLE THE STRESS OF CONFLICT

Recognize or realize.—(Call on your new knowledge from accult. psych.) (1) *Survival* is no longer the issue. Therefore, no more working (risking your life) once in a while in order to survive.

(2) There is an *easier* way now, 8–5, (Say "Thank God, it is over, and I don't have to risk my life to survive".

(3) That: Knowing the history of the Sioux, this is the third obstacle, (8–5), and, since we always overcame it, we will overcome it now.

(4) Therefore: Work all the harder (like Eleanor Roosevelt) at whatever level you want your family to live.

Therefore: We use the old value (doing hard things) to overcome the third obstacle (8–5).

In brief: We use the old value (doing hard things) to do (8–5).

In conclusion: We don't stop being Indians nor give up the old value of bravery (doing hard things) but we *use* this value in a *new setting* (8–5). Bravery applied to the new setting (8–5) is called: Staying on the job (not quitting because that's running from a hard thing) or steadiness or reliability. (Because staying on the job is doing something hard—and this is bravery.)

Bravery: Taken as *when it is done:* once in a while (8–5), makes a conflict.

Bravery: Taken as *what it is:* doing something hard overcomes the conflict (8–5).

Old time Sioux.—Sharing or generosity (unlimited giving for unlimited receiving: Indian giving—true notion). You gets thing to *Give.*

Non-Indian culture.—Acquisitiveness (pile it up for yourself), activity and work for personal gain, achievement by personal effort. You get things *to keep for yourself.*

Excessive dependancy (I know I can always receive; therefore, why exert myself).

Prodigality (giving all without thinking about tomorrow; my family goes hungry and lives in need: clothes, shoes, etc.).

Egocentric (Since I have little *to give,* I settle on the receiving end, for *me.* I can become centered on *myself*—and not others.)

Compensation neurotic (When something is taken away, compensation is due; compensation is due for the land; by letting my mind focus almost solely on this, I can think of nothing else. I find eventually, my whole reason for existing, my position as a person, is as a *person to whom something else is due.* I don't even let my mind think of other things, such as how to improve myself in the new setting in order to survive and support my family. I'm locked on the compensation thought.

Rejection and hostility (When I ask to receive from the white world around me and usually hear "no", I can feel they are rejecting me; as a result, I can become angry and hostile. When other Indian people are sharing their whole pay check with their families (their first obligation) and have to say "no" to me, I can feel rejected by my own race; soon, feeling that Indians and non-Indians are rejecting me, I can take on their idea of me and start rejecting myself.

Frustration (constantly or frequently blocked from my goal of receiving. I feel frustrated. Experiencing this frustration for a long time can lead to acting out (giving way finally to the feelings of the moment), paranoia (since people are always rejecting me, I can get the idea that they are "picking on me", and, as a result, I can:) withdraw (separate myself more and more from the people with the eventual result that I don't function normally.)

HOW TO HANDLE THE STRESS OF CONFLICT

Recognize or realize (Call on your new knowledge of Modern Indian Psych.).—
(1) Because of this (1500: Hunt, farm. 1601: Hunt, fish. 1775: Buff Horse, 1778: 8–5.) there is no more unlimited giving because there is no more unlimited getting (plenty of buffalo over the next hill).

(2) Today, we can give or share, but giving or sharing is *limited* because my pay check (8–5) is limited. Therefore, my *giving is limited.*

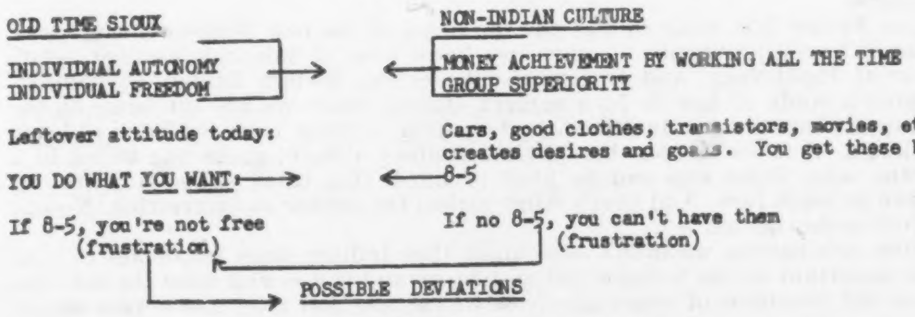
(3) Survival still comes in. Who should survive first? (My friend, relative, or family). My family. Therefore, I share my means of survival (paycheck) with my family *first* including savings, then I can share with what's left. (My first obligation is to the grocery bill for my family, payment on the car for the family, payment on clothes for the kids, etc.).

(4) Sometimes I have to say "no" because my family comes first and I just don't have it to share.

(5) Don't forget: sometimes the old time Indians said no (to the Indian who was not a true Indian giver—always receiving and not giving; they cut him off.

(6) Compensation: I'll keep fighting for it (Black Hills), but I won't let my mind get "locked" on it, because my mind is too busy improving myself to survive in the new setting.

Therefore: The old value is still working. You are still Indian. The only thing changed by the new setting is the *when* of the sharing.


OLD TIME SIOUX
NON-INDIAN CULTURE
INDIVIDUAL AUTONOMY
INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM
MONEY ACHIEVEMENT BY WORKING ALL THE TIME
GROUP SUPERIORITY
Leftover attitude today:
Cars, good clothes, transistors, movies, etc., creates desires and goals. You get these by:
YOU DO WHAT YOU WANT;
8-5
If 8-5, you're not free (frustration)
If no 8-5, you can't have them (frustration)
POSSIBLE DEVIATIONS

Frustration (doing what *you* want anytime—seeking a goal) is blocked because 8–5, school, being on time, paying bills, etc. *Limits* or *blocks* complete freedom. (8–5, school, law & order, etc.).

Hostility (Because when something keeps you from a goal, in this case, complete freedom, after a while, you get angry at it and stay angry.)

Rejection (Because since most of the world goes by 8–5, law & order, and school, etc. you feel they are casting you off and don't want you. Pretty soon you take on this idea toward yourself and don't like yourself,—self-rejection or self-alienation—Result of the above.)

Acting out (You can take frustration only so long, then you give way to the feelings of the moment).

HOW TO HANDLE THE CONFLICT

Recognize or realize (Call on your new knowledge from Accult. Psych.).—
(1) Freedom to do *anything you* want based on the *wrong* attitude of the value.

(2) The *right* attitude of the value meant: Free to do the *right thing* (not just *anything*) because the *right thing* was *to survive.*

(3) Therefore, *today*, it means:

M.I.	WHITE CULTURE
4) YOU HAVE FREEDOM (you make yourself do it) to do the	Forced (others make them) to do the
RIGHT THING (to survive) in the	RIGHT THING (8-5)
NEW SETTING (Because survival & way of making a living is 8-5)	

Therefore: Nothing changed about the value of freedom to make the right choice. You use it in a *new setting* (8–5). If you *don't* make the right choice (8–5) you're not a true Indian and not a real *vicasa* because you're not doing a man's *real* work of supporting his family to survive in the new setting.

Therefore: You don't stop being Indian. You're more Indian than ever. You use the Indian value in a new setting. You are a *modern Indian*.

(Advantage of the value) You're stronger than the "forced" non-Indian person because when you decide something *for yourself*, you *do better* than the one who is forced.

Student Reaction: *Our New Course*, by Patrick Kills Crow and Mary Crazy Thunder, Reprinted From the Sheridan County Star

We've got something really different and exciting at Holy Rosary this year, and our whole class is talking about it. You'll probably be surprised when I say the exciting this is a *New Class*, but that's what it is. I never thought that I would look forward to a class period before, but we sure do now. Father Bryde went away and did a lot of studying, and when he came back, he started this new course.

When Father first came in and put the name of the new course on the board, we couldn't even pronounce it, much less know what it meant. It's called Acculturational Psychology, and it can also be called Modern Indian Psychology. It means a study of how to be a modern Indian. Since we are the same as the old time Indians, except in our way of making a living now, we have to learn two things,—how to be like the old time Indians and yet make our living in a different way. Since this can be kind of hard, this thing called adjustment, we have to learn how. And that's what makes the course so interesting. No one ever told us this before.

Before this course, we didn't even know that Indians were important or that it was important for us to know Indian history and values and what the old time Indians did hundreds of years ago. Now we can see that it is, and it sure makes you feel good to know that you are a Sioux. It makes you really proud to see all the obstacles the old time Sioux had to overcome and to know that the Indian race is the oldest race on the face of the earth today. Father says this speaks well of our values because a people is only as long lived as their values. Later on, we are going to take these values and also White values and see how, by putting them together, we get modern Indians. I'm not sure what values are yet, but Father says they are what makes people tick, so that should be even more interesting when we get to it.

Other people, like teachers in other schools are hearing about the new course and coming out to Holy Rosary. It looks like there is always someone in Father Bryde's office asking questions about the course, and I do know that we are always having visitors sitting in the back of the room, but we are used to them now. He has even been asked to teach the course down town, but he is too busy making the course to teach us.

At first, it seemed funny to look up and see a microphone and tape recorder in front of Father when he taught, but we don't even notice it now. The reason for this is that after class, some of the high school girls take turns typing what was on the tape recorder and this is going to be a book so other teachers and schools can use it and have the course. We are really proud that we are the first Indian school to have this course, and we will be sorry to see it end at the end of the year.

Student Responses—Final Exam

Thunder Hawk, Roger: "I really like this course of Acculturational Psychology, because it teaches me to be proud of our culture & values and how they operate at any kind of level. And to be proud of our ancesters how they kept these values. The most interesting part of this course is how we should use our values rightly."

Locke, Duane: "I think that the course Acculturational Psychology is good for the Indians to learn. It makes them know their values & culture. I didn't know much about the Sioux nation, where it came from and where it existed. The war with Custer never was mentioned to me, I knew it took place but I didn't know the dates & where the Indians set camp and who the Sioux chiefs were. I didn't know the sub-divisions of the Sioux's & they're bands. Everyone would be interested in the course especially the Indians. I didn't know the Siouxs values & culture until I took this course."

Mesteth, Linda: "Now I know more about my values and my people of long ago. I never realized Indians had values and were proud of them until I took this course. It helps us to understand our race and to be proud we're Indians who has a good set of value and is real proud of them. I hope every one that took this subject feels like he'll live up to their values because I'm proud of our race and values."

Bad Wound, John: "This course is a lot of help to me. Now that I know the Indian values I can act as a good Indian and teache and tell what they mean."

Thunder Hawk, Herman: "I think the course, Accultureal Psychology was great. I learned a lot of new things that the white men's book wouldn't know, or tell us. The course helps a person to live a better life. Do his job as a high school student, staying in school. Some one who uses his values will be proud of himself and all so his values. The Indain life is a wonderful thing to know about. The course took a who year, but it was worth stduuding about Old Time Ind's and also good to find out how you can live is a good modern Ind. that's living today. To me the course Accultural Psychology meant, Starting a new and better life Useing the values correctly I'am out for a wonderful Start in life. Thank you."

Clifford, Francis: "This course means a lot to mean because I learned about my own people. I know thier values, & many other great things about them. Now, I am glad I'm an Indian. Before I was ashamed of it. I thank your father."

Zephier, Charlotte: "This course meant a real lot to me because I must say. before I didn't know a thing about these values. After studying them I found them quite interesting. I think if all Indians I mean kids and teen-agers had a course in this they wouldn't even be bothered by the dominant group anymore! It becomes a real help after being shut off by other people for *so long*."

Rooks, Debi: "This course in itself was something completely different from anything I've ever had before. For one thing, it gets down deep in the heart of Indian culture and helps one understand and get a better ensight of things. It enlightens a person such as myself to the *real* Indian ways, not just the jazz one watches on T.V. The T.V. is giving a misleading view of the Indian, and this with other propaganda is what is giving the Average American a twisted and warped image of the Indian. I think this course if it were possible should be taught to every American so they could derive a better understanding and be more proud of the Indian heritage."

Randall, Gloria: "This course of Acculturational Psychology meant to me a good deal of things. It had taught me many things that I never knew about. I never knew the values, especially Individual Freedom, but now I've got a better idea on why our parents let us do what we want when we make up our minds. But to tell the truth this course was very interesting and surprising. This is a pretty good class. I'm hope I can learn more about it in the near years to come."

Tobacco, Sylvia: "This course has meant a great deal to me more than I can say. What I really learned was how to really be an Indian. An Indian has a lot to glad for. I'm proud I'm an Indian and am very glad to have had this course."

Herman, Paul, Jr.: "Now that I know my values I understand Indians more clearly not to mention myself. I feel proud of myself and forefathers. I feel more sure of myself when making decisions. I think if more people knew of this course the well be more sure and understand their motives. This course has my best approval as a course to help young and adults in understanding their every day life."

Garcia, Donald: "Acculturational Psychology has meant a lot of things to me for one it has taught me my values and the right way to use them and what they mean. Values can make me a proud Indian. The History of the Sioux can make you and me very proud of our ancestors. Now I can be proud & say I'm and Indian and can still prove it with the history, values, and examples of our ancestors."

Apple, Zandra: "When we first started this course I thought we were going to learn something we already knew about Indians. But we learned more. We learned our values. The Indian Values."

Janis, Charles: "Acculturational Psychology means a great deal to me. It tought me many thing about The old time Sioux. and it also tought me to know my values and many other Indian values that was unknow to me."

Graham, Mike: "It means that I can be proud of my values and be proud of myself. It means that I can know the right thing to do and not just anything. It means I could probably do more hard things. It means that I don't have to believe the image of the dominant group. It means that I could be proud of my race and know what to do with the Non-Indian values that conflict with the Indian values. It means that I could judge a person by what he is and not by what he has. It means that I would probably be a better man and work every day instead of just once in a while. It means that I don't have to be ashamed to be in a big city or go to one. It means that I could live at any level I choose. It means that I don't have to be ashamed of myself if I am poor or lowdown. It means that I could share in food and shelter and also, praise and shame. It means that I will always be a Sioux and use It's values no matter where I am at. It means I can always be proud of the Indians too."

Vocu, Billy: "This course meant a lot to me, it taught me all about the values of the old times and today of the Indians and white men, it taught me the history of long ago and of different tribes and all of the men who fought the Indians for land, and the Bozeman trail and all of those things, it meant a lot to me because I learned how to use the values correctly without being low. If you do not use your values correctly you will go around like a dog with his tail between his legs is one thing it taught me. It taught me to change my goals if I can't get something you like. There are many more but I don't quite remember all of them. We learned a lot more about the values and how they connect with each other and that the Ind. values are better than the white values. Thank you very much for taking the time of teaching us this course farther."

Red Cloud, Kathy: "I never knew that Indians had values or how long they were a race. You learn how they lived and of their troubles and of their enemies. You learin a great deal from the way they used their values and of the good effects and of the bad effects they have on the Indians of today. You learn the Indian language and of it's advantages it has brought to men who are in the service and are fighting. You learn of how many had died trying to keep their land from being taken over by the whites. Of the many battles won & of the many battles lost. You learn of the Indian religion and of the many Indian dances. These people were highly religious and very just."

Young, Robert: "To me, Acculturasional Physculogy meant a lot. It taught me about my ancestors, and about the great things which they have done. It taught me to know & to love them for the way which they had fought to keep the land which the white men took away. It showed me the true men I had thought of as fairy tales, in the earlier years of school (1–5 grade). To me this class was and still is the best in this school. Because your not worried about how much math we know or anything like that, you were truly hoping that we would know about our great fore fathers. I think that if this class hadn't come along at the time it did that a lot of us would have only known the name Red Cloud, but not the true story behind it. So all in all I think this class meant more to me than any other class I have ever taken in any of my other grades or classes. For what this class has done for me, no other class or school could have done. I mostly like the part of this class, when you would give us the true storiies about Red Cloud, Crazy Horse, and all the other great heroes. Well I sure wish I lived in those days."

Stands, Hazel: "It means to me, that I learned a lot of things that I never known before. And things that happen few years back, before I was born. I didn't know Indians are written in history too, During the Wunded-Knee war, there must have been alot of soilders & warriors die, If this didn't happen they could have been alot more people on this resevation by now, There are pride in every body. I never relize there are alot of values that we have. And some of the young teen agers around here don't know how important it is to stay in school because when one of the Indian boy or girl gradate, the Indian people come make a freest for that person, And people come around, and from there on they know who is way up to and looking forward to find-out on what he is planning to be."

Clifford, Ruby: "I think that it was a good class to have, because we learn more about our people, and ourselves and how our great chiefs were named. I enjoyed this class very much, and hope to learn more about our type of people. I think our values are the most important through the whole thing. This class was a lot of fun and it meant a lot to me. I hope every ones else has enjoyed this class as much as I have, because I thought it was kind of fun to learn about our kind of people."

Janis, Francine: "Acculturational Psychology helped me learn more about why Indian acts like he does. And what makes him doe the things he does."

Iron Hawk, Carmelita: "What this course means to me that it is how Indians act and do it is taught me alot of things that I have never heard of and what they do but as we were studying this in class it is a fine work we were doing. This course is a stuff that all Indian like this modern Indians, they should learn about the things what the old time Indians did in their life and how they acted. So this all I could say about this course but it is a sure good course we took all it learned me is about the Indians what they did in their old days."

Coats, Peggy: "I think it is the best subject someone can learn. just learn more about youre people and othere people. I think we should go all the way though High School in taking this subject."

Little, Ernie: "I like this course on Acculturational Psychology. I glad that you have thought me these things Father. I learn't many things that I wouldn't have learned otherwise. The most exciting part of your teaching was the part on the Sioux Indian Wars. And I'm sure all the class would agree. I bet no one was tardy for your class during this period. I know alot about Indians now so I can speak for them when somebody says or talks about them. I've already had the experience of out arguing my dad on the subject of Indian Wars. He was kind of surprised at me Because I knew so much for a boy so young. He probably wonders who the smart teacher was that was teaching his son. I respect myself and others more know that I know the values and how the Indians acted long ago. I wishe we could have took a whole course on another Indian tribe. I'm very grateful to you Father for teaching me these things."

Fischer, Paul: "This courst meant leaning about the sioux people. It meant learning the Indian values. Learning about the wars and about the battels. It meant learning about the Inca Indians in south america. The way they lived and worked. How they were conquered. I also learned the right way to use the values and the wrong way we use them. This means that now I know how to use the values rightly and not take on image dominat group."

Brewer, Francine: "This course meant a whole lot to me because I like history but I like Indian history best. I'm feel very priviled also because we were the first class ever to have this course."

The hearing will adjourn until 9:30 tomorrow morning.

(Whereupon, at 1:25 p.m., the hearing adjourned, to reconvene at 9:30 a.m., Friday, December 15, 1967).

INDIAN EDUCATION

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 15, 1967

U.S. SENATE,
SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON INDIAN EDUCATION
OF THE COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE,
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 9:30 a.m., in room 4232, New Senate Office Building, Senator Paul J. Fannin presiding pro tempore.

Present: Senators Kennedy of New York, Chairman of the Subcommittee, and Fannin (presiding pro tempore).

Committee staff members present: John Gray and Adrian Parmeter, professional staff members.

Senator **FANNIN**. The hearings of the Special Subcommittee on Indian Education will continue this morning.

We are very pleased to have as our first witness Mr. Flore Lekanof, National Indian Education and Advisory Committee. Will you come forward? Do you have anyone with you that you want to sit at the table?

Mr. **LEKANOF**. No; I am alone.

Senator **FANNIN**. We are very pleased to have you with us, Mr. Lekanof. Proceed as you desire to present your position on the problems we have before us.

STATEMENT OF FLORE LEKANOF, NATIONAL INDIAN EDUCATION ADVISORY COMMITTEE, SPENARD, ALASKA

Mr. **LEKANOF**. Thank you, Senator Fannin.

It is an honor for me to appear before the subcommittee on behalf of Indian education. I am Flore Lekanof from Anchorage, Alaska. I am the Chairman of the Education Committee for the Alaska Federation of Natives, which consists of all native groups in the State of Alaska, population estimated at 52,000. I am also the recently appointed Chief of the Aleut Tribe. We have about 7,500 Aleut people in Alaska.

I would like to speak this morning in the capacity of these several responsibilities.

One of the outstanding problems in native education in Alaska and on the reservations in the United States is the fact that we are dealing with culturally different people. This presents problems in language and philosophical outlook on life. One is closely associated with the other. I feel that some psychological damage has been done and is being done by the lack of effort in this area. We have given the impression to the Indian that his language is inferior and, therefore, have given him the feeling that he perhaps is an inferior person.

The Indian philosophical concepts are often lost as they are translated from Indian language to the English language. Who can say that the Indian does not have the best answer to the way of life—the best philosophy of life?

The present philosophy and plan of the educational facilities for high schools tends to disrupt and belittle the most sacred institution of the American life—the family. In order to give our young people an opportunity for high school education, we must send them hundreds, even thousands, of miles away from their loved ones. In some cases the youngster will see and be with his family for only 2 weeks out of a year, and this continues for some years. Education of young native children away from their parents with no effort to upgrade the education of the parents, has resulted in the parents losing the respect of their children. This belittles the institution of family life and family unity. We must educate our young people as near the family as possible, at least through high school. Education in the large urban center does not necessarily guarantee quality education.

Education for education's sake is not enough. We must also provide job opportunities. We need to develop industry in the environments of our native people. Future away from home is not conducive to high educational goals for our young people.

Until the State of Alaska is financially able to provide quality education for the native people of Alaska, we must insist that the Federal Government continue its role in the business.

Steps toward solution.

1. We need to study and evaluate the airborne high school that has been started in Naknak, Alaska. This program moves the teachers and not the students. This program should be utilized throughout rural Alaska.
2. Bilingual programs should be initiated in the Headstart and primary grades, so that a youngster is taught not only the English language, but the native language as well, so that he may have a much better image and concept of himself.
3. Educational television is an answer to quality education in rural Alaska. With it we can bring superb instructors into the isolated communities of rural Alaska and thereby provide quality education without sending the youngster away from home.

Senator FANNIN. Thank you very much, Mr. Lekanof. Is there something further that you wanted to say?

Mr. LEKANOF. Yes. I have a couple of studies that have been completed on a possible use of television in Alaska. These studies are made by D. M. Murphy, who is a technician in TV, and acts as a consultant in television education for the Bureau of Indian Affairs. He has a couple of plans. One plan is that he can provide educational TV for each native community in Alaska for $10,000. This is the video tape. He also has a plan whereby he could provide television in every home, native home in Alaska, for $1,025,000.

Senator FANNIN. Mr. Lekanof, does that mean that every home would have to have television?

Mr. LEKANOF. Yes.

Senator FANNIN. How would you determine what should be done to see that they do have television sets at home?

Mr. **Lekanof**. The hardware would be provided, and the programs would be wired into each home. There would be television centers serving an area of about 50 to 100 miles radius.

Senator **Fannin**. That would be done within the budget you mentioned?

Mr. **Lekanof**. Yes. One of the things that confused some of us is the fact that we as the U.S. Government have helped set up television education in South Vietnam for two or three million dollars, and we have already given television facilities to American Samoa, our trust territory, and these are off home base, and we have not done anything along this line for our own people right here at home, and I would like to see us seriously think about doing everything we can to give the best education possible to our Indians, and I think this is one means whereby we can do it.

Senator **Fannin**. Mr. Lekanof, Senator Kennedy, our chairman should be here in a few minutes, but I do want to ask you some questions and by that time maybe he will be here; for I am sure that he would like to ask questions also. Is there anything further that you want to present, or would you like to answer some questions?

Mr. **Lekanof**. I would like to answer some questions.

Senator **Fannin**. What is the attitude of the State educational agency for the educational problems of native Alaskans?

Mr. **Lekanof**. The attitude of the State?

Senator **Fannin**. Yes.

Mr. **Lekanof**. Well, the State of Alaska would like to have the responsibility of educational programs for all of its people in Alaska, but at the present time they do not have the financial structure to do this. The people do not have the tax base out in the rural areas to be able to afford the type of education we are able to get today through the Federal aid.

Senator **Fannin**. Are they cooperating with the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the education program?

Mr. **Lekanof**. As far as I know, they are cooperating.

Senator **Fannin**. What is the BIA's attitude toward the education problem of native Alaskans?

Mr. **Lekanof**. I think that the Bureau of Indian Affairs has been doing as much as it possibly can with the funds available. I think there is a lot of imagination, a lot of ideas that are floating around, but no funds to go into any kind of projects. One of the fortunate things that happened to us is the programs under Title I, Elementary and Secondary Education Act. We have seen several programs introduced to Alaska through this project. The teacher aide program, for instance, I think has been of great assistance to us, because the teacher who teaches in a one-teacher school, out in the bush as we call it in rural Alaska, has so much to do that he does not have enough time, for instance, to prepare proper lesson plans. He is swamped with administrative tasks. He is given responsibility to be administrator of a whole community, and this certainly takes a lot of his time, and I am sure that he would do more justice to lesson planning if he did not have all of these other responsibilities, if his responsibilities were primarily teaching. But this is not so.

Senator **Fannin**. I understand. We have a situation similar to that here, in that we have families migrating to the cities. Is that not true in Alaska to a certain extent? Are there many families coming in, for instance, to Anchorage?

Mr. Lekanof. Yes, this is true to some extent, but it is not always desirable for our native people—these are Eskimos.

Senator Fannin. The question is what happens to the children? Are they accepted by the communities? Are they integrated into the community school programs?

Mr. Lekanof. Well, there is a certain amount of hesitancy here on the part of the community and the native people themselves whether they should accept one another. The one is that the native person, although he might have graduated from high school, does not quite feel in a position to be part of the community, and because of the cultural background that he has, and so on, and because of the attitudes that people have who are non-native, he is not always acceptable to that community, and this catches him in a very trying position. He is caught between two cultures and does not fit into either one for the time being.

Senator Fannin. Do you have any recommendations as to this process?

Mr. Lekanof. I think it is a slow process, but if we can start by giving native cultural instructions in the school life of the youngster, I think we might be able to correct this problem. I recommended that we might have a bilingual program in the Headstart and primary grades, so that we can give our native people some background in their own cultural heritage, and so that they can be proud of it, and I think that the public needs to be educated also, and I would suggest that the same type of historical background that is being given to native people also be introduced in the public schools so that the public knows what this is all about.

Senator Fannin. Does this result in ghettos being established in these urban areas? In other words, when they come in, do they all settle in one area, or do they assimilate throughout the city?

Mr. Lekanof. Well, the native people are forced to live where the cost of living is not too high, and because of this, a lack of funds and the problem of obtaining jobs, they will settle in the least costly housing in the big city, and these are not desirable areas.

Senator Fannin. What would be your recommendations to overcome these problems, especially the problem of the aged Alaskans, while helping them to function in the broader society?

Mr. Lekanof. I think, as I pointed out, education just for education is not enough. I think we need to seriously look into the possibilities of developing industry right in the native environment. Certainly there are a lot of ideas here that we can bring out. But the important thing is that I think that if we can give the native person a livelihood, close to his home, close to his environment, and allow him to enjoy some of the things that we enjoy today in life, better housing, better health, and steady work and education for the children and so on, I think that they will then gradually assimilate themselves into the mainstream of American life without losing their native heritage.

Senator Fannin. You would want vocational training to be a main consideration in the curriculum?

Mr. Lekanof. Yes, I would. I am for work experience training programs, the MDTA training programs and the vocational programs that were brought up yesterday by Domingo Montoya of New Mexico.

I think I strongly follow the same philosophy here because not all of our young people are college material, and not all of them are going to go into the professions, and I think we need to prepare them for a meaningful livelihood in life by giving them training.

Senator Fannin. You want terminal schools, terminal education programs, perhaps two or three years of high school that you talk about?

Mr. Lekanof. I think they should continue and finish high school, but I think beyond high school there should be an opportunity to attend trade school.

Senator Fannin. At what grade do you think that your vocational educational programs should start?

Mr. Lekanof. I think I would say that probably in the 11th grade in high school. Some of the different phases of vocational trades could be introduced to the young people if they are geared in this way so that by the time they finish high school they will know what type of vocation or trade they should be specializing in. We cannot give them specialization in high school but we can introduce them to some of the ideas that are available in industry.

Senator Fannin. Thank you very much. Do you have anything further you would like to present?

Mr. Lekanof. No. I just want to say that I have certainly appreciated the opportunity to come before the committee on behalf of not only Alaska native people, but on behalf of the Indian people across the United States, and I think with the excellent staff and the members of the subcommittee we are looking forward to improvemets in the Indian education so that the Indian cannot only retain identity of his cultural background but he can become a contributing member of the American society.

Senator Fannin. Thank you. If you come across any further information that you think would be helpful to the committee, we would appreciate hearing from you.

Mr. Lekanof. I would like to submit a couple of television studies here to the staff.

Senator Fannin. Very good.

The hearings will be resumed.

Dr. Sasaki, will you come forward, please. Dr. Sasaki, will you present your testimony.

STATEMENT OF DR. TOM SASAKI, SOCIOLOGIST, DEPARTMENT OF POPULATION, JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY, BALTIMORE, MD.

Dr. Sasaki. I have had some relations with the various Indian tribes in the Southwest, but have diverted my attention to other things, and this statement is a result of some contemplation about some aspects of Indian education.

Of the numerous questions we must raise in assessing the quality of education for Indian children, I would like to address myself to the following three:

(1) What are the aims of education for Indian children?

(2) What are the supportive factors in the social and cultural situation which appear to produce expected results, and

(3) What is the role of the boarding school in the education process given the aims?

With respect to the first question, the aims of education seem to be to prepare children for livelihood in the non-Indian world where economic opportunities are available. They are taught what are considered to be the necessary social and technological skills to enable them to function as participating citizens. The end-product, we hope, will be law-abiding men and women with good mental and emotional health, holding paying jobs, and raising the next generation of youngsters who presumably will surpass their elders in accomplishments. As an afterthought, we hope that in this life process, the participants will retain their self-identity and pride in their cultural heritage.

Would it be possible to identify those who would have the greatest opportunities to achieve the aims?

If we examine the situations as they exist in some parts of the American Southwest, they are so various that it would be difficult to categorize them without intensive study. Nevertheless, we have some ideas which will enable us to make distinctions among groups. Broadly speaking, from what I have observed, we can probably divide children into those who come from economically self-sufficient families which have some degree of security; and those whose parents suffer from deprivation in this respect. How the parents found themselves in their current situation would be interesting to know since it would help us formulate the significant questions.

In communities located near agency headquarters and in other places where adult Indians are permanently employed, the children appear to behave like most other non-Indians in similar circumstances. With economic security, a social milieu which accepts and supports the values of the non-Indian middle-class society, and with opportunities for greater social interaction with their non-Indian peers, these are children who appear to make easier adjustments at colleges and universities, and later in job situations. Indeed, among the Indian undergraduate advisers, and others whom I have had in classes at the University of New Mexico from 1957 to 1965, the most successful were those who came from this type of background. Welfare workers, teachers, laboratory technicians, and so on, can be counted among them. Most Indian children, however, do not come from this social, economic, and cultural environment.

We encounter problems when we move away from these centers. In the more isolated areas of the reservations employment opportunities are scarce, and the cultural life is traditional. While the residents may share with their more affluent tribesmen the values that education is good, social and cultural support is lacking, as are jobs, and skills necessary should the breadwinner elect to move to places where permanent employment can be found. This poses a dilemma for both children and parents as to what to do about education. In the absence of subsistence opportunities in the community, it becomes imperative for parents to leave to engage in seasonal labor. They have the choice of taking their children with them, remaining in the community under submarginal conditions with their children, or leave for work while children spend their time at available boarding schools.

What may seem to be best for the entire family may not be; and what seems best for the children from the standpoint of living under circumstances which offers opportunities for improved physical health, may result in loneliness and onset of emotional problems. Regardless of the choice, there are costs to the family and to children. Most children, and we do not know how many, and a number of parents have made adjustments to the compromise. Others, however, perhaps have not done so.

While boarding schools may have negative consequences, they are, and will be indispensable for as long as parents in the hinterland live under submarginal conditions. Studies have been made of children's adjustment in boarding school settings.

Products of boarding schools have also been my advisees, and others have been enrolled in my classes. Their performance was perhaps lower than those students blessed with more affluent acculturated parents of Indian ancestry imbued with the Protestant ethic; but their motivation for learning was comparable. The real question is why is this so, and I am not sure that we know at this point.

Boarding school students were handicapped also, by their inability to participate in social situations during the summer to retain what they had learned during the school year.

The dropout rate for all Indian students, if I recall, was about the same as it was for students generally at the university.

In sum, given the aims, and the social and cultural situation in which families living in remote areas find themselves, I suggest that:

(1) The boarding schools have, and will serve a function for many more years to come.

(2) Gaging from the performance of the students I have known, the system must be improved. In what ways? I am not prepared to say, since I have not conducted a study.

(3) Provisions should be made to enable returned students to participate in activities which will enable them to retain what was learned, and to prepare them for the next year's work. Some of this is already being done through the activities conducted through OEO programs and by VISTA workers. This must be expanded greatly, however.

(4) Finally, behavioral scientists should be encouraged to conduct more research in boarding, and other educational institutions, and in communities, which will give added insights into types of social and cultural supports which may be required to motivate, and enable students to make faster progress with a minimum of disturbance to their emotional health and welfare.

Senator **Fannin**. Doctor, you are familiar with the Navaho reservation. We note that you have been involved with Navaho people.

Dr. **Sasaki**. Yes.

Senator **Fannin**. I am wondering if you think it is possible to have these local day school programs if we can get some community centers?

Dr. **Sasaki**. My feeling is that it would be almost impossible to have a day school system without the development of centers which revolve around industry or which will provide some form of income for these families.

Senator **Fannin**. Is not the first requirement a road system to adequately take care of community centers?

Dr. **Sasaki**. Well, the road system probably would be one of the factors, but I think that there are probably other obstacles which also have to be considered. While there are human resources in these various areas on the reservation, they still lack many of the skills which are necessary in order to work in many of these plants.

Senator FANNIN. But, we have several electronic plants on the Navaho reservation and there are plants in perimeter areas where the Indian people are working, so do you think if we had community centers that this would make it possible to have small plants in those areas?

Dr. SASAKI. I think the number of plants that could be put on the reservation would be very limited, and if we think of the reservation as we might in the United States, we can probably develop very large urban centers at the subagency, where we might hope that the people will migrate to, to enjoy not only the economic opportunities available, but education for their children. But, the manner in which the Navahoes love their particular section of the reservation, I would think that it would be very difficult to get these people to relocate.

Senator FANNIN. I know it would take time. That is why we have the problem of boarding schools to contend with, for years I imagine. What recommendations would you make to improve the boarding schools, since we will be operating them from some time in the future?

Dr. SASAKI. Well, my feeling is, having had a year's experience in one of them many years ago, and having had some recent contact very briefly with the system, it seems to me that there are two aspects, actually three, which have to be considered. The educational aspect, I am sure, is probably as good as one might find in schools off the reservation, which handle children with language and cultural handicaps. Similarly they could be equated pretty well, I think, with the public schools located in submarginal areas.

They are not camparable to mission boarding schools since they seem to select as students those who come from the more acculturated families.

There is probably a lack in other aspects of boarding school life, for example, that which has to do with the custodial aspect, which must be improved.

Senator FANNIN. I am concerned about the need for special training for the teachers that would be involved.

Dr. SASAKI. Well, yes, this would be highly important. This would be the third aspect. Additional training for counsellors and teachers to enable them to consider activities which would generate in the student some awareness of what really goes on on the outside over and beyond what exists in the boarding school, I think, is vitally necessary. Otherwise, the education toward the aims that I mentioned would be almost meaningless.

Senator FANNIN. I understand you have a program at the University of New Mexico, as a former faculty member there. Do you feel they are making progress in training teachers for this special activity?

Dr. SASAKI. At the University of New Mexico and at other universities they are making progress in the educational aspect, focusing largely upon the teaching of English. I do not think that there is enough emphasis to assist teachers to increase their understanding of the part played by what differences in culture does to the child in the foreign cultural situation.

Senator FANNIN. You are familiar with the programs both in New Mexico and Arizona?

Dr. SASSKI. Yes.

Senator FANNIN. I am just wondering if we are achieving the type of results that should be forthcoming.

Dr. SASAKI. From what I do know of them, they are making some progress toward this goal.

Senator FANNIN. Thank you very much. If there is anything further at a later time that you would like to present to the committee we would certainly appreciate hearing from you. We appreciate your being with us this morning.

The next person to be called upon is Dr. Harry Saslow. Dr. Saslow, we are pleased to have you with us this morning. I understand you are a clinical psychologist at the Albuquerque Boarding School at Albuquerque, N. Mex. I think any informaion you can give us will be very helpful.

STATEMENT OF DR. HARRY L. SASLOW, ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR IN PSYCHOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN THE DEPARTMENT OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCES, NEW MEXICO HIGHLANDS UNIVERSITY IN LAS VEGAS, N. MEX.

Dr. SASLOW. My name is Harry L. Saslow. I am a clinical child psychologist holding the rank of associate professor in psychological research in the Department of Behavioral Sciences, New Mexico Highlands University in Las Vegas, N. Mex. Since the summer of 1963, I have been associated with a project supported by the National Institute of Mental Health entitled: "Psychosocial Adjustment in an Indian Boarding School." I have been codirector of this project since the fall of 1964.

This project had its origin in a widespread recognition that the nature of student populations in Indian boarding schools had been changing over the years. With the growing development of locally and federally sponsored educational resources on and near the reservations, it was felt that the off-reservation boarding schools were gathering progressively greater numbers and proportions of students with educational and social problems. Since the summer of 1963, there has been located at the Albuquerque Indian School, an off-reservation boarding school for Indian students operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, a psychologist—myself—and a psychiatric social worker—Mrs. May J. Harrover. Our goals have been threefold: to develop a pattern of mental health consultation for an institution of this type, to attempt to be a change agent in an organization without being part of that organization, and to do some research.

The school setting is generally thought to be representative of the off-reservation schools in size, operation, and types of students served. Indeed, the claim is made that the staff at this school is particularly well qualified because of easier recruitment, the school being located in a comparatively metropolitan area.

We find that the student population in residence fall into three broad categories which reflect the three main population types present:

(1) Students who apparently have no special educational needs but who have exhausted the educational resources close to their home,

(2) Students with marked educational retardation based on either delayed school entrance or past social and behavioral problems, and

(3) Students who have been sent to the school because of unsatisfactory home conditions or social-emotional problems.

Even the students supposedly without special educational needs are not on a par with non-Indian students. These mainly are bussed to the Albuquerque public schools. A small but revealing indication of how they perform there may be seen in the number of A's they achieve. In 1965–66, the Indian students in one school, out of 260 subjects taken, earned 16 A's, less than 1 percent. Of these, four were earned by one superior student and, of the remainder, four were in the sheet metals course.

We see a majority of the students at the Albuquerque Indian School manifesting problems ranging from mild to acute and of different kinds. The management of these students and programs for them make no distinctions between them. Not only are no distinctions made between them, but no more than token programs are available on campus for other than routine educational needs. We do not see even tokenism in the social-emotional realm. We have a situation in which some children are referred to the school for emotional and social considerations so severe they cannot stay at home but no treatment is available when they arrive, they, furthermore, are treated in the same way as the other children, and, finally like all the other students, they are forced to live in circumstances so restrictive and repressive that not even normal emotional expression is possible.

I feel there is substantial room for improvement in the educational program of the school and presumably in other Indian boarding schools also. I am, for example, concerned by educational standards such that no students leave before graduation because of academic failure but dozens leave each year because of violation of rules. I am concerned that high school seniors are graduated with reading achievement levels as low as the sixth grade. Nevertheless, I do not feel, being a psychologist rather than an educator, that I should evaluate the causes or possible remedies.

The emotional disturbance shown by many of these children is, however, a matter of direct professional concern to me. It is obvious in those children explicitly sent to the school for social and emotional reasons. It is also true of those students, a significant number, for whom social and emotional problems are masked by school referral under other criteria. It is especially true of those children who are seriously behind academically.

I do not want to get into the controversial area of agency responsibility for Indian children, but I must point out that neither residental psychiatric treatment nor 24-hour custodial care fall within the traditions or experience of educators or educational institutions. They have instead historically been the responsibility of mental health and corrections personnel. There are already in existence both Federal agencies and programs of Federal support for private agencies in the mental health and correctional fields, though the extension of their services to Indians has been meagre or nonexistent to this time.

In sum, it is my opinion that the serious shortcomings evident in the programs of Indian boarding schools can be corrected only by taking into account the needs of the students who attend them. With these needs clarified, responsibility can then be assigned to the agencies best equipped by professional experience and training to meet each of these needs.

Senator FANNIN. Thank you.

What percentage of the students that come to boarding schools do you feel are sent there because of behavioral problems?

Dr. SASLOW. This figure is somewhat hard to give because of what I have indicated in my testimony. There were, from 1963 to the spring of 1967, approximately 25 percent who were there formally under those considerations. However, we have some data to suggest that a significant proportion of students who are sent for other criteria are actually in attendance because of social, emotional, or educational considerations.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. I apologize for absenting myself during a portion of your testimony.

Senator FANNIN. Can you describe what it is like to live in a dormitory? You talk about these dormitories being unsatisfactory as far as training is concerned. What is the life like? Do the children have privacy? What are the conditions that exist?

Dr. SASLOW. By and large privacy is quite limited. The buildings tend to be rather large, upwards of 300 students to a jurisdictional or a governmental organization—a dormitory, with a single administrative head.

In some instances there are 16 to 20 or more to a room, in no instance fewer than four to six to a room, with bathroom facilities, for example, such that two or three hundred students physically share only two or three areas at most.

Senator FANNIN. Do you feel that this has a great deal to do with the discipline of the children, the unsatisfactory manner with which they are able to assume their obligations as far as their own educational programs are concerned?

Dr. SASLOW. I think it is a significant contributing factor. We have some experience with one very old but somewhat smaller building in which, regardless of the nature of the students attending, whether they be older or younger, boys or girls, or the personnel who attend them, there is reason to believe that the morale is much higher than in the centralized situation.

Senator FANNIN. You say that dozens leave each year because of violations of the rules. Does that mean that their education is terminated when they leave the school?

Dr. SASLOW. For some it is terminated. For others it is delayed. They go home and days, weeks, months, perhaps even years later they may attend another school.

Senator FANNIN. But it is very unsatisfactory the way it is being handled at this time, is that your testimony?

Dr. SASLOW. Yes. The reason the children leave the school has nothing to do with educational considerations but has to do with behavioral, social and emotional considerations.

Senator FANNIN. Mr. Chairman, Dr. Saslow has answered my several questions. His testimony has been very valuable. He has had a great deal of experience with the boarding schools.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Perhaps you have gone through this, but for a child in one of these boarding schools they have for Indian children, would you say that it is a very difficult life in your judgment? Does that difficulty have an effect on their lives as they grow up?

Dr. SASLOW. I believe so. There is considerable depersonalization, impersonalization, a blunting of uniqueness of the individual to fit a pattern, to fit a mold. Everyone is treated so equally, in a sense, that any distinctions between people are blurred.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. What is the difference between a boarding school for Indian children, the kind you described, the kind you are familiar with, and a regular boarding school that is perhaps more familiar to us, a regular boys' boarding school?

Dr. SASLOW. I think the more usual private boarding school has less of a cultural conflict between the student population served and those individuals who operate the school. I think the ameliorative processes of business, home, contact with parents, with friends, with relatives, cuts down on pervasiveness of the other influences in that regard.

There are levening effects by greater outside contact, and more minimal conflict between the mores of the school and the mores of the student.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. What do you think the effect is of taking the child at the age of 6, 7, or 8 years of age and sending him off to a boarding school, taking him from his family, taking him from his mother?

Dr. SASLOW. I have reason to believe that this is a destructive process to the establishment of the child's own identity, who I am, what I am, my own uniqueness as a person.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Is there much unhappiness or pain felt by the children who are attending the schools?

Dr. SASLOW. There are not very many children in the very young group in the particular school in which I am based. But if I had to make a global statement of what is the most pervasive problem among the students, it would be depression, sadness, loneliness.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Is there anything not being done that can be done to help, anything that the schools should be doing and that the Federal Government should be doing?

Dr. SASLOW. As I indicated in my testimony, the operation of the school is, in a sense, educationally influenced. The individuals who are in the administrative positions in the schools do the things that fall within the purview of their training and experience.

I think the needs of the children extend beyond the training and experience of the administrative offices.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Thank you.

Senator FANNIN. I have one more question.

What percentage of the parents do you feel visit the children in the school?

Dr. SASLOW. Proportionately few. But it should be borne in mind that the school is some distance from the large Navajo Reservation and the bulk of the students are from the Navajo Reservation. The nearest Navajo enclave is 28 to 30 miles away.

Senator FANNIN. There is very little contact between the parents and the children during the school year? In other words, the children leave their home and they may not see them again until they come back after the end of the school year, is that correct?

Dr. SASLOW. The majority go home at Christmas, but, again, not all of them do.

Senator FANNIN. Some of them stay there the whole school year?

Dr. SASLOW. There are some few who actually stay all 12 months of the year.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Do you find that many of the children are mistreated, do you know?

Dr. SASLOW. I don't think the problem is one of errors of commission. I think it is one of errors of omission.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. In what way?

Dr. SASLOW. I don't think they are so much hurt as they are not helped.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Thank you very much.

The next witness will be Miss Tillie Walker.

STATEMENT OF MISS TILLIE WALKER, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, UNITED SCHOLARSHIP SERVICE, INC., DENVER, COLO.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Would you identify yourself?

Miss WALKER. I am Miss Tillie Walker. I am executive director of the United Scholarship Service, a national private nonprofit corporation located in Denver, Colo. We help American Indian and Spanish- and Mexican-American students. My home is in Mandaree, N. Dak., on the Fort Berthold Reservation. I attended school in Elbowoods, N. Dak., on the reservation up to the fifth grade, completed high school in a public school on the edge of our reservation, attended Haskell Institute, Lawrence, Kans., for commercial training, Willamette University, Salem, Oreg., and graduated from the University of Nebraska in 1955.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. What tribe are you from?

Miss WALKER. I am a Mandan and Hidatsa Indian.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. You are a Mandan Indian?

Miss WALKER. I am a Mandan Indian.

The focus of my testimony will be on counseling, financial needs, placement and preparation for college, and the increased number of Indian persons in effective counseling positions today.

COUNSELING

At the level of high school and college, you are already aware that counseling services are inadequate in the majority of schools and colleges throughout the United States. In the high schools attended by Indian young people, the counselors, if there is one in the school system, will steer them to vocational training, and it usually the more verbal, outgoing student who is selected to make plans for college entrance.

This pattern has been changing, however, for a number of informal reasons—increase financial aid from tribes, States, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and older brothers and sisters as well a other members of the Indian community entering colleges. The increase is being brought about not necessarily from within the school system itself, but in indirect ways.

Among the more popular post high school programs for Indian students is the Bureau of Indian Affairs Adult Vocational Training. This program is staffed on reservations and do visit the local high schools and counsel with high school seniors. Seldom are the high school seniors visited by State and bureau staffs in charge of grant aid programs or by representatives of colleges, with the exception of an outstanding athelete.

The adult vocational training program is more fully staffed than the grant programs of the BIA and States, where the administration of grant aid funds are only a part of the total job of a particular staff member. From my own experience in United Scholarship Service, this is totally unrealistic. In most colleges, counseling services are available to the student who will seek the help of a counselor. The college, in its policy to treat all students the same regardless of race, creed or color, discriminates against the less aggresive student on the campus who is academically able but unsophisticated, unaccustomed, and uneasy about seeking help from a counselor in a formal setting of an office, a desk, within the college system.

Some colleges have attempted to aid the Indian student by assigning a staff person on the campus to counsel with the students. On your staff, Mr. John Gray did this at a Northern Arizona University. He is one of the people that we in the United Scholarship Service did contact.

One of the exciting programs to assist students of diverse backgrounds—American Indian, Spanish American, and foreign students—is now underway at Fort Lewis College, Durango, Colo., in cooperation with the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the University of Kansas Foreign Studies Center.

The emphasis of the program is on precollege orientation, instruction in English as a second language, counseling, guidance, and tutorial services. One of the more important aspects of the program is the person-to-person contact of staff and students and the concern for the student needs normally met by parents—broken glasses, dental care, funds for the Sunday evening meal not served on campus, help when scholarship funds have been granted but have not reached the financial aid office on the campus, and so forth.

FINANCIAL NEEDS

The largest financial aid program available to American Indian college students who live "on or near federally recognized Indian reservations" is that of the Bureau of Indian Affiairs. The States of New York, Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, and Wisconsin, and many tribes have scholarship programs for Indian students with varying qualifications.

The national defense loan program and work-study program is available to Indian students, as is is to any student in need, but are limited funds with great competition and often set deadline dates for application because of the demand. The most recent financial aid program available, to which United Scholarships Service has been referring students, is the Educational Opportunities Grants. There is a myth that sufficient financial aid is available.

Those Indian students with the most serious financial problems are:

1. Married students with families;
2. Students not enrolled in a federally recognized tribe;

3. Students from non-Federal Indian Communities, such as the Penobscot and Passamoquoddy Reservations in Maine, the Lumbee Indians of Robeson County, N.C., the Houma Indians of Louisiana; the students now in cities and towns too far from their home reservations to qualify for BIA and/or State aid.

4. Students who are not one-quarter degree Indian blood whose families have the same economic base as the students of one-quarter degree Indian blood, or more, who are eligible for BIA, State and/or tribal grants;

5. Students who do not maintain a C average one semester/quarter who may be dropped by the scholarship agency;

6. Students who have underestimated realistic costs for college with no chance to reapply for additional funds to cover necessary needs;

7. Students attending sectarian colleges and universities;

8. Graduate students;

9. Dropouts who want to return to college.

With the new Educational Opportunities Grants, financial aids officers on college campuses are now responsible to work out a "total financial aids package" which may include work-study program, national defense loan, and the EOG.

The "financial aid package" worked out for the student by the financial aids officer still does not take into consideration needs unforeseen by the student or counsellor during the school year. Colleges, financial aids officers, and counsellors expect a student to have a summer job to help pay expenses. For Indian students living in isolated areas of the country this is often impossible—this goes for other low-income students as well. The students who find employment in the summer often aid their parents and younger brothers and sisters. If the student finds employment away from home, usually the savings remaining after paying support away from home are meager.

Let me just use one example. We have a student who entered Dartmouth College this fall, and in Dartmouth College's financial aid program they worked out his total resources that Dartmouth could give him. In it he was supposed to earn $500 to get himself from North Dakota to New Hampshire, think about travel for his Christmas vacation, his spring vacation, and at the end of the year. His summer job was with Upward Bound in Michigan. He graduated from an independent school in the East last June, went back to North Dakota, waited until the Upward Bound program opened up at Michigan, had to get his transportation to Michigan, and by the time the end of the summer came, he didn't have the $500 saved.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. What happened to him?

Miss **Walker.** He went to Dartmouth with a travel grant from United Scholarship Service.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. I expect the point you are making is that a very small percentage of the Indians are able to go on to a college, is that right, to go on to higher education?

Miss **Walker.** There are substantial numbers of Indians in college now, but there are also a lot of problems which financial aid will not cover.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. When you say a substantial number—can you be more specific?

Miss **Walker.** I am talking about 5,000 or 6,000 Indian students in college.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Is that a high percentage of the Indians?

Miss **Walker**. It isn't a high percentage when you think about our total population of 600,000.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. That is the point I was referring to.

Miss **Walker**. But compared to 10 years ago, it is a tremendous jump.

Senator **Fannin**. Of those who do attend college, there are a greater number of dropouts, as I understand it, than other students after they enter college.

Miss **Walker**. There are many, many dropouts. In our own private agency the dropout rate is about 20 percent. I think the Bureau of Indian Affairs in their grant aid program would be able to supply you with information about the percentage of dropouts. One of the jobs that we do in the United Scholarship Service is help follow up on dropouts. How do you get back in school when for the third time you have been dismissed because of academic reasons, and yet you know that student is able, but something went wrong and they didn't make it for this third time. They don't know how to petition to get back into that college, how to get to your department head.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Of the Indians who start in the first grade, how many finish college, do you know? Do you know what percentage that would be?

Miss **Walker**. I don't have any percentages.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. You wouldn't have the numbers of the Indians who start and who finish?

Miss **Walker**. I don't have; no.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Is anyone from the Bureau of Indian Affairs here?

Mr. **Charles Zellers**. (Assistant Commissioner for Education, Bureau of Indian Affairs). I think it is 1 percent, but I would have to check it, to be sure, of the first-graders.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. What is the percentage for the general population?

Mr. **Zellers**. About 20.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Are you guessing?

Mr. **Zellers**. Yes, sir; on that one.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Can you obtain the figures for us?

Mr. **Zellers**. Yes.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. It would be helpful if we can put those figures in the record.

Obtain those figures for the Indians, for the rest of the population, for the white population, and I would also be interested for Negroes.

Senator **Fannin**. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask a question of Miss Walker.

You talked about not furnishing funds to the students that could not sustain certain grade averages. Was it a C average that you insist upon?

Miss **Walker**. We don't insist upon this, but some of the agencies do. If you don't make a C average, you are dropped.

Senator **Fannin**. They drop them from participating in the scholarship fund if they do not maintain a C average?

Miss **Walker**. Yes.

Senator **Fannin**. That is what I understood you to say.

Miss **Walker**. Very often the college will give you the Regent's grant, and if you don't maintain a certain average, you are dropped.

Senator **Fannin**. Do you know what percentage of the Indian students who enter college under these conditions are dropped?

Miss **Walker**. No; I don't.

On the choice of college and preparation of college, the choice of a college made by an Indian student is often random. Counselors tend to advise all students to remain within the State for practical reasons: financial aid available to State-supported schools and lower costs for in-State students. Very little or no counseling is given the especially able Indian student about the variety of colleges and universities to which he may apply for admission.

Preparation for college entrance is poor—in public and Bureau of Indian Affairs schools—with a few exceptions. Encouragement of good study habits, homework, writing term papers, use of a library are often lacking in high schools. Too often the Indian student is not expected to attend college and so his needs are ignored in high school and again ignored once he is on a college campus.

Indian persons in counseling positions: Increasingly there are greater numbers of Indian persons in positions throughout the country who will and can reach young Indian students to help. To name a few: Charles Geboe at Black Hills State College, S. Dak.; Ada Deer at the University of Minnesota; Helen Schierbeck and Dorothy Davidson at the University of Wisconsin. Alonzo Spang and Cecil Corbett at Cook Christian Training School, Tempe, Ariz.; Dr. Edward Dozier, University of Arizona, Tucson: George Gill, Upward Bound Project at Arizona State University, Robert V. Dumont, Jr., National Indian Youth Council's Indian education study staff, Edward Johnson of the Northwest Educational Laboratory, Portland, Oreg. In addition are the staffs of the reservation antipoverty programs.

In relation to the Special Subcommittee on Indian Education, I would like to make the following observations:

1. Hopefully the subcommittee will not concentrate on the schools of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Over one-half of the Indian children are now attending public schools. Are the funds received through Impacted Areas and Johnson O'Malley funds by the public school systems helping to meet the needs of the Indian students, such as counseling services, tutorial programs, and so forth?

2. In your visits to reservation communities, if the subcommittee is to take an objective look at the communities, it is important that you talk with a variety of members of the communities—white and Indian, parents and students, professional staffs of U.S. Public Health Service, the BIA, the school systems, school board members. Here I might mention the mental health programs which are going on. Dr. Carl Mindell in Pine Ridge, S. Dak., is doing a tremendous job, and Dr. Bergman, at the Window Rock Agency of the U.S. Public Health Service. These are pilot projects. One is also in Anchorage, Alaska.

There is a sentimental tendency to want to visit only a poor Indian home, bypassing some of the constructive things being accomplished in reservation communities.

3. Then there is the tendency to focus on the sensational. There are some exciting special projects in Indian education in a number of places, well funded with considerable attention given them. But how realistic is it to plan special projects and expect similar funding in other areas of the country? This is a question which I hope the subcommittee will give serious attention.

4. What are the personnel needs at bordertown, on the off-reservation dormitories and schools operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs? Many of the students attending the off-reservation schools are from broken homes, orphans, young people with emotional problems. The personal problems of these children need professional persons—psychiatrists, social workers, counselors—to hear them out. One of the good things I have seen was at Wahpeton Indian School, Wahpeton, N. Dak., where title I funds made possible additional staff for direct contact with and care of the grade-school children there.

In talking to the three dormitory aides who take care of these children, one of the things they said was that they were so understaffed that there was no possibility even if they cared that they could take a look at a child's paper when he came back home from the school, or just sit down with him and spend a little time with him because of the duties that they had. I think there were only three people for about 60 students. So the title I funds have made a real impact on that campus.

But in addition to this, there is a tremendous need to take a look and get the kind of program that is now going on at Albuquerque Indian School, the person you just heard from, those kinds of staffs on the various Indian school staffs.

Finally, we are sick and tired of the "Lo, the poor Indian" attitude and do not want this attitude of anyone coming to reservation or urban communities to take a look. Of common knowledge among those of us who work in the field of Indian affairs is the persistent paternalism which still exists. We are very much aware that there are non-Indians who choose the persons who speak for us. And there are many who feel that the non-Indian is much more objective about who "really" speaks for us than we do. Those of you on this subcommittee are very much aware that there are divisions within the Negro communities, labor unions, the Democratic Party.

I don't think you would ignore SNCC, CORE, and all of these groups if you were having a subcommittee on Negro education.

There are liberals and conservatives. You would be willing to listen to divisions within these groups. Pressure groups you probably call them. In fact, you have to listen to them. Every time you pick up a paper you read about them.

There are divisions among Indian people, too, and within tribes as well as between tribal leaders. The national organizations which represent us are the National Congress of American Indians and the National Indian Youth Council. In local communities and urban areas are the tribal councils, intertribal councils, urban Indian centers and clubs.

And, there are organizations, such as those represented on the Council on Indian Affairs, which are willing to work openly with these organizations; others are not. There are non-Indians who wield the power behind the scenes. Until they are willing to speak out in the open with their advice and decisions about American Indians, the pattern of paternalism will continue.

Recently a former United Scholarship Service student said, "A few years ago everyone was asking, 'Where are the young articulate Indians who will speak out?' Now that we're ready to speak, they say, 'Where are the Indian people from the grassroots?' "

I have some material I would like to leave. The chairman of our board of directors of United Scholarship Service has a memo.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. We will make that a part of the record.

(The document follows:)

DECEMBER 15, 1967.

MEMORANDUM FROM MRS. ROBERT L. ROSENTHAL, CHAIRMAN, BOARD OF DIRECTORS, UNITED SCHOLARSHIP SERVICE, INC., DENVER, COLO., RE COMMENTS AND OBSERVATIONS RELEVANT TO WORK OF SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON INDIAN EDUCATION

SIRS: My name is Elizabeth Clark Rosenthal, of Lexington, Massachusetts. I should like to submit certain comments and observations which I believe to be relevant to the work of this Subcommittee. I do so as Chairman of the Board of Directors of United Scholarships Service, Inc. and also out of certain personal and professional concerns.

(1) As a non-Indian who grew up and went to school in a reservation school (one of 7 or 8 white children in a school of more than 100 children on the Crow Creek Reservation) in South Dakota.

(2) As the mother of four children, two in high school, one in junior high, and one in grade school in Lexington, Massachusetts.

(3) As a professionally trained anthropologist specializing in Contemporary Indian Affairs. I am employed as a staff officer for Indian work by the Executive Council of the Episcopal Church, 815 Second Ave., New York, N.Y. First, I should like to suggest to the members of this Subcommittee that nothing is to be gained for the future in Indian education if we justify the future by stating that "we owe this to Indians because of what we did to them in their past." That is the old "We-They" principle which divides us before we begin our search for solutions to problems which face all of us today. It is not good for my children to grow up thinking this way about Indian children, and not good for Indian children to hear over and over again that what happened in history is their only claim to a place in America. We should heed the warning of William L. Taylor, staff director of the Civil Rights Commission, as cited in an editorial in the New York Times of August 9, 1967, that we may raise another generation unprepared for equal opportunities. If, as a result of the investigations of this Subcommittee, you make recommendations for improvements in Indian education today, let the justification for these improvements rest upon the common agreement of all of the citizens of this country—that we care for our children, that we are concerned that all of our children have a chance to have a good education, as citizens of today's world—and tomorrow's.

Find and talk with Indian parents who have tried to bring up their families in this spirit. They want their children to know history, Indian history, but they do not want their children to be preoccupied with what white people and Indian people did to each other in the past. They are concerned for what we are going to do now.

Another proposition that is often used to justify political gambits in Indian affairs is "(They) (We) came Here First." Different ethnic and cultural groups did indeed arrive in America at different times, but this is no basis for asserting the right of any one group of citizens of this country over against another. If Indian children and young people deserve a better chance in education, it is because they have equal rights, not special rights just because some of their ancestors came by the Bering Sea, while some of the ancestors of other children in the country came by the Mayflower, or by clipper ship or by plane.

Second, let us give up blaming "The Bureau." If the Bureau of Indian Affairs has failed in some of the things that the Congress has expected of it, it is not because it has not tried. There are Bureau employees in Indian communities all over the West who are well-trained, competent men and women working in a tradition of service that other branches of government might well envy.

When, in the course of white politics, it becomes necessary to use the Bureau as a whipping boy, it is important to consider what happens in terms of Indian education. Look around and you will see that many very able Indian people are in the Bureau—Commissioner Bennett himself, Washington staff officers, area and reservation employees. When these men and women are undercut in the endless round of research and investigation, it is the local Indian communities that suffer. Indian Bureau people do know where many of the trouble spots lie in Indian education. Listen to them too. They have waited a long time to be heard.

The same is true of tribal officers, and education committees, and CAP directors and state and country workers. There is far less negligence than we pretend. There is far more need than we can possibly understand at the outset. Do not try to find "the Voice of the Indian." Listen for many voices.

There is too much to see to be blunted by old white stereotypes and bound by the old rules of Indian politics. Look at total community settings, including authentic Indian, inauthentic Indians, tourists and typists, grand parents with and without braids, and many little children.

Those of us working in United Scholarship Service will be working with Indian young people for a good many years after this Subcommittee has done its work. We have a stake in your findings. So do all of the people of America.

I have a letter from a friend in Fort Thompson, South Dakota, Mrs. Oxel Olsen. She came from Norway to Crow Creek Reservation as a young bride many years ago, and she is working as an aide in the Head Start Program there. This letter was written on December 5, 1967.

"I am still hoping to go to Head Start every morning 7:30 and I just love those children. They are each so different but all *kids*. Its great to be around them. They learn very quick. They are little rascals. They are well fed—get all the milk they can drink. How wonderful that is. I am thankful for this Head start. Of course it is far too many hi wage people. We do not need them for this children. We need servants with a good heart, a level mind, and lot of thinking. Don't push a child it sets him back. Do not scream it is a very bad remembrance for the children. I watch them when someone raise their voices and look out of the corner of their eyes to really understand what it is all about."

My one recommendation to this Subcommittee is: Do not scream. Understand what it is all about.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. What other material have you?

Miss **Walker**. I have a memo here from Dr. Carl Mindell, who is with the Community Mental Health Program on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota. This will give you information about the kinds of questions you have been asking, about parents, about the adolescents on reservations without a male head in the family, and so forth.

(The information referred to follows:)

MEMORANDUM RE NEEDS AND PROBLEMS OF CHILDREN AND RESOURCES ON PINE RIDGE INDIAN RESERVATION, REPORT SUBMITTED FOR THE JOINT COMMISSION ON YOUTH AND CHILDREN, SUBMITTED BY CARL MINDELL, M.D., AND MAURICE W. MILLER

DECEMBER 1, 1967.

Chief, Division of Indian Health,
ATT'N: Mental Health Coordinator, Aberdeen, S. Dak.,
THROUGH: Director, Pine Ridge Service Unit, Pine Ridge, S. Dak.,
THROUGH: Indian Health Area Director, Aberdeen, S. Dak.
Director, Community Mental Health Program

NEEDS AND PROBLEMS OF CHILDREN AND RESOURCES ON PINE RIDGE INDIAN RESERVATION. REPORT SUBMITTED FOR THE JOINT COMMISSION ON YOUTH AND CHILDREN.

This report will be divided into the following sections:

1. General psychological needs and problems of children and adolescents.
2. Specific needs and problems.
3. Resources available and resources needed.

I. GENERAL OVERVIEW

In discussing needs and problems in general we begin with a brief description of the environment which is so intimately involved with an individual's and a community's mental health. According to a 1965 survey the average *family* income was $2,173 with the median income being $1,677. The average family size was estimated to be 5.9. A population of somewhere between 10 and 12,000 live on a reservation of approximately 5,000 square miles. 58 percent of the housing is considered unrenovatable and dilapidated. 50 percent of the population get their water supply from a source which is either one quarter of a mile from their home or from a polluted source. 25 percent of homes have plumbing. 12 percent electricity and 3 percent of the population have telephones. Of the total *potential* labor force 34 percent is unemployed. There is no public transportation. These figures should indicate that poverty on the reservation is severe and that needs for basic subsistence rank high.

In a census of the reservation being done by the Community Mental Health Program which was 60 percent completed in October 1967, the following pertinent population data are noted: 66 percent of the total population are 24 or under; 50 percent of the total population is 15 or under and 20 percent of the total population is 5 or under. This would indicate that the population on the reservation is multiplying rapidly, that an unusually high percentage of the population are children and adolescents. The following education levels of the population are noted for those people 16 and older. 27 percent of this population completed some grade up to the seventh. 19 percent completed the 8th grade. 26 percent completed some grade between 9 and 11 and 24 percent completed the 12th grade. 4 percent had some college education. In other words 28 percent of the population had completed high school while 72 percent have not.

A common observation of Sioux teenagers is a pervading sense of inadequacy, of being weak inside, powerless, unable to do anything or to accomplish anything.

As an Indian in relation to a white, they feel second rate. They accept the negative identity of the Indian as a drinker, as a loafer. There is a tendency for the Oglala Sioux teenager to take a depressive position (in contradistinction to the paranoid position). For example, in a survey in normal Indian and non-Indian teenagers when asked why Indians may have more problems than other people a high percentage of white teenagers said it was because of the white's prejudice. The Indian teenagers blamed the Indian themselves. For example, with "Indians don't understand the need for education". "Indians have more problems with drinking and with laziness".

The Sioux child adolescent and adult is linked closely with his family. This close tie to the family is of some importance in understanding the high drop-out rate from boarding school and is also important with the high returnee rate on the Relocation Program of Employment Assistance;

Concerns with separation are probably more related to socio-economic status than cultural attachment however. In our survey of normal Indian and non-Indian teenagers when we weighed the answers to questions which showed any concern with separation from important people we found no significant difference between the Sioux group and the poor non-Indians but there was a significant difference between both of these groups and the more prosperous non-Indians.

The level of object relations is of interest. The Sioux teenager tends to view people around the focus of being helpful or giving while the non-Indian teenager exhibits a variety of ways of seeing and relating to other people.

II. SOME SPECIFIC MENTAL HEALTH PROBLEMS OF CHILDREN AND ADOLESCENTS

A. *Suicide attempts.*—The suicide attempt rate on the Pine Ridge Reservation is somewhat more than twice the rate reported by Schneidman and Farbarow in Los Angeles in 1961. Our rate is approximately 250 per 100,000 population. 36 percent of the people who make suicide attempts in Pine Ridge were 19 or less during the year July 1966 through June 1967. The ratio of women to men is 4 to 1. The most common method was overdose of medication. The most frequent precipitating stress was a felt rejection by an important person. The second most important stress was some interference in the family by relatives moving in. Diagnoses ranged through all possibilities. The most frequent dynamics involved the disruption of a close hostile dependent or symbiotic relationship which resulted in extreme feelings of helplessness and anger which were turned inward. The most frequent intent of the suicide attempt was to change an important relationship.

B. *Use of alcohol.*—There are no accurate statistics concerning this on the reservation. It is however a common impression of police and school personnel that drinking amongst adolescents is increasing, especially among boys.

Inhalation of various substances appears to be a common practice among some age groups. Our program is currently attempting to study this area. Gasoline inhalation is frequently reported among elementary school children. At the present time pockets of glue sniffers around the reservation are also being reported.

C. *Delinquency.*—The number of juvenile offenses between ages 10 and 17 on the Pine Ridge Reservation was corrected so as to be comparable with the National Juvenile Court statistics. The delinquency rate on the reservation is 8.8 times the National Rural average.

D. *School problems.*—Drop outs. Nationally 60 percent of Indian children drop out of school as compared with 23 percent of non-Indians (Thompson, Hildegarde Indian Education, January 15, 1963—382, 1–3).

Learning underachievement. As a whole Indian students are comparable or better than non-Indian students on national achievement tests such as the California Achievement Tests up to about the sixth or seventh grade at that point, there is a cross over phenomenon in which the Indian student falls below the national normal.

Specific learning problems. Use of English. Verbal facility in English is less than in surrounding non-Indian communities. Reading achievement—in general reading achievement levels are lower than in surrounding non-Indian communities.

E. *Family disorganization.*—18 percent of Sioux adolescents have no parent in the family. Approximately 40 percent of Indian adolescents have no adult male in the family (including father or other male relatives or non-relatives). The child neglect rate is probably not higher than in other very poor areas. (Personal communications, Mr. Ralph Aguirre, BIA Welfare, Pine Ridge, South Dakota.)

F. *Community mental health program statistics.*—During the fiscal year 1967, 52 children were referred for psychiatric consultation (the total population is 10–12,000). This was 37.6 percent of the total number of patients referred for psychiatric consultations. Of those children referred for psychiatric consultation 38.4 percent were living with both parents. 13.5 percent had one parent present. 19.2 percent had a foster parent or were living with some other relative. 17.3 percent were living with grandparents and 11.5 percent had no one acting as guardian. (That is no immediate people. For example, the guardian might be the Welfare Department). There was a significant relationship between the severity of the child's impairment and whether the child came from a family where both parents were not present. The severity was increased with both parents not present.

III. THE KIND AND EXTENT OF FACILITIES AND RESOURCES TO MEET MENTAL HEALTH PROBLEMS OF CHILDREN

1. Bureau of Indian Affairs of Social Services Program for care of dependent, neglected and delinquent children. BIA Social Services has about 80 children presently in foster homes. BIA Social Services does not have the staff to devote sufficient time to do adequate foster home finding and supervision nor do they have the staff or time to work with the child's own family. Most placements, of necessity, are made on an emergency or crisis basis with both the home and the child unprepared. We do not have adequate holding facilities for children awaiting foster placement.

2. We have one group foster home operated by an elderly lady. She has had up to seven and eight children in her home at one time which certainly is too many. Also a home such as this can only meet the needs of a few children.

3. Nursery Schools or Headstart Program. The Headstart Program has been in operation on the reservation for two schools years. It seems to be successful in meeting the mental and physical developmental needs of children between the ages of 3 and 5. This program provides meaningful and creative activities for the children, introduces them to new experiences, assists in the development of vocabulary and involves the parents in the process at an early age preparing them to continue this kind of involvement in regular school.

4. Neighborhood Youth Corps Program. The Neighborhood Youth Corps Program provides for employment and counseling for children between the ages of 16 and 21 who are school dropouts and for children in school; who need the em-

ployment and financial assistance to help them continue in school. This program has been successful in finding employment experiences but has been lacking in the individual and group counseling aspects of the Program.

5. Job Corps. These Centers located around the country are for boys and girls who have dropped out of school or otherwise have gotten behind. These centers provide trade and education services, counseling and broadened group and social experiences.

6. Boy and Girl Scouts Programs. Although there are Scout Programs in almost every community on the reservation, there is only one community that seems to have a strong program which involves most of the eligible children and also involves adults in the community as leaders.

7. In a very informal way we have started a small Big Brothers Program which provides for interested adults in the community to become Big Brothers to youngsters who do not have a father or an effective father in their home.

8. Special Education. We have currently special education units or classrooms on the reservation meeting the needs of perhaps thirty children and there is one classroom for the severely retarded or brain damaged child. We are sadly in need of more teachers trained in special education.

9. Parent and Child Centers. There is currently a pilot program being developed which will provide educational counseling, physical health and day care services to families with children under the age of three. This program will be set up on a pilot basis in one community.

10. Community Mental Health Program Services for Children. The Community Mental Health Program provides direct outpatient treatment services for children, inpatient treatment services at the local Public Health Service Indian Hospital. We also provide mental health consultation to other agencies, especially to the schools. Last school year the Community Mental Health Program offered 234 consultations to school personnel.

11. Boarding Schools. We have two large boarding schools on the reservation and combined they have a population of around 700 students. Many (estimated 30%) of the elementary children in the boarding schools are there because parents in some form are relinquishing or neglecting their responsibilities. Many of these children as a result have emotional problems, however there is only minimal recognition of the extent of this problem and little is really being done about it.

12. Yankton State Hospital. Yankton State Hospital for Treatment of the Mentally Ill has a special treatment unit for 50 adolescents which was recently opened and is currently available to us. However, other than this we do not have a Residential Treatment Service for children in this state.

13. Redfield State Training School for Retarded Children. The institution is for the care of retarded children needing residential care in the State of South Dakota. This facility is available but due to jurisdiction problems and waiting list problems it takes almost two years from the time of the initial application until a child is finally placed in this institution.

14. Facilities needed. We are definitely lacking the following facilities which we feel are badly needed:

1. Separate detention facilities for delinquent children
2. Separate juvenile court for juvenile offenders
3. Group foster homes
4. Specialized Residential Treatment Center for children
5. Psychological Services.

CARL MINDELL, M.D.
MAURICE W. MILLER

Senator **KENNEDY** of New York. What do you think is most needed now?

Miss **WALKER**. I think it is very good that you are going to take a good look at what is needed. As far as United Scholarship Service is concerned, the one interest is in clearing up this financial aid picture.

Senator **KENNEDY** of New York. Let me restate my question: Taking an overall picture of the problems that young Indian children have in the educational field, what is it that you want to suggest to this committee that would be the most important step that could be taken?

Miss Walker. This Wednesday I visited a school in Lexington, Mass., the Bowman School. Is it possible to have a Bowman School on reservations? I am interested in quality education, as everyone is, every parent is.

Senator Kennedy of New York. What makes what they are doing at that school better than the Indian school systems that you have seen?

Miss Walker. The funds that they have available, the teachers they have available who are well trained, the new systems that they are using with the children.

Senator Kennedy of New York. Could you be more specific?

Miss Walker. The kids go into certain units. They are divided up so that their classroom isn't so large. As with this little 7-year-old girl in whose home I was visiting, it was the same kind of experience I had in going to college. We were not divided in the school in the way that they are.

Senator Kennedy of New York. What is your feeling about the Bureau of Indian Affairs' educational system?

Miss Walker. I am a product of part of the Bureau of Indian Affairs' educational system, and maybe it has changed considerably since I was in the Haskell Institute at Lawrence, Kans. But there are a lot of changes that can be made. Some of it has to do with money, a lot of it has to do with the funds available to the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Senator Kennedy of New York. Thank you.

Senator Fannin.

Senator Fannin. Miss Walker, your testimony is very valuable. I wonder if you have some ideas on the high school counseling programs of college-headed Indian students, to help them choose a school. Do you have any recommendations?

Miss Walker. Very few of the schools in the West have counselors on their staffs. The counselors I visited have felt that the Bureau of Indian Affairs or a State agency, or a tribe, is already taking care of the Indian student. Therefore, their job is not to help the Indian student in that school in his college counseling.

Senator Fannin. They really have an obligation to help all the students. How could we bring it to their attention? Through the school board association, perhaps?

Miss Walker. You have directors of Indian education in most of the Western States. Their job is to know what is going on in that public school system.

Senator Fannin. But to reach the people who are involved and give counseling on what is to be done, and how it is to be accomplished, don't we have the State boards of education?

Miss Walker. I would think the State Boards of Education.

Senator Fannin. They do reach all of the teachers in the public schools. And, of course, through the U.S. Office of Education.

Miss Walker. The Office of Education, yes. But the directors of Indian education are a part of the Department of Education in the States.

Senator Fannin. What I am trying to determine is how can it be accomplished, if it is not being accomplished, and what action can be taken to assist in getting the school authorities in realizing this need?

In many instances I don't feel that they are cognizant of the problem.

Miss **Walker**. Most Indian students in the public school system are really kind of put aside. There is always the feeling that the Bureau of Indian Affairs is going to take care of these students.

The question that has to be raised, as you go out into the field, is what does the school feel their responsibility is. Is it for all of the students, or do you just kind of have a segregated group and say that these people are not going to go to college anyway, they are probably going to vocational school because they are very good with their hands. Then they count on this adult vocational training person to come and counsel with the Indian students.

Senator **Fannin**. This is an administrative problem. That is why I say they should not segregate the Indian children in this respect with special training programs, counseling and guidance, whatever may be involved.

I was just wondering if you had some thoughts as to how we could bring this to the attention of all of the schools. That is why I mentioned the school board association, or maybe AEA. I don't know what group might forcibly bring it to the attention of the administrators.

Miss **Walker**. Probably the best is the Director of Indian Education who gets the funds and distributes them to the schools.

Senator **Fannin**. Thank you very much.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Thank you very much.

Miss **Walker**. Thank you.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. The next witness will be Mrs. Pearl Warren, director, Seattle Indian Center, Seattle, Wash.

STATEMENT OF MRS. PEARL WARREN, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, SEATTLE INDIAN CENTER, SEATTLE, WASH.

Mrs. **Warren**. Honorable members of the Special Subcommittee on Indian Education and ladies and gentlemen, the Seattle Indian Center, of which I am the executive director, has been in existence for 7 years. It is from my experience with this organization that I can comment, not only on the state of Indian education, but upon what is needed to improve a pretty dismal situation.

Being an Indian—I am a Makah Indian—and having lived on a reservation, attended an Indian boarding school, Chemawa, and later having lived in many parts of the United States before returning to Seattle, I had had an awareness of problems before ever entering into my present job, but the Indian Center experience has brought them into much sharper focus.

The Indian Center was conceived originally as a type of educational program. It has been, from the start, located in downtown Seattle, easily available to bus lines from all areas. It is operated by the American Indian Women's Service League, a group of Indian women who have more or less banded together to help their own people. This is a little unusual in the city.

Those of us who helped organize it felt a need for a combined facility to assist Indians to become a more integrated part of the white community, to assist Indians to find friends away from taverns and bars, to attempt to change the community's image of the Indian as a drunken, lazy, "Skid Row" type individual, to assist with counseling

Indians who were too shy to go to public agencies to seek the kind of help they needed, whether it was a job, an education, welfare, food, clothing, or medical help.

But we were not trying to form an Indian reservation within the city. We wanted to make the Indian people part of the community they live in. We also, from the start, wanted to create a spot where Indians could meet whites in a proud setting, one which included the Indian heritage of art, folklore, and dance in a comfortable place in the white community.

Those were large and somewhat indefinite goals, but we started with the backing of several churches, social agencies, and industrial charitable funds, and after the first year, became a member of the United Good Neighbor Fund.

May I say that, in a way, we have played it by ear. We are and have tried to be "what was needed." And we think we are fulfilling our expectations far beyond what we originally hoped to do.

All of this may seem to be beside the point, but it is not, for the Indian Center has been a tremendous experience in adult education for everyone involved. And that includes the community. This has been an education for the white community to find an Indian organization like ours in a large city like Seattle.

Perhaps the most important overall result thus far in the activities of the American Indian Women's Service League is in the self-development of these people. We started with a group of shy women who had absolutely no experience with community service as it is understood by the non-Indian. They were accustomed to cooking and serving large meals for large groups at the Indian get-togethers, potlatches, round-ups, salmon bakes—and were good at it.

But they were not accustomed to joining the people at the table and making conversation about their problems or the problems of their associates. They had more than the ordinary woman's concerns about their children, their husbands, their homes, because in most cases, they lacked understanding of all that was happening to them—the high cost of living in a big city, the job insecurity of their husbands if they had husbands, the pressures on their children that were entirely different from their own experiences at reservation schools or boarding schools.

Many of these women did not admit to their Indian blood among their neighbors because of unpleasant experiences in their past. On the other hand, they were very lonely socially because they had so little in common with those same neighbors.

Probably the strongest reason for starting the center was that loneliness.

Today, through the process of a very slow but sure effort to involve them in community life and to give them tools and assurances and confidence in their own abilities as well as pride in their heritage, there is a significant change.

We have members of the Indian Center on the boards of the Council on Aging, the legal aid program of the OEO, the Seattle-King County Board of the OEO, the Human Rights Commission for the Catholic Archdiocese, and the community aid program. We have young women who acquired their training with us supervising community action programs. We sent two young women to Greeley Colorado College to learn preschool teaching techniques to work with the Head Start program.

We hope to have our own Headstart program in the city of Seattle.

We have women previously on welfare and/or ADC who have taken free practical nursing courses and are now proudly supporting their families with help from no one, other than maybe bus fare from us and their uniforms that they had to have to stay in the training program that they were in.

And more than that, we have a lot of women who now attend PTA meetings in their districts and are involving themselves in the real problems of their children.

At the same time that we were bringing Indian women into community life, we started the Indian Youth Activities Club. This club, sponsored by young women of the Service League, but run by the young people, has run the gamut of programs, from Indian dancing classes and horseback riding and swimming parties to sponsorship of tutoring sessions for junior high and high school students and retreats to learn leadership for our reservation and Seattle young people.

The tutoring was done by volunteers, Indian students, who were going to the University of Washington. We have kept most of our program Indian for the simple reason that in the past the Indians have been left out.

We are proud of our Indian Center Board because it consists of Indians and non-Indians, and they sit at the same table as non-Indians to make decisions that concern the Indian people.

The non-Indians set at the table and made decisions that concerned Indians and have turned around and have said: "We have decided this is what is best for you."

I am thankful for the subcommittee being interested in this, that they are actually asking some of the Indians to participate in this, because we like to have some part in making or helping to make the decisions that concern us as Indian people.

The satisfactions for these young people in learning to do things well, from running meetings to winning beauty contests, modeling in fashion shows, becoming the finest dancer or horseback rider, have carried over into their school lives where better grades, enough confidence to participate in white-student activities and higher scholastic goals have been the result.

We have one high school girl who went from president of the Youth Activities group to president of the senior class in a Seattle high school. She was one of the shyest girls to start out in the Youth Activities Club, but she became president and is now president of a senior class in one of the big high schools in Seattle.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. What tribe was she from?

Mrs. WARREN. She was a Nez Perce, from Idaho. She was a fullblood.

Several years ago the American Indian Associates group was formed of people either of Indian ancestry or special interest in Indian problems. This group, with the Indian Center and the American Friends Service Committee took as their goal the improvement of Indian education.

They conferred with the State Superintendent of Education, Louis Bruno, on what they considered the most important first efforts to be made toward general improvement of Indian youth education. Their first goals were to be improvement of teacher understanding and techniques with Indian students, and improved counseling methods.

With the Intertribal Council of Western Washington and the facilities of Western Washington State College in Bellingham· 3 years ago this summer they sponsored their first Indian teaching workshop.

Professor Tom Billings of Western supervised the program, a three-credit, 2-week workshop on the problems of Indian children—on and off the reservations—and methods of overcoming these problems.

After 2 years under a general sponsorship and control, full responsibility for the program went to the Seattle Indian Center, beginning this past summer. During part of the past 3 years, the American Friends Service Committee has paid an education counselor to work half-time at the Center.

The first counselor, Joan LaFrance Lupson, a Chippewa Indian, is now working in the Community Aid program. Our present counselor, Miss Jean Hunt, has been working full time for the past several months, with the rest of her salary paid by the United Scholarship Fund.

Jean is a Yakima Indian and a graduate of Western Washington State College. She will soon become education-counselor supervisor for the project Upward Bound for the State of Washington, which has recently become another responsibility of the center, with an OEO grant to finance the recruitment and administration programs involved.

As the previous speaker said, finances are always our biggest problem. There is no money for Indian work. And when it becomes, as they say, segregated, it has to be segregated in order to give any results.

We had a preschool program of Indian children, and we picked up what Head Start didn't get. It was a door-to-door thing, knocking on doors and getting these children from the homes.

For instance, they knocked on one door, and a man came to the door, saw they were Indian, and listened to them. A lot of times they have had non-Indian community aids coming to the door, and they will slam the door in their faces. But this has beeen their admission into the Indian homes, that they are Indian themselves, so they will not be making fun of them or prying into their business.

I think this is why the Indian programs that have been run by Indians are so successful for the Indians.

It was under Jean's direction that the Teacher Workshop this summer was undoubtedly our most successful one. The program of study included Indian leaders explaining to the teachers the facts of Indian life—entirely different and often opposite economic values, different disciplines, different goals.

It included field trips to two nearby reservations with elderly Indians talking on the proud heritage of Indian culture. It explained how often "the first thing an Indian child had to learn in a middle-class white school was the English language, which was a foreign language to them," the lack of identification of the Indian child with the middle-class white child in his first reading lesson.

The second week of the program was devoted to successful techniques that had been used by teachers in a variety of schools, both on and off the reservation, with special emphasis on the importance of understanding the problems in order to make use of the techniques already available to the teacher.

We have had real enthusiasm from those teachers who attended this workshop. Unfortunately, the total number who attended this summer was 10. Those who attend are those who are concerned themselves with the problems of these children—the good teachers who care. I believe the highest enrollment of the 3 years was 20, and we have many hundreds of teachers teaching Indian children.

The duties of our education counselors are concerned primarily with the urban Indian. Presently, these duties are mainly with college-age Indian youths, finding opportunities for them and encouraging them to follow through with programs set up for them either at the college or vocational school level.

Our principal concern here is to be able to continue to find financing for education counselors and, even more importantly, to find funds for sending these children to educational institutions.

The Indian student off the reservation cannot tap tribal and BIA sources for scholarship money. When we leave the reservation, we lose our Indian privileges. The BIA has their line right around the reservation. That is the extent of their interest in Indians. This is their job.

We have had a few BIA education officials who have winked at the rules and helped students attending nearby schools, but in the majority of cases our problem has been to find other sources of money to help the Indian student who is not living on a reservation. A system that makes it possible for one brother who lives at home on the reservation to be able to attend a school on a scholarship and another brother, perhaps being cared for by relatives in a nearby city, to be able to get no help at all is patently unjust, because sometimes the Indian student's parents don't feel they are quite making it on the reservation and will send them into Seattle or some other big city to go to school.

Their financial situation and finding a job for the student is quite difficult because they have had no experience.

I would like to see Indian centers of the type we are operating opened in many cities in the United States. I would like to see them run entirely by Indians. For ourselves, we hope for a more certain source of income for education and counseling service, and, probably most important of all, we would like to fulfill an ambition that has been part of our Indian Education Workshop since it began.

We feel that the workshop has been singularly successful, but with a very small audience. What we want is financial assistance to be able to take an education task force into each school in the State of Washington that has Indian students and require teachers in that school to attend yearly indoctrination courses in the special problems of Indian families caught between two cultures, unsure of which is right for them.

Since we are between cultures and do not know enough of our own Indian culture, we are unable to pick the good out of each culture and still survive in an economically different environment.

We are impressed with results that are coming from such programs as Head Start, Upward Bound, Overcome, and the Vista program on reservations, but little of this laps over to the Indian who has had the "guts" to leave the safety of the reservation and try to make his way in the cities. For him, it is too easy to just slide into the vicious circle of too little education to get a decent job, lack of permanent employment, shortened goals for himself, and, therefore, a poor start for his children.

One of our main problems is eligibility. When a nonreservation Indian goes to an agency for assistance, they see that he is an Indian and send him to the BIA. At the BIA, he is told that since he does not live on the reservation, he cannot be helped. And, in addition, since he is not living on the reservation, he has no spokesman or organization he can go to like the Tribal Council.

We are striving to make inroads into these problems. Ours is a self-help program. While UGN supports 80 percent of our budget, we raise 20 percent. But besides running the organization, we still have to try to raise money for our share in the community.

As I said before, we didn't want to start an Indian reservation in the middle of town. We wanted to make the Indians part of the community that they lived in. In doing this, we have to educate the community in their obligations to helping us, the same as they do any other people in the city of Seattle.

It is not a large budget, approximately $17,000 this year, which includes everything from rent and salaries to paper clips. For each of our special programs in education, in reservation relations, we must spend much valuable time seeking outside financial help from private or public funds. We are entirely independent of BIA assistance, except where we can get scholarship funds for individual students.

Maintaining our independence and the all-Indian character of our program is of extreme importance to us, and we believe that is the main reason for the success we have had.

We strongly favor a special vocational-training program for Indian students of all ages. It is one area we will explore in the future.

Our goal is to help the Indian fit into the white man's culture, but as an Indian, proud to be an Indian, traveling comfortable beside his white brother in education, economic opportunity, and social adjustment.

Senator **Fannin**. Thank you very much, Mrs. Warren, for the very informative statement about the program you have in Seattle.

There are many small communities that always need programs such as you have outlined. Do you have any suggestions as to how these could be organized?

I note that you did say, "I would like to see Indian centers of this type operating in many cities of the country." The great problem, of course, is the financing and, also, finding people who will take an interest.

Mrs. **Warren**. We have quite a lot of Indian people who are educated, and if they had an opportunity to work for their own people, they would. I think if they were given the opportunity to do something for their own people, there would be more dedication and more understanding in the program than from the non-Indian who comes in just for the salary.

Senator **Fannin**. You understand that our committee, of course, is specifically working on the education programs. We do feel, though, that the adult education factor is also an important factor.

We want to go beyond this, to elementary, secondary, and the college programs.

Mrs. WARREN. This is where we feel that there should be some understanding from the teachers, the educators, of the Indians and their problems.

Senator FANNIN. You talk about a program that you have for adult education for everyone involved. You explained some of the activities, but I am just wondering if you can be specific.

Do you have vocational training involved in the Indian Center in Seattle?

Mrs. WARREN. If we have the money, if we have a resource that we can tap.

Senator FANNIN. But at the present time you do not have that?

Mrs. WARREN. No. We do not have the money.

Senator FANNIN. You are really promoting, advocating, and sponsoring programs that would lap over to the cities?

Mrs. WARREN. Yes, sir. You see, as it is, the vocational programs are for the reservation Indians. When we leave the reservations, we are not eligible for them.

We even have a rough time, say, for instance, if we go to the King County Hospital in Seattle and they see that we are Indian. They say, "Go to the BIA, go to Public Health."

We really get a runaround as far as eligibility is concerned. We feel that if the public was educated, if there was some way that they could educate the public, it would help.

Senator FANNIN. But financing is one of the great problems that you have, as you have explained.

As far as these problems with the Indian people are concerned, do you feel that they have more difficulty obtaining credit, financing their obligations, than the non-Indian people?

Mrs. WARREN. Yes, they do, because a lot of the non-Indians who see an Indian come in, say for a loan, will figure: "Well, he is shiftless. He can always go back to the reservation. He is not dependable."

This is the image that they have of the Indian. For instance, I have lived in Seattle for quite a while. Then they take into consideration how long you have been in the city and whether you will go back to the reservation. If you go back to the reservation, they can't touch you.

Senator FANNIN. I think about this problem specifically in relation to the educational program of the youngsters. This is a factor involved, as I understand it.

Mrs. WARREN. Yes.

Senator FANNIN. Thank you very much, Mrs. Warren. We appreciate the information you have given us.

If you have any further suggestions, we would appreciate hearing from you.

Mrs. WARREN. Yes. I would like to say that we do need a good boarding school in the Northwest. We have one, but it is geared for Alaska. It was for the Navjos, but I understand they are not taking any new Navajos in.

That school was closed to the Northwest Indian. That covered about three States. Now we have to send them to Oklahoma or somewhere else.

A lot of the people that go into the city, according to the economic situation, can't keep the children in towns when they want to send them to a boarding school. They are not eligible for the Indian boarding schools. That goes back to your Indian-off-reservation eligibility.

You are the first comittee that I know of which has ever been interested in it.

Senator Fannin. Thank you very much, Mrs. Warren. Again, we appreciate the information you have given us.

The next witness is not here.

Senator Kenndy, the subcommittee chairman, has been called to the floor of the Senate. We have a vote coming at 11:30.

We will recess until 11:35 or 11:40. I am sorry for the delay, but it is necessary to get to the floor.

(A recess was taken from 11:20 a.m. until 12:10 p.m.)

Senator Kennedy of New York. The subcommittee will be in order.

Our witness will be Mr. John Belindo.

STATEMENT OF JOHN BELINDO, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, NATIONAL CONGRESS OF AMERICAN INDIANS, WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. Belindo. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I am John Belindo, the executive director of the National Congress of American Indians, here in Washington, D.C.

Senator Kennedy. of New York. Before you proceed, let me explain that Senator Fannin has been called to an important meeting. He will try to get over as soon as that is finished.

Mr. Belindo. Thank you very much.

I would like to apologize for not having written testimony prepared for you. It will reach you this afternoon from the printers.

Senator Kennedy of New York. That is perfectly all right.

Mr. Belindo. I am John Belindo, a Kiowa-Navajo and the executive director of the National Congress of American Indians, which is the only private organization of the Indian people themselves, where the voting program is limited to legally recognized Indians and Indian tribes.

Our organization represents some 90 tribes, including Alaska native villages, and reflects a major cross-section of the native American population of our Nation.

In our contract with the tribes, it enables us to maintain a current knowledge of the different problems affecting the Indians and the Alaska native people.

I am honored by your invitation to speak here today to express our views on a subject of vital concern to all Indian Americans. I also want to acknowledge our appreciation for the efforts of Senator Wayne Morse, chairman of the education subcommittee, Senator Lister Hill, Chairman of the full Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, and Senator Paul Fannin for the recommendation to give Indian education special attention in the U.S. Senate, other members of this distinguished committee, and, of course, Senator Robert F. Kennedy for his decision to accept the chairmanship.

The central thesis of these hearings is that the American Indian children are facing a crisis in education. I seriously doubt that even a significant minority of the American people believe any such thing.

The foundations of this scepticism are varied but concurrent. The principal one is that for the past 25 years Americans have witnessed the tremendous growth of the national economy and the material well-being of human society.

The rising level of prosperity has been characterized by improvements in housing, transportation, education, health, recreation, and other mainstream amenities with a vastly better condition now than in times past.

Thus, a great many citizens of our country, however urgent they feel the need is for further improvement in Indian affairs, nonetheless assume that conditions among Polish, Italians, Greek, Germans, Spanish and other minority groups, as well as Indian Americans, are far better now than they ever have been.

What, then, is the case for the crisis? I believe the case rests largely on three sets of facts, which are somewhat related to each other but which tend to be perceived with an equilibrium by persons interested in this particular subject.

The first set of facts is that American Indian children are alienated from their culture and are inmates of a 20th century wasteland.

The second set of facts is addressed to severe financial strains which most Indian tribes and reservations are now experiencing.

A third set concerns the growth of the Indian population with respect to their indigenous homes and land base, and the appearance of a large number of Indian families in west coast cities.

Take, for instance, 45,000 Indians in the Los Angeles area alone, which has led people to assert that the Indians are in a social and economic upheaval, that the migration of Indian families to the inner core of the cities is indicative of their enthusiasm and the basic guts of the involvement.

This assertion is not clear.

In any event, it remains the case that only a handful of Americans perceive the Indians contemporary problems as a direct result of the malfunctioning of the educational process.

But there is yet another source of reluctance to accept the urgency of Indian educational problems, which is more difficult to isolate than to prove. I would call it the "crisis in confidence" with regard to the efforts that have already been made by various agencies to deal with the educational problem

The Federal Government supports a fantastic array of social problems for Indians and that number is increasing. The issue is not, then, whether, but which, with regard to living in or near to poverty.

A good argument can be made that if there were an extra thousand dollars a year to go around to every tribe in the Nation, to improve school facilities, expand programs on all levels, provide more college and graduate scholarships, that the best thing would be to give the tribes, the governing bodies, the money directly and let them spend it on the things they think are priorities, which would be a formal education for many, including the bureaucrats, but would surely be more kaleidoscopic than any formula laid down in Washington would permit.

We are constantly told by the Department of Interior to take risks with our natural resources, but according to the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Indians are not strong enough to make decisions concerning our children, our schools, and our human resources.

In any event, the bureaucrats propose to spend money on services and projects which produce little or no effect and risk being thought ridiculous or worse by the people they are trying to reach.

And these educational administrators in their ivory towers would delude themselves if they did not see that this judgment has already been reached by a large number of Indians.

I believe our difficulty here has two quite different components.

The first is that the Government's commitment to evaluate the education needs of the American Indian children raises ambivalent emotions in most tribes, emotions of attraction, fear, trust, and distrust. This is not only because special concerted efforts of this kind can and have blown up in the policymaker's face when it turns out his program shows little or none of the effects it is supposed to achieve.

The 1967 Indian Resources Development Act failed to win wide spread Indian support this year because the bill emphasized the development of the land rather than the development of the people who lived on the land. It is so because in areas of Indian policy, facts simply are not neutral.

So most policy arrangements that the Federal Government has with Indian tribes rest on assumptions about the fact of a given situation. To challenge such facts is also to challenge the trustee arrangement.

Certainly we would agree that committee findings or task-force reports—almost invariably complex, cautious, and having the most modest impact—are hardly attuned to political rhetoric.

The second source of difficulty, however, is of a quite different nature. It is that up until now the Department of the Interior, through the Bureau of Indian Affairs, has had a virtual monopoly on evaluating and determining the educational needs of Indian children.

In Congress, the tribal councils, and the State Indian commissions, they are simply told the results of such an evaluation. They don't have to agree, but they are hard put to disagree.

There is nothing sinister about this state of affairs. Serious in-depth investigations, studies, et cetera, are only reaching the state of a developed as against an experimental technique.

Inevitably, special committee hearings sponsored in the first instance by the Senate or House Interior and Insular Affairs Committees, or task-force meetings sponsored by the executive departments, are held behind closed doors to derive Indian consensus.

The findings of such bodies are neutral. Therefore, it would be almost dangerous to let this imbalance persist for a number of reasons.

Most important, both the Congress and other legislative bodies, as well as Indians and Indian tribes, are put at a considerable disadvantage. A major tool in the art of persuasion is, in effect, denied them.

Second, these consensus seekers behind closed doors are exposed to the constant temptation to release only those findings that suit their purposes. There is no one to stop them or no one actually to keep them honest.

Third, universities and other private groups, which often undertake special roles as consultants, are in some measure subject to certain pressures to produce positive results of findings.

So the simple fact that this committee is under the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, rather than the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, will be a new source of knowledge for the Indian people. If it is accepted as a standard forum in debating publicly other issues of major importance, it is likely to raise considerably the level of that discourse.

So this source of knowledge should not remain an executive monopoly. Indians, like other people, by and large, do their best. They do not cheat, they do not abandon their responsibilities, and, above all, they appreciate honesty.

How is Congress to respond to improving the qualitative and quantative aspects of education? I would offer this analogy: Most Indian groups have clung to enough of their traditional cultures to prevent them from adopting fully the white American culture, including its attitude toward education and its use of education as areas of social mobility and occupational achievement.

Those Indian groups who move into the stream of dominant American culture will gradually make more use of schooling and will perform better as scholars. This may take a long time.

It seems that the Indian groups who do move into American culture come in at the lower economic levels and require a generation or two to learn the ways of upward mobility, including the use of education for this purpose.

As an aid in helping Indian students obtain the objective of higher education, I would like to suggest that Congress might now establish as a separate agency, an Office of Indian Education Resources Evaluation, a model agency which would have the task of systematically evalauting the results of educational programs currently available to assist school systems with the education of Indian children.

Such an office could be located in the Office of Education and function as a separate independent agency. But its essential feature must be that it be staffed by Indian and non-Indian professional educators.

It would regularly assess the results of Government programs in the same manner that the Government Accounting Office regularly audits them. It should be expected that their recommendations or their findings will not be dramatic or quick in coming, or that they will put an end to argument. Quite the contrary will probably occur. But the longrun effect would be immensely useful.

I have a story here in conclusion that I would like to recite. It concerns Sun Chief, who is a Hopi.

In earlier times, Sun Chief, a Hopi, attended school first on the edge of the Hopi country and later in California. He adjusted himself fairly well to the California school until he was taken with a severe illness during which he was unconscious four times and had a vision of the Hopi Spirit Guide.

During a long convalescence he concluded he should return to the way of his fathers. He said:

> As I lay on the blanket I thought about my schooldays and all I had learned. I could talk like a gentleman, read, write, and cipher. I could name all the States of the Union, with the capitals, repeat the names of all of the books of the Bible, 100 verses of Scripture, sing more than 2 dozen hymns, debate, shout football yells, swing my partners, and tell dirty stories by the hour.
>
> It was important that I had learned how to get along with the White Man. But my experience had taught me that I had a Hopi Spirit Guide, whom I must

follow if I wish to live and I want to become a real Hopi again, to sing the old songs and to feel free to make love without the fear of sin or rawhide.

I think this is essentially the song of every Indian and Indian tribe, a certain feeling of freedom, a chance to be free to manage their own affairs within the context of a sensitive and thorough committee such as we have here today.

That is all I have to say.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. I gather from what you are saying that the Government of our society has thrust itself upon the Indians, in all of their affairs, not only their educational system but their whole way of life.

Mr. **Belindo**. That is correct.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. It is on the edge, really, of destroying them. Is that what you are saying?

Mr. **Belindo**. Yes.

I am sure you have heard this view expressed by many anthropologists. The Indian becomes distraught because he cannot relate his experiences to the so-called mainstream of American life.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Why have other groups within the United States been able to adapt and, I suppose, ultimately become assimilated in the country, and that has been less true of the Indians?

Mr. **Belindo**. Historically, it boils down to the Indians having a deep traditional core, possessing and recognizing the same attributes peculiar to our heroes in the early history of our Nation.

I think, Senator Kennedy, that you recognize the contributions of George Washington or, perhaps, Thomas Jefferson or Abraham Lincoln—all are great men whom you honor and revere. But the Indians do not necessarily worship or revere the same heroes that you do. Then as now, there remains an element of belonging, spirit becoming more forceful and more effective as the years go by.

I think the new Indian leaders are going back to the reservations and into the Indian communities saying, "We are here to help you, and we are here to win the confidence of those who need us."

I think whether or not an Indian is able to assimilate depends on the environment in which he has been raised. If he grows up in Chicago, Minneapolis, or Los Angeles, naturally, he loses the native language and becomes assimilated rather fast.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Do you believe that there is a need for more on-reservation day schools?

Mr. **Belindo**. There is definitely a need for more on-reservation day schools. The educational system should not operate independently of total community development. All Federal agencies concerned with providing services and programs for Indians should form a coordinating agency to insure the best overall development of the Indian people. Some schools are put up overnight and staffed by people who come in and leave after a year or so. There should be something more permanent.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. What is your judgment about the boarding schools?

Mr. **Belindo**. The Bureau of Indian Affairs has been indicted many times for promoting the boarding school concept of educating Indian children. But what other alternatives do we have at the present time? Educators recognize the fact that you cannot take a child away from his native environment and isolate him from other very important processes in the education cycle. For instance, in a boarding school there is no daily interaction with parents.

He doesn't have any interaction at all with his parents, friends, and the community around him. All of these factors are very essential in the development of the integral person, be he white, Negro, or American Indian.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. What do you think we should do instead of the boarding school?

Mr. **Belindo.** That is a difficult question to answer. I think for one thing, there should be a strong orientation program for teachers going into reservation boarding schools. It is difficult to list priorities because some say, the first problem is high unemployment. You have to find employment for Indian fathers before we can think of improving the educational system.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. I am talking instead of the boarding schools, what kind of educational system would you be in favor of?

Mr. **Belindo.** We would favor more public schools and more day schools. And this is not negating the importance of the reservation boarding school, which is something we cannot displace now for lack of an alternative solution.

Dr. Robert Roessel's concept of Indian education is not really new, it just took Dr. Roessel to put this plan into action. Almost 40 years ago, the Meriam report proposed that education on the reservation should be kept there and in close association with family and tribal life; that day schools be made into community centers to teach adults as well as children, and that boarding schools be humanized.

It takes educated people to formulate plans and set them in motion. Actually, there is no stabilized plan of action under the present system, no feeling of accomplishment, no systematic evaluation of where we are going. I think there should be more aggressive and positive leadership in the field of Indian education.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Summarizing your testimony, it seems to me to be a theme that has run through our 2 days of hearing, the fact that the common complaint is that the Indians are not playing the role of determining their own destiny, whether it is education, jobs, whatever it might be. They are not playing the role that they feel they should be playing.

Rather than just a demand for more money or more programs, it is really a change in attitude on the part of the Federal Government that is needed.

Mr. **Belindo.** That is right, and the American public, too.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. When I say the Government, I suppose that would include the American public. Society, Government, the States, the local school boards, all of these things.

What has happened is that the white man or the Federal Government has come in and made a judgment in a rather paternalistic way as to what should be done with the Indians and how their educational system should be established, and used the mores and customs of the white population and thrust all of that onto the Indians without really consulting them or working with them. And perhaps assuaging the conscience of the rest of the country by establishing boarding schools, taking the children away and putting them in the boarding schools, feeling that we were educating the Indian. And that is all that is required. He goes to school when he is 6 years old. It doesn't matter what the environment is, what his relationship with his parents is, or the relationships to the rest of his family, his tribe, or home; we have just stuck him in a school and, therefore, we have done our bit.

Mr. **Belindo.** That is right.

It would be unconceivable for any of us in this room to place our children in a reservation-type boarding school, 40 or 50 miles away from home.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Do you think there is enough scholarship money available for Indian students who want to go to college but lack funds?

Mr. **Belindo.** Well, I think it is a problem of communications. I think the funds are there if the people who are in charge of these funds would spread the gospel.

Many times Indian students become discouraged when application for assistance is refused on the basis of certain academic criteria. Many students, were perhaps, placed on academic probation in their sophomore year in college. After a while, they want to continue their education, but are not able to do so because of rigid scholarship requirements.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Do you agree that during the seventh, eighth, or ninth grade—in that period of time—there is a change in attitude by the Indian student, by a large percentage of the Indian students? They do well up until about the sixth grade and suddenly a large portion fall behind, becoming depressed and are filled with complexes about their fellow students and about their identity?

Mr. **Belindo.** I believe the Indian student, if he were part of any Indian student body certainly would not be susceptible to certain fears about himself which you have just described. Age certainly is an important factor in surmounting psychological barriers. If an Indian child were educated in middle-class suburbia for most of his school years, chances are, he may be more susceptible to other problems relative to his environment.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Have you found these symptoms that I have described in some of the school systems that we have established or which are in existence?

Mr. **Belindo.** Yes.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. What do you think can be done to remedy that situation? When you hear that 60 percent of the Indians are dropouts, and you hear of the high rate of unemployment amongst the Indians—of course they are related to one another—what do you think we could do to change that or remedy it?

Mr. **Belindo.** If I can remember correctly, one of the principal reasons for the high dropout rate among Indian high school students was parental indifference. The parents, according to various surveys, were not too concerned about what their sons or daughters studied in school. Most tribal councils have a compulsory school attendance code, and in some cases, they even assess fines against families who do not comply with the regulation.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. We have been reading about, and experienced, the fact that a considerable percentage of the young

Negro youth in the United States become so disillusioned with the system in our society that they have, at least in part, taken to acts of violence against the society and this Government, against the life around them. Do you see any of that amongst the young Indians across the country?

Mr. BELINDO. No; I don't think young Indian students would assemble themselves in a body to demonstrate or protest. But if the young Indians did riot in Sioux Falls, S. Dak., Albuquerque or Gallup, N. Mex., I am sure this would cause a great wave of concern to flow out toward American communities.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Do you see any feeling like that amongst the young Indian students?

Mr. BELINDO. In a certain element of Indian students, we have radicals and activists in a sense. Actually, since Indians do not aline themselves politically with anyone, political "brand names" are absent from the language. I do not think there would be an overt demonstration by Indian students to dramatize the plight of the American Indian.

This is not their nature, to demonstrate.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. The conditions, of course, are frequently worse. I just raise that question. I have talked to some young Indians where there was a feeling of a good deal of bitterness. Do you think that there exists in our society, disillusionment and bitterness because of the status of the Indian in American life today?

Mr. BELINDO. Disillusionment exists with the Indian, yes; a great deal of disillusionment.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Bitterness, would you say?

Mr. BELINDO. I would say bitterness; absolutely.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. How do they expect that they are going to remedy their situation or rectify their conditions?

Mr. BELINDO. First of all, I think Indians have to become disengaged from the shackles of paternalism and paternalistic policies. Indians will have to acquaint themselves with new trends and new concepts in all fields of social and economic endeavors. Education with its plethora of orientations and guidelines within systems must be studied by Indian education specialists. We must strive to catch up and stay on par with certain levels of society. Some tribes have language barriers. The children cannot speak English, cannot write, and consequently, cannot communicate nor articulate an elementary idea. So it is very difficult to speak our minds with serious impediments such as these.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Thank you very much, Mr. Belindo. I think your testimony has been very helpful.

Mr. BELINDO. Thank you.

(The prepared statement of Mr. Belindo follows:)

PREPARED STATEMENT OF JOHN V. BELINDO, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, NATIONAL CONGRESS OF AMERICAN INDIANS

I am John Belindo, Kiowa-Navajo and executive director of the National Congress of American Indians which is the only private organization of the Indian people themselves, where the voting and programming is limited to legally recognized Indians and Indian tribes. Our organization represents some 90 tribes including Alaska native villages, and reflects a major cross-section of the native American population of our Nation. A major cross-section of the native American population of our Nation. Our contact with the tribes enables us to maintain a current knowledge of different problems affecting the Indians and Alaska native people.

Mr. Chairman and distinguished members of this subcommittee, it is a privilege for me to testify today on a subject of vital concern to all Indian Americans. The central thesis of these hearings is that American Indian children are facing a crisis in education. I seriously doubt that even a significant minority of the American people believe any such thing. The foundations of this skepticism are varied by concurrent. The prinicpal one is that for the past twenty-five years Americans have witnesses the tremendous growth of the national economy and the material well-being of society. The rising level of prosperity has been characterized by improvements in housing, transportaion, education, health, recreation, and other mainstream amenities known to be in vastly better condition now than in times past. Thus a great many citizens of this country, however, urgent they feel the need is for further improvement in Indian affairs, nonetheless assume that conditions among many other minority groups, as well as American Indians, are far better now than they ever have been.

What then is the case for crisis? I believe it rests largely on three sets of facts which are somewhat related to each other, but which tend to be perceived with an equilibrium by persons interested in this particular subject.

The first set of "facts" is that a large percentage of American Indian children are alienated from their culture, mentally-ill, stacked inmates of a twentieth century wasteland.

The second set of facts is addressed to the severe financial strains which most Indian tribes on reservations are now experiencing.

The third set concerns the growth of the Indian population with respect to their native homes and land base. The appearance of large number of Indian families in some West Coast cities—45,000 Indians in the Los Angeles area alone—has led many persons to assert that Indians are migrating from the provincial ghettos to the inner core of the cities and that this influx represents the beginning of a new Indian species—a species having basic guts of involvement and a certain yen for urbanite middle-class values. This assertion is not clear, it seems to me.

In any event, it remains the case that only a handful of Americans perceive the Indian's contemporary problems as a direct result of the malfunctioning of the Indian educational process. The majority of American Indian students on all levels are being had. Their twentieth century needs are being met by a nineteenth century curriculum which is politically provincial, psychologically simplistic, and subtly worthwhile. What is now the traditional curriculum was conceived in the 1890's and accepted by the turn of the century. But this is tweneieth century America: yet the educators have not acted: in fact there has been so little implementation of needed modern curriculum that many Indian students do not even know what they are missing.

But there is yet another source of reluctance to accept the reality and urgency of Indian education problems which is more difficult to isolate and to prove. I would call it the crisis in confidence—with regard to the efforts that have already been made by various Federal agencies to deal with Indian problems.

The Federal Government supports a fantastic array of social programs for Indians, and that number is increasing. The issue then is not whether but which. With regard to living in or near to poverty, the choice is between a strategy of services, which OEO's proposal would entail and the strategy of ESEA, title I implementation for the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the office of education.

A good argument can be made that if there were an extra thousand dollars a year to go around to every tribe in the Nation. to improve school facilities. to improve curriculum, expand programs on all levels, provide more college and graduate scholarships, that the best thing would be to give the tribes, the governing bodies, the money directly and let them spend it filling the substantive voids in the traditional curriculum—which would be a formal education for many. but would surely be more kaliedoscopic than any formula laid down in Washington would permit. In any event, the empire-builders who propose spending money or services or projects which produce little or no effect risk being thought ridiculous or worse by the Indian people they are trying to reach. and these educators in their ivory towers would delude themselves if they did not see that this judgment has already been reached by large numbers of Indian tribes.

I believe our difficulty here has two quite different components. The first is that the government's commitment to evaluate needs of American Indian children raises ambivalent emotions in most Indian groups: emotions of attraction. and fear. trust and distrust. This is not only because special concerted efforts of this kind have blown up in a policy-makers face when it turns out his programs or proposals have shown little or none of the effects they are supposed to achieve—case in point, the 1967 Indian Resources Development Act failed to win widespread Indian support this year, because the bill emphasized the development of land rather than the development of the people who lived on the land. It is so because in areas of Indian policy, facts simply are not neutral, most policy arrangements the Federal Government has with Indian tribes, rests on assumptions about the facts of a given situation. To challenge such facts is also to challenge the verity of the trustee arrangement Indians have with the Government. Certainly we would agree that special committee findings or task force reports on the social, educational, and economic affairs of Indians are invariably complex, cautious, and having at most modest impact, are hardly attuned to political rhetoric.

The second source of difficulty, however, is of a quite different nature. It is that up until a few years ago, the Department of the Interior acting through its Bureau of Indian Affairs, has had a virtual monoply on evaluating and determining the educational needs of Indian children. Congress, the tribal councils are simply told what have been the results of such evaluation effectiveness. They do not have to agree but they are hard put to disagree. Now, the enterprise of educating Indian children means utilizing a basic system of education incorporating all of the valuable characteristics of the American public schools, but structured in order to cope with the significant characteristics of Indian children. The key discovery has been that the new philisophy with its extra-agency proponents, makes an old process, dialogue, again possibly a way to revitalize a learning aducational community.

There is nothing sinister about this state of affairs. Serious in-depth investigations, studies, et cetera is only reaching the state of a developed—as against an experiemental—technique. Inevitably, special Bureau of Indian Affairs policy formulators sponsored in the first instance by the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee and or task force meetings sponsored by the executive department behind closed doors to derive indian consensus. Therefore, it would be almost dangerous to let this imbalance continue to persist. For a number of reasons. Most important, both the Congress, various federal agencies, Indians and Indian tribes are put at a considerable disadvantage. A major tool in the art of persuasion is in effect denied them. Second, these consensus seekers are exposed to the constant temptation to release only those findings that suit their purposes: there is no one to stop them or to keep them honest. Third, universities and other private groups which often undertake special roles as consultants or expertise in indian affairs, are in some measure subject to constant, if subtle pressure to produce positive results or findings. The simple fact that this subcommittee is under the Committee of Public Labor and Welfare rather than under the Committee of Interior and Insular Affairs represent a new source of knowledge for the Indian people. Indians—like other people, by and large, do their best, do not cheat, and do not abandon their responsibilties and above all appreciate applied honest when it comes to determining the course of their future and their affairs.

How is Congress to respond to improving the qualitative and quantative aspects of education? I would offer this analogy: most Indian groups have clung to enough of their traditional cultures to prevent them from adopting fully the white American culture, including its attitude toward education and its use of education as areas of social mobility and occupational achievement.

Those Indian groups who move into the stream of dominant culture will gradually make more use of schooling and will perform better as scholars. This may take a long time.

It seems that the Indian groups who do move into American culture come in at the lower economic levels and require a generation or two to learn the ways of upward mobility, including the use of education for this purpose.

As an aid in helping Indian students obtain the objective of higher education, I would like to suggest that Congress might now establish as a separate agency an Office of Indian Education Resources Evaluation, a model agency which would have the task of systematically evaluating the results of educational programs currently available to assist school systems with the education of Indian children.

Such an office could be located in the U.S. Office of Education. But its essential feature must be that it be staffed by Indian and non-Indian professional educators.

It would regularly assess the results of government programs in the same manner that the government accounting office regularly audits them. It should be expected that their recommendations or their findings will not be dramatic or quick in coming, or that they will put an end to argument. Quite the contrary will probably occur. But the long-run affect would be immensely useful.

Tribal List

- Alaska:
  - Alaska Federation of Natives
  - Alaska Native Brotherhood
  - Cook Inlet Native Association
- Arizona:
  - Colorado River Tribe
  - Gila River Pima-Maricopa
  - Hualapai
  - Papago
  - Salt River Pima-Maricopa
  - San Carlos Apache
  - White Mountain Apache
  - Yavapai-Camp Verde
- California:
  - Fort Mojave
  - Hoopa Valley
  - Round Valley
- Colorado:
  - Southern Ute
  - Ute Mountain
- Idaho:
  - Coeur d'Alene
  - Kalispel
  - Kootenai Tribe
  - Nez Perce
  - Shoshone-Bannock
- Michigan: Keweenaw Bay Indian Community
- Minnesota:
  - Grand Portage Chippewa
  - Minnesota Chippewa
  - Red Lake Chippewa
- Montana:
  - Blackfeet
  - Chippewa Cree Tribe
  - Confederated Salish & Kootenai
  - Crow
  - Fort Belknap Community Council
  - Fort Peck
  - Northern Cheyenne
- Nebraska:
  - Omaha
  - Winnebago
- Nevada:
  - Duckwater Shoshone
  - Ft. McDermitt Paiute
  - Pyramid Lake Paiute
  - Western Shonshone-Paiute
  - Walker River Paiute
- New Mexico:
  - All Pueblo Council
  - Mescalero Apache
- North Dakota:
  - Fort Toten Sioux
  - Standing Rock Sioux
  - Three Affiliated Tribes
- Oklahoma:
  - Cheyenne & Arapaho
  - Cherokee Nation
  - Chickasaw
  - Choctaw
  - Creek Tribe
  - Miami Tribe
  - Osage
  - Otoe-Missouri
  - Quapaw
  - Sac & Fox
- Oregon:
  - Klamath
  - Umatilla Tribe
  - Warm Springs
- South Dakota:
  - Cheyenne River Sioux
  - Crow Creek Sioux
  - Flandreau Sioux
  - Lower Brule Sioux
  - Oglala Sioux
  - Rosebud Sioux
  - Sisseton-Wahpeton Sioux
  - Yankton Sioux
- Washington:
  - Chehalis
  - Cowlitz
  - Kalispel
  - Lummi
  - Makah
  - Quinault
  - Snohomish
  - Spokane
  - Squaxin Island
  - Swinomish
  - Tulalip
  - Yakima
- Wisconsin:
  - Forest County Potawatomi
  - Lac Courte Oreilles
  - Lac du Flambeau Chippewa
  - Oneida
  - St. Croix Chippewa
  - Stockbridge-Munsee
  - Winnebago
- Utah:
  - Uintah & Ouray
  - Ute

Senator Kennedy of New York. The subcommittee will now recess. Our next hearing will likely be in Idaho, and then we are going to South Dakota. But that will be announced over the period of the next few days.

Therefore, the hearing will be in recess until after the first of the year.

(Whereupon, at 12:40 p.m., the subcommittee recessed, subject to the call of the Chair.)

INDIAN EDUCATION

THURSDAY, JANUARY 4, 1968

U.S. Senate,
Special Subcommittee on Indian Education
of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare,
San Francisco, Calif.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 9 a.m., at the American Indian Center, San Francisco, Calif.

Present: Senators Kennedy of New York (chairman of the subcommittee) and Fannin.

Subcommittee staff present: Adrian Parmeter and John Gray, professional staff members.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. The subcommittee will come to order.

STATEMENT OF HON. ROBERT F. KENNEDY, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK, AND CHAIRMAN OF THE SENATE SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON INDIAN EDUCATION

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. In December of 1967, this subcommittee began an investigation of the quality and the effectiveness of the educational programs for American Indian children. The stimulus behind this investigation was my colleague, Senator Fannin from the State of Arizona, who has been interested in this subject for a long period of time, since he was Governor of Arizona and since he has been in the U.S. Senate. I am delighted that we are serving together on this subcommittee.

The reasons for our concern are reflected in the educational statistics available on the Indian population here in the State of California, which has one of the largest Indian populations of any State in the Nation. In 1966, the State Advisory Commission on Indian Affairs reported to the Governor that California Indians have achieved much less in formal education than their white counterparts—in fact, less than 9 years on the average. Indian children from high schools with a high percentage of Indian students have dropout rates as high as three times the national average. A small percentage finish high school and an even smaller percentage attend or finish college.

We visited a small reservation yesterday and it was explained to us that in this reservation for a period of over 50 years they thought there were only possibly two Indians who had finished high school. That none of the Indians from this reservation had ever gone on to college.

Some of the reasons for this failure to provide an adequate education for Indian children were revealed in the Coleman report entitled

"Equality of Educational Opportunity," published by the U.S. Office of Education in 1966:

One-fourth of elementary and secondary schoolteachers—by their own admission—would prefer not to teach Indian children;

Indian children, more than any other group, believe themselves to be "below average" in intelligence;

The relatively few Indian children who reach 12th grade are nonetheless afflicted by the poorest self-concept of all minority groups tested;

Only 1 percent of Indian children in elementary school have Indian teachers or principals.

Additional reasons can be found in the economic status of the California Indian. As we discovered yesterday on our visit to the Kashia reservation north of San Francisco, the rural Indian lives off the main road, inaccessible to public view—he is part of what Michael Harrington has called the "invisible poor." He is seasonally employed, living in small clusters with an inadequate land base and substandard housing; typically, he is without adequate and sanitary water and often without electricity and indoor plumbing.

Poverty, neglect, indifference, and cultural conflict are all important factors in understanding the educational problems of Indian children, but to these must be added an additional perspective. Historically, Indians of California have received much less consideration than Indians of other States. As the Governor's Commission Report of 1966 pointed out "with few exceptions, no appreciable land base was ever authorized for Indian tribes and the great majority of Indians here in the State of California received no land base at all." The report goes on to state "the country as a whole, through the activities of Congress, has been devising programs to assist the Indian in recent years. The California Indian has been excluded from most, if not all, of these programs, and although the Indian in California has full citizenship rights, the State has failed almost entirely to recognize his needs."

These are harsh but well considered judgments and undoubtedly some progress has been made in the last 2 years. But it is perfectly clear that much remains to be done. It is the purpose of these hearings today to seek the guidance and experience of Indian people themselves in seeking answers to these problems.

The Indian is the forgotten citizen of this country—in my own State of New York, the State of California, all across this country; it is our intention to work with Indian children to see whether we can improve their educational possibilities so that they can become first-class citizens, so that 10 years from now people will not look at the Indians and say that they are forgotten, that they are deprived, that they are living in poverty because of our neglect, the neglect of the white people, the neglect of Congress. That is the intention of this subcommittee. We know it is only possible to do this by working closely with the Indian and State and local officials. That is what we intend to do.

I will turn the hearing over to my colleague, Senator Fannin, for a statement that he has.

STATEMENT OF HON. PAUL J. FANNIN, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF ARIZONA

Senator FANNIN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator Kennedy, I very much appreciate the great interest that you have in this program and I want to let you all know that the success of the program is based on Senator Kennedy's interest and I am sure that because of his interest we are going to have a great deal accomplished over the months ahead.

Friends of the American Indians and the American Indians that are here today, we are pleased to have this opportunity to be with you, to seek your advice, guidance, and counseling.

Since the establishment of this subcommittee in August 1967, we have been asked several times if this would be "just another group from Washington"—talking about the Indian's problems but doing nothing. We have been asked if this committee was established to "speed up termination" of the Federal Government's responsibility to the first Americans. The answer to both questions is an unqualified "No."

It is true that many groups have studied the American Indian, made recommendations, and faded from the scene, leaving the Indian to solve the unchanged problems as best he could—often adding confusion to inaction. There has always been a missing ingredient in the formulas proposed—self-determination.

In much of the previous legislation about Indian affairs, your Government has sought to end its wardship responsibilities and "get the Indian into the mainstream" of American life. Again there has always been a missing ingredient—self-determination.

Enlightened self-determination, I am convinced, is the key to the rich, full participation in our democracy that we all seek for the Indian. This self-determination depends on quality education for all Indian children. Schools must be outstanding in every respect to accomplish this task. If we are to have a Federal school system at all, it must be exemplary. It must set the mark, not fall short of it.

We are now engaged in the difficult task of indentifying the ways and means of providing the American Indian child the finest education our country can offer. Properly, I think, we have decided that the ideas and feelings of the Indian people themselves must receive first consideration. It is time for the non-Indian to stop talking about the Indian's problems and listen to what the Indian has to say about his destiny and desires.

It is time that the Indian parent had a voice in the education of his children, just as other parents are given a voice in the education of their children.

It is time that the Indian's proud history and rich contribution to the American heritage be given a proper place in the curriculum of all our schools—particularly those that teach his children.

It is time that we gave the Indian the right to be heard, the right to decide and, yes, even the right to be wrong. Only in this way can we truly reach the goals that we all so badly want to reach.

Today we are seeking understanding of the problems that beset our efforts to provide a quality education to all Indian children. But we are looking in a new place for these answers. We are turning to you, the Indian people, for this understanding, and those people that are interested, sincerely interested, in what is going to take place as far as the Indian education program is concerned. That is why we are not just another group from Washington.

I am honored to be with you today and to have the opportunity to learn about the problems faced by California's Indian peoples. I appreciated the opportunity to visit yesterday one of the reservations. I am pleased that I have the chance to sit on this hearing with my distinguished colleague, Senator Kennedy, who I know shares my keen interest in what you have to tell us today. I am convinced that we can, together, build a brighter future for the children of all our Indian citizens, and we are very anxious to hear what you have to say.

Thank you.

Senator Kennedy of New York. Thank you, Senator Fannin.

Our first witness is Mr. David Risling, chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee on Indian Education, teacher and counselor at Modesto Junior College.

If we can have order, now, please. Mr. Risling, would you sit down. Will you identify yourself and then proceed.

STATEMENT OF DAVID RISLING, JR., CHAIRMAN, AD HOC COMMITTEE ON INDIAN EDUCATION IN CALIFORNIA; AND TEACHER AND COUNSELOR, MODESTO JUNIOR COLLEGE, MODESTO, CALIF.

Mr. Risling. I am David Risling, living in Modesto, a member of the Hoopa Tribe and of Yurok and Kaurok extraction. I am chairman of the Indian Ad Hoc Committee in California.

Honorable Senators, members of the staff, and the press, as chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee on Indian Education in California, it is my desire to inform you of its activities as they relate to Indian education. Our committee is made up of over 150 Indians from throughout California who have become disturbed over the low educational level of our Indian children. The Honorable Senator Kennedy mentioned some of these conditions, so I'll skip this part of my testimony. Inasmuch as lack of formal education is generally related to low income and poor living conditions, among other things, our Indian people felt that something positive should be done to correct this.

To this end the Ad Hoc Committee on Indian Education in California was formed. Several meetings were held throughout the State where problems of Indian education were discussed. During October 1967, our committee sponsored an All Indian Conference on Indian Education in California. The main purposes of this conference were to identify the problems which prevent the majority of Indian children from achieving the same level of education as the white children, to investigate ways and means of solving these problems, and to record the conference findings and recommendations for distribution to responsible persons or agencies.

Delegates to this conference felt that a large part of school achievement is based on the self-image of a child and that this can be damaged or destroyed by classmates and teachers who are ignorant or scornful of Indian cultural values and contributions which Indians have made to the enrichment of Western civilization.

Among agreed-upon factors are these:

1. Many teachers do not understand adjustment problems of Indian children to the classroom situation. There is little communication between the teacher and the parents—the parents rarely visit the school except when they come to the teacher or adminstrator when upset about some serious problem. In turn, the teacher rarely familiarizes himself with the actual home situation of the Indian pupil, resulting in severe misunderstandings, including schoolwork assignments which many of the pupils find impossible to carry out in their normal home environment, or which have little practical relationship to their homelife.

2. The majority of textbooks contain almost nothing about the character of Indian cultures prior to the coming of the white man.

3. Schools have little available in audio visual and supplemental materials to make Indian culture and history vivid and intriguing to all students.

4. Some of the material used in schools does much damage to the Indian child's sense of identity and personal worth. The entire educational structure should be aware that, though basic differences exist between Indian and non-Indian cultures, these are not necessarily bad but can be used to make human interaction more meaningful and successful for all children.

5. Some of the things taught in school may be contrary to what the Indian child has learned at home, thereby causing severe emotional conflicts and frustrations.

6. Behavioral patterns of many Indian parents need to be modified in order to provide the home environment necessary for building a positive self-image.

7. Not enough Indian parents involve themselves in schools and school problems.

8. Rural schools do not always take full advantage of various educational programs available to them.

9. The State of California has been negligent in its responsibility to provide adequate education for its Indians.

10. The Federal educational programs available to Indians in other States are not available in California.

Since the reason for examining problem areas was to arrive at solutions, I will now outline the recommendations which evolved at the All Indian Statewide Conference on California Indian Education.

For your convenience, these recommendations have been divided into 10 different categories. Because of the limited time I will not be able to cover all of the specific recommendations of each category listed in this paper but I will cover only the more general ones. I would, however, like to have all of the specific recommendations listed in this paper recorded as part of my testimony.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. That will be done.

(The material referred to follows:)

ALL INDIAN CONFERENCE ON EDUCATION IN CALIFORNIA (1967)—RECOMMENDATIONS

I. Recommendations to the parents of Indian children

The conference participants felt very strongly that the role of the Indian parent is of crucial significance. Parents must assume greater responsibility for the educational and emotional development of their children and not expect the school to succeed where parents fail. More specifically,

1. Parents should assume the responsibility of counseling and guiding their children at home;

2. Parents should provide training in Indian language, history and culture at home, to supplement community and school efforts;

3. Parents should participate actively in organizations such as Parent-Teachers' Association and should visit the school frequently (not just when their child has a problem);

4. Parents should help the Indian community develop educational and recreational programs for youth;

5. Parents should attend classes in order to prepare themselves for helping their children, if the parents lack suitable background;

6. Parents should be willing to serve as teachers in Headstart programs and as teacher aides and resource persons in regular classrooms; and

7. Parents should work to improve their self-image by setting better examples for their children within the home and community.

II. Recommendations to the Indian community

The local Indian community must better organize itself so as to provide services to youth not now available and so as to be in a position to help the schools improve their educational programs. More specifically,

1. Indian-centered clubs should be encouraged, along with museums, arts and crafts workshops, recreation programs, and Headstart classes where these do not now exist;

2. Indian self-help (benevolent) societies might be organized to provide financial assistance to pupils and families in times of emergency;

3. Indian people should have greater contact with teachers, counselors, administrators and school board members by means of formal and informal meetings arranged by the Indian community;

4. To achieve the latter a local educational organization may be necessary; and

5. The Indian community should develop resource people for use in the schools and should put on lectures about Indian subjects for the benefit of Indians and non-Indians.

III. Recommendations to school administrators and board members

The school should serve all people in the total community. Indian parents and organizations must be involved in the life of the school and in making decisions about the school's program. Communication between the school and Indian parents must be improved. The local Indian heritage must be recognized as a key part of the school's curriculum, reflecting as it does the heritage of the local region for all pupils. More specifically,

1. Indian parents should be encouraged to be involved in the school as school board members, resource people, teacher aides, volunteer counselors, and PTA members;

2. School personnel must establish friendly contacts with Indian people which means that they must overcome prejudice and participate, when appropriate, in Indian-organized activities and get to know parents;

3. Better lines of communication should be established between the school and Indian parents, perhaps by means of frequent contacts as recommended above;

4. The school must show respect for the Indian language and heritage but at the same time must allow the Indian people to determine for themselves what "Indian-ness" means today. That is, the school must rely heavily upon Indian resource people in the development of curriculum dealing with the Indian heritage, especially as it relates to the present day; and

5. School districts with Indian pupils should make every effort to secure certificated staff of Indian background, in addition to utilizing local Indian adults and older youth as aides, tutors, etc.

IV. Recommendations to colleges and universities

The conference participants strongly recommended that California's colleges and universities strengthen their programs in California Indian history and culture, develop special programs for teachers of California Indian pupils, establish more scholarships for Indian students, and take steps to insure that full information on college requirements and scholarships are made available to Indian high school students. More specifically—

1. Courses should be available, where feasible, on California Indian languages, taught for the benefit of average students and not solely for students of linguistics;

2. Additional courses on California Indian history and culture should be available, especially for prospective and experienced teachers, and existing courses dealing with California history should be altered or lengthened so as to allow for full treatment of all minority groups' contributions;

3. One or more California State college or university campuses should be strongly encouraged to develop a center for Indian studies in order to provide special training for teachers, Indian leaders, social workers, et cetera; for example: to carry out research projects relating to California Indians, and in order to help develop Indian-related materials for use in the schools. Such a center should work closely with an Indian advisory panel and with Indian organizations in order to insure that the scholars involved do not simply exploit Indian culture, archaeological sites, et cetera, for their own purposes in a manner offensive to the Indian people;

4. Special interdisciplinary training programs should be developed for prospective and experienced teachers emphasizing anthropology, sociology, social psychology and minority group history and culture. These programs must include procedures whereby the student teachers become familiar with the specific language, history and contemporary culture of the people they will be working with, perhaps by means of instruction "in the field" after employment is secured but prior to beginning actual teaching;

5. Scholarships or other aids should be provided to encourage graduate work in Indian education;

6. Special counseling and tutoring arrangements should be developed to help Indian students overcome high school deficiencies;

7. More dormitories at economical rates for rural students at junior and State colleges should be provided;

8. Work-study opportunities should be provided for Indian students; and

9. Special procedures should be developed for insuring that minority high school students are fully aware of college requirements and scholarship aid programs.

V. Recommendations to teachers and prospective teachers

The conference participants recommended strongly that teachers receive special preservice and inservice training designed to thoroughly familiarize themselves with the special background of the Indian child and with the history and values of the local Indian community, that teachers working with Indian pupils need to be especially empathetic and prejudice-free individuals, that teachers need to interact in a friendly manner with Indian parents more frequently, and that teachers should be receptive to the use of Indian adults as resource people and aides in their classrooms. More specifically—

1. Teachers need to understand thoroughly the background of the Indian children with whom they are working, which requires an understanding of the local and/or general Indian heritage and the social structure of the region in addition to a general knowledge of Indian history and culture;

2. Teachers should respect the heritage and values of the local Indian community because such respect is closely related to the development of a positive self-image on the part of Indian youth;

3. Teachers should become familiar with at least commonly used words and phrases from the local Indian language as one means of showing respect for the native culture and also in order to share the linguistic heritage of the region with all pupils;

4. Teachers need to be aware of their own middle-class assumptions and prejudices, and of their own personality traits and manners, so as to be able to modify those aspects of their behavior which inhibit easy interaction with Indian pupils and parents;

5. Teachers should be trained to utilize Indian aides and resource people in the classroom and should be helped to overcome any fear of having nonteacher adults in the classroom.

VI. Recommendations to counselors and administrators

The conference participants felt that counselors and administrators need to develop the same understanding of the Indian heritage and community as do teachers, and that, in addition, counselors must strive to develop empathetic behavior as regards the shy or alienated Indian child. Also—

1. Counselors must not channel an Indian child into a largely athletic or noncollege program until the child has clearly demonstrated that he wishes to be a "vocational" major. Even then, the vocational programs available at junior colleges should be kept open as options for future education;

2. Schools should be sure that Indian pupils are made aware of scholarship opportunities and college requirements at an early age;
3. Work-study programs should be available as an alternative to dropping out of school completely and every effort should be made to keep "dropouts" in school at least part time;
4. An Indian person, preferably an older person familiar with the language and culture of his own people, should be used as a liaison person between school counselors and parents; and
5. An "opportunities" counselor, preferably an Indian, should be available to work with both parents and youth.

VII. Recommendations on the Indian heritage

The conference participants believed very strongly that the Indian heritage should be an integral part of the programs of the school and of the Indian community, that the use of the Indian heritage in the school is especially important for helping Indian pupils develop a sense of identity and personal worth (but that it is also important as a part of the common heritage of all pupils), and that local Indian people must be actively involved in any programs developed by a school that touches upon the Indian heritage. More specifically—

1. The Indian people must unify and emphasize their culture, and learn how to retain it and teach it to the younger generation;
2. Indian people should be brought into the school to help professional staff develop materials for the curriculum and to teach arts and crafts, dancing, singing, et cetera;
3. The school and Indian adults and children together should develop projects to record local Indian history, protect historical and cemetery sites, construct exhibits, preserve Indian place-names, and put on pageants; and
4. Non-Indians must recognize that the Indian heritage is a living, evolving legacy which has not been static in the past and is not static today and that the "core" of being Indian is being a member of an Indian community and not a particular style of dress or ornamentation. Teachers must avoid the idea that a "real" Indian needs to dress and act as Indian people did a century ago.

VIII. Recommendations on textbooks and mass media

Indian people are not pleased with many of the textbooks utilized in the schools. Participants recommended:

1. That textbooks used in California be changed so as to deal accurately with the history and culture of California Indians;
2. That new supplementary materials dealing specifically with California Indian history and culture be prepared;
3. That all texts include pictures of children of different racial backgrounds; and
4. That the "mass media" (television, et cetera) deal accurately and adequately with minority groups. For example: in documentary materials, Indian actors should be utilized for Indian roles and the use of stereotypes should be discarded.

IX. Recommendations to the State of California

The participants felt that the above-mentioned recommendations should be of vital concern to State officials and that they should make every effort to carry out these suggested programs. Specifically:

1. That State financing should be made available in support of recommendations made in this report such as the establishment of a center for California Indian studies;
2. That Federal funds (Johnson-O'Malley) be utilized at the State and regional levels (not locally) to help implement other recommendations made in the report; for example: to finance meetings of Indian people and teachers to aid in the teacher training programs referred to earlier, and to pay the salary of a specialist in Indian education who would be a person intimately familiar with the culture and history of California Indian people;
3. That adult education programs be expanded especially in terms of preparing parents to help their children educationally;
4. That the State of California request its fair share of funds for Indian education available under the Johnson-O'Malley Act, and
5. That these funds be utilized under the direction of California Indians who would supervise their distribution to projects within the State; and

6. That the State advisory commission on Indian affairs be improved by placing Indians on the commission, that the State advisory committee on Indian affairs be improved by adding enough Indians to the committee to form an Indian majority, and that the commission and committee study carefully and act upon the recommendations of this conference and of the Stanislaus Conference.

X. Recommendations to the Federal Government

While many of the previously stated recommendations should be of vital concern to Government officials, the conference participants felt that Government officials should do something about the fact that the California Indians are being discriminated against, considering that educational programs available to Indians of other States are not always available to California Indians. More specifically they recommend:

1. That the Federal Government make Johnson-O'Malley funds available for California Indians (these funds to be administered by the State of California under the direction of California Indians);
2. That all possible college scholarships (such as those of the Bureau of Indian Affairs) be available for California Indians;
3. That Head Start preschool programs be expanded with more all-year activities, a smaller pupil-number requirement, and more local Indian involvement;
4. That local Indian communities in California should be actively encouraged to develop educational programs financed by the Office of Economic Opportunity; and
5. That Federal agencies carefully consider ways in which Federal funds can be utilized to encourage the adoption of recommendations made to the State of California and also consider reforms which will ensure a greater degree of Indian involvement in the management and operation of Bureau of Indian Affairs' schools.

Mr. Risling. Mr. Chairman, this concludes my report. I would, however, like to submit for the record, the Report of the First All-Indian Statewide Conference on Indian Education.

Senator Kennedy of New York. Without objection that report will be received by the committee.

(The report may be found on p. 272.)

Senator Kennedy of New York. Senator Fannin, do you have any questions?

Senator Fannin. You talked about the adult educational programs, Mr. Risling. Would you favor having vocational educational programs for all Indians?

Mr. Risling. Yes, I would.

Senator Fannin. And through what system would you recommend this be done?

Mr. Risling. I am engaged in the junior college system in California and I believe personally, this we have not discussed with all Indians, this is only a personal opinion—I feel that the junior college system in California is ideally set up to do a lot of this type of work, because people, students or adults, coming to the junior college program, to the day or nighttime program, can do so without any major expense. A number of programs conducted by the Federal Government require great sums of money to educate a person in a particular occupation or vocation. In the junior college system the State and local taxpayers pay all of this and it would probably cost only one-tenth as much if outright grants were given to these schools.

For example, if a person wanted to go to a 2-year program he would be paid a sum of $1,000 a year and this, in turn, may be a much better way of financing a training program where now we spend from 5 to 15 thousand dollars per person in the same type of training.

Senator Fannin. I was wondering why this program is not available at the present time?

Mr. Risling. Well, the program is available to people but it is the finances that we are concerned with. They have to work to take care of their families and so on, and they're not in the same economic condition as a lot of other people that attend.

Senator Fannin. I recognize that. What could be done to encourage people to attend?

Mr. Risling. It again comes to involving the Indians in general. Once we get Indians together and they can see that things can be done, they will take a more positive sort of approach to the things. I am sure we can do it but we need some help from the Federal and State level in order to encourage this.

Senator Fannin. I agree, encouragement is very important. Your recommendation would be that we have some sort of a financial program that would make funds available to these people that are attending these schools?

Mr. Risling. Yes. I am not thinking about the same kinds of funds that are being doled out under the OEO. I am thinking, for example, of a person that perhaps dropped out of school when he was in the ninth grade and he is out working; he sees a real need, and has some ambition to go ahead. Most of the programs are such that if you have this ambition to go ahead, usually you don't get into this type of program, because maybe you're not on welfare anymore, so it works a real hardship. But when you are on welfare it is easy to get in.

Senator Fannin. I am trying to find out what the barrier is at the present time to these people attending the night classes at junior college?

Mr. Risling. Mostly it is finances and the need to work during the day. It takes a lot more effort to go to night school after you put in an 8-hour day, unless you have some finances or encouragement along the line.

Senator Fannin. By the finances you don't mean the cost of the school?

Mr. Risling. The cost of going to school, transportation, books, something along that line.

Senator Fannin. In other words, the books are not available to the adults at the present time unless they pay for them themselves?

Mr. Risling. Yes.

Senator Fannin. What amount of money is involved, then, for a person to attend a night school?

Mr. Risling. The night school program, the cost is very small. It is for the books and transportation, that is about all, a small sum.

Senator Fannin. Could you give some examples of materials that are used in the school that are damaging to the Indian child? You mentioned that in your testimony.

Mr. Risling. Yes; I would, however, I would like to wait because we have a gentleman, I believe the next speaker, who is going to cover that and he can give you specific examples on that.

Senator Fannin. Very good, thank you.

Senator Kennedy of New York. Let me congratulate you for your statement. I thought it was very helpful to the committee and I think your suggestions and recommendations are going to be very useful when we come up with a committee report. I would hope that the recommendations that you made here, that you made for the State of California and for the Indians themselves would be studied carefully by them.

If anything is clear—even from the short time that we have been in operation—this is not exclusively a Federal problem. This is a problem for the Indian people. It is also a problem for State and local officials charged with educational responsibilities.

The Federal Government can play a role. I think it has a heavy responsibility. There is also a great deal the Indians themselves can and must do. It is not going to be satisfactory just to say the reasons these things are not being done at the moment is because they're not being done in Washington and the white man is not going to do it. The Indians themselves must do things and also the States are obligated. Each one of the States and the educational authorities within the States must carefully examine their area of responsibility to see whether they're doing all that is possible, and I think your recommendations can be very, very useful and very, very hopeful if they are implemented. It seems to me that it is not in order as in the past for each group going a separate way for lack of coordinated programs.

I commend you on your statement. Let me ask a few questions. You say, "some of the things taught in school may be contrary to what the Indian child has learned at home, thereby causing severe emotional conflicts and frustrations." I would agree with that and I thought maybe you could develop that a little bit; it might be useful.

Mr. Risling. I can take my own example. I went to Indian schools when I was in the elementary schools and we learned about the wonderful Government we had in America and how we came and discovered this beautiful land. Back at home we had the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Government official was lousy. On this one hand we learned you wave your flag over here and we learn about all the wonderful treaties we made, and we uphold them, and we go back home and here not one treaty has been upheld by our Government. Pretty soon we have to decide, do we believe our teacher or our parents? We have a conflict. We start arguing with the parents and the parents convince us, then we argue with the teacher. This is an example of how the frustrations come about.

We can talk about religion. We go there and they tell us, "your religion is lousy." The Jewish people and the Catholics came over, their religion is all right but ours is all wrong.

We have the frustrations that developed within ourselves; who is right and what is right.

I am in counseling in my educational pursuits and we know what happens in learning. Learning does not really take place when we build up these frustrations and emotional conditions.

Senator Kennedy of New York. What about the role of the Indian in our history books; would you make some comments on that?

Mr. Risling. Again, I could make a lot of comments but we have a gentleman who is on next who is going to cover this area as his main topic, I believe.

Senator Kennedy of New York. I was interested in what you said also about the fact that the parents must take a greater interest in the education of the child attending the school.

Mr. RISLING. Yes. In order for this frustration that I talked about, in order to have an understanding between the teacher and what is going on in the school, it is a two-way system, a two-way street. We have to get the two people together so that when we're educating this child, and the child comes home with schoolwork, the parent has to realize that that kid has got to have his schoolwork done, and if there is any conflict they can discuss this a little more. For example, they can assign work to the Indians that they could answer, maybe it would be along their heritage.

I might mention that in the white upper middle-class schools or the schools that the teachers have attended, they have all kinds of reference material in the home that is available to them but it is not available to the Indian children. Therefore the child does not have a chance to have the same material to build on or to draw from; therefore, the teacher has to get together with the children to assign other kinds of things so that the child can achieve a little success, and we know that success builds on success. What we're trying to do is to give the Indian a little more positive image instead of a negative image, and I think parents and teachers could do that.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Why do you think there has been such a high dropout rate among the Indian children?

Mr. RISLING. In my personal belief, there are a number of things, including economics. I saw you on TV last night talking about this lack of self-image and I would say that No. 1 is the lack of self-image, his personal worth. You have got to have this positive image of wanting to do something, you have got to cling to something if you want to go ahead, and I think the Indians at a certain point drop off because of this lack of image. Of course, it is economic, too, but above all the lack of self-image. We are not proud to be an Indian and yet we say we are proud to be an Indian until we confront other people and we shy away and take the negative approach.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Thank you again. I think the fact that this group got together in an All-State Conference on Education and developed such a thorough report should certainly be commended by this committee and, as I say, it is going to be very useful.

I congratulate you and those who participated with you. It is this kind of action that is so very useful, and it might be a turning point in this field, and I am sure I speak for my colleague.

Senator FANNIN. I certainly agree and I think you made some very practical recommendations, involving parents in the program, utilizing all the facilities available.

I wonder about this question: "The majority of textbooks contain almost nothing about the character of Indian cultures prior to the coming of the white man."

We are not going to change the textbooks overnight; do you have a recommendation as far as books that could be utilized in the schools to properly cover the subject?

Mr. RISLING. Well, again, I might mention that this is going to be covered by the next speaker but I will mention that I know of no books; in California a schoolteacher, for example, goes to 5 years of college and I believe there are something like six and a half pages of the required reading that have anything to do with Indians, and about five and a half of these six pages are very detrimental to the Indian child.

Senator Fannin. Did I understand you to say that there are no Indians on the State Advisory Commission?

Mr. Risling. There are no Indians on the Advisory Commission. It is made up of legislators, senators, and some of the heads of the departments of State. We do have an advisory committee made up of, I believe, six or seven people where there are three Indians, a minority group there, and we would also like to have a majority group there. As a matter of fact, we would like all Indians on that committee.

Senator Fannin. But the official State committee does not have any Indian member?

Mr. Risling. No.

Senator Fannin. Thank you.

Senator Kennedy of New York. Thank you very much.

Our next witness is Mr. Costo. Would you identify yourself, please.

STATEMENT OF RUPERT COSTO, PRESIDENT, AMERICAN INDIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY; AND CHAIRMAN, CAHUILLA INDIAN TRIBE; ACCOMPANIED BY MRS. COSTO, SECRETARY, AMERICAN INDIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Mr. Costo. Senator Fannin, Senator Kennedy, my name is Rupert Costo.

Senator Kennedy of New York. Could you be seated; it would probably be easier.

Mr. Costo. I am president of the American Indian Historical Society and chairman of the Cahuilla Indian Tribe.

Our training has been that we always address the senior member of any committee.

Very briefly, I would like to present a few facts about Indians in the State of California. There are today approximately 80,000 Indians in this State. This compares with Arizona, with a population of about 90,000; with New Mexico, which has about 60,000; Oklahoma, with about 70,000; South Dakota, nearly 35,000; and North Dakota, approximately 25,000. These are areas of Indian population concentration.

California has the second largest Indian population in the United States.

The California situation is distinguished by certain peculiarities. We have here about 55,000 Indians of native California tribes. These Indian people are on 78 federally recognized reservations, and in the cities as well. The reservations range from rancherias of 40 acres and less to such large tracts of land as Hoopa, 89,000 acres; 40,000 acres in Morongo; 18,250 in Cahuilla which is my own tribal area. An important part of the Indian population is that which has been transported here by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. These are from other tribes in other States who now live in California's urban areas. The greatest concentration of this Indian population is in Los Angeles, San Jose, and the East Bay. There are no Indian boarding schools serving the Indians of California.

It is a fact that all Indian children in this State are in the public school system. They are subjected to the same conditions whether good or bad as any other section of the population. But there is an important difference: the Indian child carries a whole baggage car full of impediments to class every day of his school life. If he is a California Indian, he has been reared on the injustices of my own people. He remembers and knows well the massacres, destruction of language and culture, and above all he knows with every part of him, that this State was his, and that for the land, forcibly taken away from him, he has been awarded the infamous sum of 47¢ an acre. He is a stranger in his own land, an outcast where he once was lord of all, an onlooker where he once controlled his own destiny.

If he is an out-of-State Indian—a Sioux, Navajo, Chippewa, or whatever—he knows the terrible history of injustice practiced against his own people. Now we Indians are not just one more complaining, bleating minority. We are the proud and the only true natives of this land. This must be considered above all, in discussing any aspect of Indian affairs.

In our contact with the whites, we have always and without fail asked for one thing. We wanted education. You can examine any treaty, any negotiations with the American whites. The first condition, *specifically asked for by the Indian tribes*, was education. What we got was third-rate, lefthanded, meager, miserly, unqualified training, with the greatest expenditure of Federal funds and the least amount of actual education for the Indian himself.

When we Indians talk about education, we are talking about education in the best sense of the word, on the highest level, which must be available to every Indian child in whatever field he chooses.

The American Indian Historical Society has been working in the field of education for 4 years. We were only a small group of dedicated Indians to begin with. Now we have the added strength of the Ad Hoc Committee which is bringing this work still further forward. The Society began its program with a period of investigation as to what was being taught about Indians in the schools. On the elementary level, we found general misinformation in the textbooks, teachers largely unprepared, instructional material generally lacking, and an overwhelming lack of information about the Indian today. On the high school level, we found outright slanders against Indian people in the books. On the college level we found a serious lack of instructional materials, and on the university level we found a complete failure to meet the problems of Indian scholars and the dissemination of false information concerning the numbers of Indians in higher education, principally by Mr. Summerville of the University of California at Berkeley.

Here is what is stated in a book titled "Our Country: A Story of Stanislaus"—page 9—"The Indians who lived in the Stanislaus area were known as the 'Diggers,' although they were the Walla Tribe. They were stupid and lazy and it is said they were given their name because of their habit of digging into the earth. They dug roots for food, and they also dug holes in the ground for shelter. The squaw was required and expected to provide all of the food for her husband and her family." And so on. I will tell you that there is hardly one book relating to local, city, or county history in this State which is free from such slander, such misinterpretation, and such error. In corroboration, I mention another book, utilized by the Oakland School District, containing similar statements; due to the work of this Society together with the cooperation of Mr. Elgin and other Indian people, we were able to get this book out of the schools. As evidence No. 1, I submit our handling of this specific situation, and the evaluation of this booko.

Senator **KENNEDY** of New York. That is fine.

Mr. **COSTO**. As evidence No. 2, I submit the August edition of the Indian Historian which contains a criticism and evaluation of seven State-adopted textbooks in detail. As evidence No. 3, I submit the publication "Textbooks and the American Indian," which contains our program of correcting the textbooks, which began in 1965 in a conference with Dr. Max Rafferty, State Superintendent of Public Instruction. In 1966 we began a program which attempted to supply the lack of information and materials. Five workshops for teachers were held. Throughout the entire program, we had the complete support of Dr. Rafferty, the State Curriculum Commission, and the State Board of Education. At the request of Dr. Rafferty, we prepared criteria for the State adoption of textbooks in fourth grade. This is contained in evidence No. 2. The criteria are still awaiting adoption. We prepared a booklet on misconceptions about American Indians, and I submit this as evidence No. 4. At considerable cost to our meager finances, we reprinted an extremely valuable monograph by Dr. E. Schusky, titled "The Right To Be Indian." I think this book should be reprinted in hundreds of thousands of copies by the Federal Government and made available to every teacher in the country. I submit this monograph as evidence No. 5.

Senator **KENNEDY** of New York. I am going to ask that all of these exhibits be made part of the record.

Mr. **COSTO**. Now I am not displaying all these items in evidence to show how great we are, how noble and self-sacrificing we have been, nor how hard and bitterly we have tried. I am only showing you the way that must be taken to clean up these textbooks, and to change the school image of the Indian from that of some kind of an animal to a human being—a man, by God. There is not one Indian in the whole of this country who does not cringe in anguish and frustration because of these textbooks. There is not one Indian child who has not come home in shame and tears after one of those sessions in which he is taught that his people were dirty, animal-like, something less than a human being. We have performed a miracle of energy, dedication, effort. But we cannot do this job alone. We need the help of every teacher, every school district, every publisher. Above all, we need the help of the U.S. Congress to correct this outrageous situation.

I believe the teachers are ready and eager to help. But the school system does not prepare them. Something more is needed than the good will and cooperation of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction. What is needed, and quickly, is a monumental program to provide new materials of instruction, new curriculum, a whole new set of values which take into consideration the original owners and the first Americans of this land.

The American Indian Historical Society is proposing, in addition to the proposals of the Ad Hoc Committee on Indian Education, the appropriation of not less than $5 million for a concerted drive and an allout program in education for Indian youth, over a 5-year period. We need consultants in every school level. We need our own Indian people to handle higher education opportunities for Indians, in place of persons such as Mr. Summerville, who do not know anything about us. We need consultants, advisers, leaders of institutes in every area where there is a concentration of Indian population. We need expert counseling, in place of the utterly inadequate and oftentimes prejudiced counseling which exists in certain areas today. We need, and we want, the best in education. In preparing our people for a vocation, we want vocational education, not merely vocational training. We want our children to be doctors, scientists, professors, linguists, teachers. And our kids want this even more than we do. There is enormous ambition among Indian youth, which is frustrated at every turn. At this point I will refer to a statement made by a psychiatrist at the conference on Indian education which took place at Stanislaus College some months ago. This psychiatrist stated that the Indian youth were not competitive, that they were undisciplined at home. Nothing is further from the truth than this. The Indian is extremely competitive. He delights in being the best, the most, the brightest. But when an Indian child is turned off—first by his history, next by his economic conditions, and then by what is being taught in the schools—what else can you expect but that he will drop out if he finds the situation intolerable?

I am submitting a general program for Indian educational aid in the State of California. I will also call the attention of the subcommittee to the fact that the Indian Historical Society, in its proposals, requires that the program be handled administratively through the State Department of Education and in personnel such as counseling, advising, and even where possible in professional categories, by the Indians themselves. If you think we have not got educators, skilled and professional people, you have been misinformed. We have got them, and we must utilize their talents.

Indians in this State are loaded with leadership. This is the only place in the entire Nation where an independent Indian Historical Society has been organized, which owns its own building and facilities, which operates entirely by dues and contributions and the sale of its literature. This is the only place in the Nation where a competent, thoroughly professional scholarly journal is being published, The Indian Historian, with a circulation of 10,000. But we cannot do it alone. As it has been in the past, so it is today—only the Congress itself can give us the aid we need.

We have a proposed program for aid to education of Indians in California.

(The material referred to follows:)

AID TO EDUCATION FOR INDIANS IN CALIFORNIA—PROPOSED PROGRAM; SUBMITTED BY AMERICAN INDIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Initial period of program: Five years.

Source of funds: Federal grants by Congressional action.

Administration of funds: Department of Education, the State of California: Planning stage: One year.

Total amount needed: $5,000,000;

Planning stage: $200,000.

First Year, and each year for 5 years: $1,000,000.

General plan: Consultants in every level of instruction: elementary, junior high school, high school, junior college, college.

Consultants in every one of the eleven areas of concentrated Indian population.

Institutes for high school students preparing for higher education, starting with the freshman year, in every area where there is a concentration of Indian population.

Counseling for parents of students in all 11 areas.
Counseling for students with special problems.
Preparation and publication of materials in teacher education. Unit requirements in elementary anthropology.
Introduction of a course in THE HISTORY OF MAN in third grade.

Mr. Costo. The American Indian Historical Society will prepare a detailed plan for submission to Congress.

Members of the commission and other people here today, we invite you down to the American Indian Historical Society's headquarters. I would like you to come down and have a look and see what we have done in the way of trying to aid education in the State of California.

We are located at 1451 Masonic Avenue. It would be an eye opener to the committee if you would come down and see.

Gentlemen, I thank you.

Senator Kennedy of New York. Thank you, Mr. Costo. That was a very moving and a very eloquent statement and I congratulate you.

Senator Fannin.

Senator Fannin. I certainly agree, it was a very informative and enlightening statement. I feel that you have researched this problem and that you have furnished us with information that will be extremely valuable to us.

I was very interested in your figures but first of all I would like to explain that Senator Kennedy is the senior member of the committee. I am proud to serve under him.

Mr. Costo. I merely went by a senior in age.

Senator Fannin. In age he is my son.

You have developed information that is extremely valuable to us. I feel that you have established the position of Indians, brought out the great needs for furnishing our schools with the proper information, and it is regrettable that the textbooks do not properly present the heritage of our native Americans. I would like to say that in Arizona, for instance, we have the village of Oraibi which has been continuously occupied for over 800 years and the Mesas which have been occupied for over 1,500 years, so there isn't any doubt but what you're certainly correct in bringing out the heritage of your people. We feel that this is extremely important, very valuable information for us.

I am wondering about some of your recommendations, especially on the books: Just what can be done? In other words, you want to have it done over a period of 5 years in this initial program and I think it is only proper that we should start immediately to do something about it. How this can be accomplished is something that must be determined and I do feel that if we have textbooks that could be furnished to the schools it would probably be more profitable than trying to change the books we now have in schools, because this cannot be done overnight, as you well know. You feel that there are books available that would accomplish this objective?

Mr. Costo. There are some few. I might advise you, gentlemen, that the American Indian Historical Society is publishing soon a book on California Indians and that it is practically ready for the printer now. I might also add that all of the major publishing companies have consulted the American Indian Historical Society as to what should go into these books, and we have been consulting with them for the last several years in order that they would change certain passages in the books, and I believe we will do this.

Incidentally, in the State of California, there is a law that requires that books not be in any manner derogatory to any minorities. Of course, as I said, we don't consider ourselves a minority but it is a State law.

Senator Fannin. My question was, do you feel that there are books presently available that would cover not only the California Indian citizens but there would be a general coverage of the Indian heritage of our Nation?

Mr. Costo. We are preparing our own books. Many books, as you might know, are submitted to all States and we have found them, as I stated, to be in such bad condition that we oppose most every one that was submitted. Forty-seven books were submited to the State Board of Education for adoption and we found in each one of these books many things that should be stricken. They are not good.

Senator Fannin. I agree.

Mr. Costo. They have done no research for many, many years and they don't feel, most of these book companies feel they don't have time to research the facts as they should be presented. There is considerable difference in the college division in comparison with what has been done with the Negro.

Senator Fannin. I understand you are disseminating information about the Indian people of California. I am interested in something that would cover all the Indian citizens of America. Could your committee research this matter and give us your thoughts in this regard?

Mr. Costo. Certainly. We certainly could.

Senator Fannin. I would request that, Senator Kennedy.

Mr. Costo. Here is our secretary that handles most of this correspondence.

Mrs. Costo. I am Mrs. Costo. I am the editor of the Indian Historian. Among the Indians the whole family gets into the act, and you will find here husbands, wives, kids, all participating in the same things; we do things as a family.

I might advise the committee that the Indian Historical Society has found after intensive investigation of almost all the books, both on the national level and on the State level, that it cannot recommend even one so far as Indian history is concerned; we have come to the conclusion that the time has come when the American Indian writes the textbook about his own history, and that is what we're doing, it will not be long. I guarantee you within a year or two we're going to have the Indians, who are superb researchers, professors, college graduates, writers, turn out books that will open the eyes of America as to the true history of the Indians of this country, which is the true history of the country as a whole, and this is what we're going to do.

Senator Kennedy of New York. I agree with you. I think it is very very difficult for children who come from a home and are brought up in a certain fashion to go into a school system with a different background of history and culture. I think as long as we continue that kind of practice, we fail the Indian children by denying them knowledge of their own history or about their own culture. We were in Idaho the other day and I was asking the superintendent of schools, where they had 80 percent Indian children, whether they taught anything about Indian history or Indian culture. The tribe was a very famous tribe, the Shoshone, which had a considerable history, and he said, "There isn't any history to this tribe"; this has a tremendous effect on the children. So I asked him if there were any books in the library where all these children could go and read about Indian history, and he said, "Yes," and we went to the library. There was only one book and the book was entitled "Captive of the Delawares." It showed a white child being scalped by an Indian.

I think that is the kind of problem we face. Perhaps for older people and more sophisticated people, perhaps having had to deal with that kind of a problem for your whole lives you can accept it. For a child who is 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 years of age it seems to me an almost impossible burden. So I have great sympathy for the position and point that you are making, and obviously changes have to be made in this State and in the entire country.

Mr. COSTO. This is quite true, Senator. It might be enlightening to you to know that the State board of education in Pennsylvania and other States have asked us for all of our materials in regard to these things, and we are submitting them to the various States, so we are making considerable progress, I think.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. When this record is printed, I am sure I speak for my colleague, we will send a copy of your testimony and the testimony of others to interested State superintendents of education, so they will be familiar with the point that you're making.

Mr. COSTO. I am quite sure all the speakers here will cooperate and we agree with you. It is an Indian problem; we're all aware of it and we're all trying to do a little better than we have done in the past.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. It is an Indian problem to some extent but it is also a white man's problem.

Mr. COSTO. Right.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Thank you very much.

Mr. Dennison Knight; would you be seated, please.

Mr. KNIGHT. I am happy to see these young people here.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Would you identify yourself, Mr. Knight.

STATEMENT OF DENNISON S. KNIGHT, UKIAH, CALIF., MEMBER, AD HOC COMMITTEE ON INDIAN EDUCATION IN CALIFORNIA, ACCOMPANIED BY MRS. MATTHEW, DEL NORTE COUNTY, CALIF.

Mr. KNIGHT. I am Dennison Knight from Ukiah, Calif. Our tribe is the Pomos. To my right is Mrs. Matthew from Del Norte County.

Discrimination in our schools.

You have heard from two previous speakers what seems to be wrong in education, as to how the Indians themselves feel about the school systems—I will not dwell on any of those; I am more on our local scene.

We have already started improving education in our area. We have about 1,500 to 1,700 students in our high school, and of those we estimate about 80 of Indian descent. Last school term, the one ending in June 1967, there were six Indian boys who dropped out or who were pushed out.

Three weeks before the end of the school term, these 3 weeks being so that they could not come back—various reasons were given for these dropouts, such as somebody was in jail, someone had attendance problems, somebody would not conform to the school setting. Of these six, this term one has returned and he is attending South Valley High.

This South Valley High is an outgrowth of these dropouts or potential dropouts. We have a second high school that sprung out of this.

There are now, so I hear, quite a few of these schools springing up all over the State.

I don't know just how many of these are Indians, there are 35 students in South Valley High right now, I imagine there are Indians and other poor people.

The causes of discrimination appear to stem from longtime, deeprooted prejudices of this area. This is what happened when the country was settled, the gold miners, the white people came in, pushed the Indians off, out of the way. The old settlers are still there and perpetuate themselves and the young descendants hear the old stories, and some think the Indian is not very much or probably not even human; the Indians have heard their side of the story, too, and they think the white man is not much, either. They were not human, never were, so these things are still bothering us.

In our schools or anywhere else, any overt or covert act or insinuation, even tone of voice, are interpreted as insults and evidence of discrimination. The non-Indian, meaning the white, may be reacting in the same manner.

Teacher-student relations.

The teachers, of course, being middle class and not knowing our way of life, have no way of teaching Indians or some people coming from another class.

The children do not understand the middle-class white Protestant society. They don't understand what is expected of them. They don't understand, period, so the teacher teaches things to his students that are valueless, and they hate them, the principals and teachers. There is no communication.

In the meantime, life gets so miserable in the schoolroom, the students would like to drop out. Some of those who are able to drop out have dropped out.

Now we had this other school, they tell me, and now we have no dropouts if they go to the other school, I don't know what they're calling it but it was called a continuation school, for us it is South Valley High. Children there are happy, so I am told. They have personal attention. We have an Indian who is president of that student body. The secretary is Indian and we had a picture in the paper, there were three Indians, I could tell by the picture, and one was probably white. I imagine they are a lot happier there than in the real high school.

Teacher-parent relations.

There has been no dialog. The parents were called on the carpet—now we are having meetings. We have had one meeting with the high school teachers and counselors, and we have another meeting that they have asked us to have in January, the date has not been set.

Teachers of other schools, teachers of elementary schools and the junior high school have asked to come into these meetings we have set it up. We are getting acquainted, we are setting up this dialog.

Teachers would like to know what our problems are, because we have a lot of problems that we have with the adult Indians, the children, we have all kinds of problems, as you have heard, but the teachers don't know this, they don't know any problems anybody is having, only themselves.

We had a 3-day workshop December 18, 19, and 20, where the dialog was good. Sometimes it got very lively but I can see where nobody understood anybody, and the only thing was to talk it out.

The statement came out we were too polite, we were too easy, we did not come out and call a spade a spade. One of our judges, he came around and reminded us we were too easy. We had discussion groups there, and he said, "This is the time, name names, it is all right with me, name them." I said, "I will name names," and I did.

Talking about discrimination, it is easy to talk about but to put your finger on these things is very hard. The teachers and the students at our school, these problems come out in high school, they are in there before but it does not show up before they come to high school.

There is one instance of this teacher, he seemed to be a guard in the hall and he grabbed four Indian girls, ran them into the dean of girls' office and says, "Here are your four black rats." This was pretty strong language. That is one instance.

And another one we saw was one of the administrators and the mother on the phone, and this person's language he used dirty words, he cursed, he swore, he insulted her, he did everything, and the same man through the phone cursed the father. Of course, I never heard about this until later and I said, "Well, why don't we do something about it?" Nothing is ever done about these things, our people are afraid, they are scared.

They are rightly scared because there can be, and I heard there have been repercussions on the students, bad grades, things like that if their parents have been pushing the school. The school denied this, I questioned them on it and they said, "We can't do that, we don't do that." I said, "However, it is being done," and I believe it is being done.

I also have a man from Lake County, a neighboring county, and he asked me to say, "When you talk about your county over there, your schools and whatever you talk about, just tell them that in Lake County all these things are there, only they are worse in Lake County," meaning discrimination in schools, jobs and what-have-you.

I would like to bring up a memo from our judge; he had some things I had not thought of. The charges, the cost of our children going to school, they do not have this extra money for girls to buy gym clothes. A dollar is very hard to come by and sometimes they don't have a gym suit and they are given an F if they don't have it once or twice.

At the moment I know of one case where this girl could not get the money because the mother just did not have the money, but the girl was made to suffer. She got an F in her grade. There are a lot of these things; lack of money is very detrimental to our students.

I don't think the school knows how hard it is for some of these students to get hold of a little money that they charge for dances, athletic events, there are many charges for different things. If our children don't have that little money, they are out and they cannot participate, and this is bad. The children are made to suffer, evidently.

I would like to also mention, this is not discrimination, the need of the Indians to carry on or to revive their Indian culture. There are some organizations who are doing this and others who would like to revive their culture but there are no funds.

In northern California I know funds are needed for something like this. We talked about Indian image. The Indian, the young Indian, does not know his history. He does not know who he is. He does not know where Indians have been, so with this culture, we could probably give him his image, and from that he can cross over and transfer to a white man's culture, he will have some background, some base to start from. Right now in our area there are many of Indian descent, they have Indian blood, that is the only thing they have Indian.

When I was a kid I knew a lot of Indians, with their Indian culture, and there was no problem to transfer to the white culture. There was no problem then but there sure is now. Indian culture revival would be a good thing. The people need funds. There are funds of various kinds, and you try to get some funds for anything, there are some guidelines or something that push you out and you can't get them.

So I think this is one place where the subcommittee could help us out by breaking loose some of these funds that are available to some people and not to other people. The funds seem to be there but we can't get a hold of them.

One of the men here mentioned the students. I'm talking about funds now. The college students or those who could go to college don't have the funds to go. There are all kinds of scholarships but for some reason we can't get a hold of them. In my area just recently within a week I have heard there were four Indian boys who might have been going to college but for the lack of funds they're not. With all of these scholarships and grants, they don't qualify for some reason.

On the State level and Federal level, if the Congress, the subcommittee working on the top level and we, working at the local level, work together, we may do something on education faster than working alone.

About the Indians, I would like to put here that the Indians are still more human. They take care of one another. When the white man has lost track of the human side he is all business, profit, power, riches, materials, so somehow, if we could get together, the Indians get a little more of the riches and give the white man a little more care for humanity, I think the world would be much better off.

I would like to submit Judge Winslow's memo for the subcommittee.

Senator Kennedy of New York. Thank you, we will be happy to receive it. Thank you very much, Mr. Knight. Are there any questions?

Senator Fannin. Thank you, Mr. Knight. I do commend you for developing this dialog with the school administrator and I hope you continue it.

Senator Kennedy of New York. Thank you very much.

Our next witness will be Mr. Soza. Will your identify yourself Mr. Soza.

STATEMENT OF WILLIAM P. SOZA, MEMBER OF SOBOBA BAND OF MISSION INDIANS, RIVERSIDE, CALIF.

Mr. Soza. I am William Soza from Riverside County, I am an Apache, part Cree.

Senators, tribal leaders, distinguished guests, we are meeting here today at the invitation of the Honorable Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

Less than 48 hours ago I received a telephone call from Mr. David Risling, asking could I be present here today to present some of the Indian education problems that we might have in the southern part of this great State of ours. I say ours, because this territory did belong to our ancestors not so long ago.

Well, gentlemen, it is a pleasure to be here and to be afforded an opportunity to express some of our views in the field of education. We today live in the greatest society ever designed by man anywhere on the face of the earth, and yet we have poverty. Why? Poverty is like a disease—it prevails when education is at a minimum. How, then, should you ask, does this apply to the American Indian? Since this country first began to be settled by the Europeans, and with the coming of the white man the Indian lost much of his leadership and much of his way of life. He was herded further and further back into the hills and into reservations. Treaties drafted by Congress were broken or not honored—and as a result the Indian has been forced over the years to accept a new way of life. A life that was completely foreign to him. He was no longer allowed to roam his country, to hunt and fish as he pleased when he needed food. He had to adjust to the white man's way of life. This was fine except no provisions were ever made for the education of the Indian except in a token sort of way.

You might ask—what about the Bureau of Indian Affairs? What have they done for the Indian? They have been in existence for over 130 years and the Indian today is still in the horse-and-buggy era.

What then is needed to bring the Indian up to date and on a par with his white brother? The answer is obvious, "education."

If we are to help the Indian in education we must—

1. Completely revise the Indian education system under the BIA, if that branch of the Government is allowed to function in the capacity that it has in the past.

2. We must re-educate our educators in the field of teaching to bring forth more Indian history, closer liaison and communication between Indian parents and teachers. We must teach more Indian culture and contributions that the American Indian has made to this vast country of ours.

3. We must bring out the true history of this country as it relates to Indians. For example, the Indian student today is asking: Why do we celebrate Columbus Day? Did he really discover America?

If you are to deal with the American Indian in the field of education, one must consider the plight of the Indian today—we must deal with inadequate housing and sanitation. We must deal with inadequate health and medical care and we must deal with inadequate Bureau of Indian Affairs schools.

Let's talk a little about our Bureau of Indian Affairs schools in California. Outside of Bureau relocation schools, like the Madera School (Ford-Philco), the BIA has contracts with various schools in the San Francisco Bay area and in the Los Angeles Metropolitan area. These schools offer a variety of subjects from barbering to electronics. Generally speaking this training is available to adult Indians who are between 18 and 35 years of age and who are one quarter or more degree of Indian blood. They also must reside on or adjacent to an Indian reservation that is under the jurisdiction of the BIA—sounds good—on paper, yes—but too much Bureau control. For example, one could be a full-blooded Indian and still not be able to attend one of these schools for a variety of reasons:

1. You could be 21 years of age and married (not head of a household).
2. You could be living adjacent to a reservation but not as determined by the BIA.
3. One could be told that no funds were available at the present time.

In short, like anything else provided for the Indian, it does not meet the needs of the Indian.

One other Bureau school that this committee might look into is Sherman Institute at Riverside, Calif. California Indians are not allowed to attend this school. At the present time students from Arizona and New Mexico are receiving their basic education there. These include Hopis, Navajos, Papagos, and Apaches from their respective tribes.

Some suggestions from southern California are:

1. Revise this to include California Indians.
2. Change the Bureau policy and make this into a good trade school, one that all Indians could take advantage of.
3. Develop the school into a good junior college.

These are but a few suggestions that I thought might be of interest to this committee.

We in southern California feel that education cannot be achieved without proper housing and medical education. In this light the Sobobo and Morongo Reservations have worked out an Indian health program to meet some of the needs of the people.

Any people so deprived of these essentials cannot be expected to achieve the same level of education as those that have them.

What problems do we have in the field of education in California?

The problems are many; for example:

1. We have BIA schools which do not meet the needs of our Indian people. We should have more voice in the management of these schools.
2. We have Headstart program—an OEO program which many of our Indian children could participate in, if the criteria for participation were lowered, if Johnson-O'Malley funds were used if available.
3. I would recommend an attendance officer in our school system, to encourage good attendance habits, since they do not receive this support from their parents.
4. I would set up special counseling for Indian children. I would prefer counselors of Indian descent, who are familiar with Indian problems and Indian thinking.
5. The Federal Government could help many of our Indian children in California by providing grants for our students to attend junior

colleges. The junior colleges in the State provide excellent occupational training as well as training for students who have not achieved too well in high school, but who have become interested in getting an education.

This kind of help is much more economical than the expensive relocation training programs carried out by the BIA.

6. There is evidence that our teachers are not reaching the Indian children.

7. There is a vast difference in the field of education between the reservation Indian and the nonreservation Indian. Some of the differences are housing, culture, environment, better living conditions off the reservations. This tends to reflect on the education of our Indian children.

In conclusion I will say what a guest speaker once told me: If you ask me to speak for 10 minutes, I must have at least 6 weeks' notice—if you ask me to speak for 2 hours, I'm ready any time.

Thank you.

I would like to submit for the record the Sobobo and Morongo Indian health program proposal.

Senator Kennedy of New York. That would be fine and very helpful.

Senator Fannin. Mr. Soza, are you aware of a study that was made by the Bureau of Indian Affairs at the request of the Secretary of the Interior and the Office of Education, in regard to changing the Indian education program from the Bureau of Indian Affairs to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare?

Mr. Soza. I am not completely familiar with it. I have heard some on it; yes.

Senator Fannin. I asked that this study be made and I am very sorry to report to you that when the study was made the Indian groups we heard from were afraid that this would result in termination. I don't know why, but this was evidently their assumption, and they opposed this move. This was just 2 years ago.

Mr. Soza. Was this generally true throughout the country?

Senator Fannin. Yes; this was a general approach throughout the country and we have heard from a large number of the tribes. We learned that very few tribes were in favor of changing from the Bureau of Indian Affairs to Health, Education, and Welfare.

Mr. Soza. Is that the same one that was brought up in Kansas City last February?

Senator Fannin. Yes. It was reviewed last February but the study was made before that. Would you now recommend that we review this matter?

Mr. Soza. I think it would be in order if you would review it. Strictly from my own personal opinion, I think it is needed, because certainly our schools conducted under this system, as I call it horse-and-buggy system, are not reaching our children. We are not getting proper usage of the amount of money allocated for this type of training. I think it should be revised completely so we could benefit better from this type of training.

I think there is a need for this type of training; however, the implementation of it is not according to what it should be and I think there is a general need for a revision.

Senator FANNIN. You feel this could be done under the Bureau of Indian Affairs?

Mr. SOZA. If it were handled properly it could be done, yes, but they have had 130 years to do some of these things and they have never been able to handle it, so I believe something will have to be done not to carry on as in the past.

Senator FANNIN. Naturally, what we want to do is to change the program if it needs to be changed, which you state it does, as rapidly as possible?

Mr. SOZA. Right.

Senator FANNIN. Perhaps it would be in order for us to work through the Bureau of Indian Affairs presently rather than trying to make a complete change which would require some time.

Mr. SOZA. Right, a change should be made in it.

Senator FANNIN. Thank you very much, Mr. Soza, it was a very informative statement.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Let me say that the point that you made is very helpful that, "If you are to deal with the American Indian in the field of education, one must consider the plight of the Indian today—we must deal with the inadequate housing and sanitation. We must deal with inadequate health and medical care, and we must deal with inadequate Bureau of Indian Affairs schools."

I agree, I don't think you can isolate education from all the other types of problems. If the child does not have adequate, satisfactory medical care, if he has teeth problems, stomach problems, ear problems, he is not going to learn in school, no matter how good the school is or how good the teachers are, or how they teach him about Indian affairs. If he is suffering from malnutrition he is not going to learn. If his family life or housing is inadequate, he is not going to be able to learn in school. It is going to require overall effort in all of these areas, and I think you made the point very well and this is helpful to the committee and again must be considered by the local authorities as well as by those of us who are representatives in Washington.

Mr. SOZA. There is a correlation between the two, it has to go hand in hand.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. The child is not going to be able to learn unless we take steps in the other fields as well, and he has to feel that he has some future. One area that you did not mention, which I think is extremely important—some of the future witnesses will, maybe—is that the educational system must mean something at the end. After a student finshes the education and training there must be a job available. It must be so discouraging to go through the educational system and see an older brother or sister who graduates from high school not get a job or get an unsatisfactory job. We don't just have the proper educational system and proper environment but at the end of the educational system there must be employment available for the Indian.

Mr. SOZA. Right.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Mr. Elgin, would you identify yourself and then identify your associate.

STATEMENT OF ALFRED G. ELGIN, JR., ASSISTANT DIRECTOR, INTERTRIBAL FRIENDSHIP HOUSE, OAKLAND, CALIF.; ACCOMPANIED BY ANTHONY D. BROWN, OAKLAND, CALIF.

Mr. Elgin. This is Mr. Anthony D. Brown.

Honorable Senators, members of the visiting committee. The Indian population in the State of California can be broken down into two main sections, rural and urban. Under the rural topic we have a Government trust land status and non-Government trust land status.

It has been estimated that there are around 7,000 native California tribespeople still residing on Government trust lands. About twice that figure reside near trust lands, in the small towns, in the rural communities. Others have found their way to the larger cities, some to other States, and even some find themselves in far-out areas as Vietnam.

The rural Indian in California finds himself unique in several ways. First, by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, he does not qualify for the programs now in effect if he does not reside on Government trust lands. Second, in the eyes of the non-Indian residents of the State of California, it is taken for granted that there are many benefits of a resourceful nature being showered upon the lucky individual born with Indian heritage. This is not so for the only program now in effect is made available only to those residing on Government trust lands, no others qualify.

Many misconceptions have been instrumental in causing the existing condition to prevail; however, this need not be the case if clear understanding can be obtained by defining areas of jurisdiction and concern. If the role of the Bureau of Indian Affairs is made clear to both the uninformed public, and the Indian people, stating their responsibility as it exists only in regards to Government trust lands, part of the understanding begins. It is assumed that all problems confronting the Indian population is taken care of by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. We, the Indian people, know this is not the case. It is also assumed that many programs are available to Indians no matter what their status; again this is not so.

Permit me to go back a little in history to relate how the existing situation came about. During the late 1940's and early 1950's the Bureau of Indian Affairs began to come under an increasing attack on its alleged lack of success with nationwide Indian problems. Congress, acting through the Interior Appropriations Committee, began to express this dissatisfaction by applying pressure on the Bureau of Indian Affairs to withdraw services to American Indians. House Concurrent Resolution 108, which specifically names California Indians, was an official statement of that desire. Thus the Bureau of Indian Affairs was in the unhappy position of having to cut back its services at a time when those very services were badly in need of expansion. Naturally they decided to cut back where they felt the need for their services was the least—among California Indians. Other justifications of withdrawal of services can be seen as quoted from the report by Mr. Anthony D. Brown for the California Advisory Commission on Indian Affairs which will be submitted in evidence.

In 1935 California became the first State to enter into a contract with the Bureau of Indian Affairs for financial assistance under the Johnson-O'Malley Act of April 16, 1934 (38 Stat. 596), as amended by the act of June 4, 1936 (49 Stat. 1458). This act provides for financial aid to States for implementing their educational programs to Indians residing on or near trust land.

For years California received $318,500 per year as its share of Johnson-O'Malley funds. In 1953 the Sacramento area office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs informed the superintendent of public instruction that fiscal year 1954 would be the last year of the Johnson-O'Malley contract for California. A meeting was held at this time between the representatives of the State department of education and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. At this meeting the Bureau of Indian Affairs representatives stated that California Indians would soon be terminated; consequently, the Bureau of Indian Affairs in California would be closed down in 5 years. All Indians in California have not been terminated, neither has the Bureau closed. The representatives of the California State Department of Education at the meeting protested that an immediate withdrawal of contract funds might prove harmful to certain school districts, and, suggested instead a gradual withdrawal of the Johnson-O'Malley program. It was agreed upon then to withdraw these funds at $50,000 a year rate until the program was completely phased out.

The State Department of Education had no real choice in the matter of allowing these funds to be parted from them for they were told California Indians definitely were going to be excluded from the program. Second, it was believed that other laws, such as Public Law 815 and Public Law 874 would adequately replace the Johnson-O'Malley program. The final clincher was the belief that all California Indians would be terminated in 5 years.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs also believed in the 5-year period of termination, for at this time other services to California Indians were withdrawn from the State. These are cited on pages 11 and 12, again Mr. Brown's report, which will be submitted as evidence.

The 15 years that have passed since the withdrawal of Johnson-O'Malley funds first started to be reduced have proven everyone mistaken. The termination process which finally got started in 1958, starting out at a fair pace, then faltered, and now is almost nil at this presentation.

Around the State, California Indians are questioning why they should not also share in these benefits from the Johnson-O'Malley program that was withdrawn under duress and miscalculation.

Many of the recommendations set forth by the Ad Hoc Committee's findings could find reality in the reimplementation of the Johnson-O'Malley program.

Another area of prime concern is that of higher education and the almost unobtainableness of such for most California Indians. Coming from rural poor families, less than adequate preparation, numerous handicaps, and social roadblocks to surmount, it remains out of reach to most.

Again, looking to the Great White Father, or Uncle Sam, or in our case, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, we can find no help to finance this educational venture, for the California Indian, once again, has been excluded. Indians of other States, trust land status or otherwise, can receive, through the Bureau of Indian Affairs, grants-in-aid for higher education. I have asked at local area office level what it would take to implement similar programs for California Indians. The answer received is "an act of Congress." I would question that answer until qualified by investigation proving that to be the case, and then, not fully satisfied until corrective legislation be set in motion to create the desired effect upon Indian education in California.

It has long been a personal conviction that the interpretation of the "on" or "near" wording found in many of the Federal qualifications for a Government program has been one of local jurisdiction. What seems to be the case in California as to the correct interpretation, does not apply, seemingly, in other areas. For example, many of the Indian people of Oklahoma do not reside now, nor have ever, "on" or "near" trust land. Yet, they not only qualify and enjoy relocation programs, but also share in grants-in-aid to obtain higher education. Does it take an act of Congress to get a reasonable explanation as to the apparent discrepancy?

URBAN INDIAN SITUATION

According to population estimates, there are more than 40,000 American Indians now living in California's larger cities; namely, San Francisco Bay area and Los Angeles.

Needless to say, this adds to the already complicated situation as it has been stated concerning native California Indians.

I would only quote one figure to say that over 100 different tribes are represented in our urban areas, these coming from many States. Perhaps our following speakers will take up the areas of concern that are introduced here as adequate education, training, self-sufficiency of the urban Indians.

POSSIBLE CORRECTIVE MEASURES

(*a*) Establish reasons why we, the California Indians, remain on the bottom of the totem.

(*b*) Expand BIA programs; restore JOM funds; provide scholarships; finally let's make available to all Indians in California adequate educational opportunities and training programs.

Senator Fannin. Mr. Elgin, you bring out this administrative decision question. Do you know whether or not anyone in an official position has written to the Bureau of Indian Affairs or to Mr. Bennett, the Commissioner, or to the Commissioner before him. Have they been asked the questions that you bring out here today as to why the Californians do not qualify for these programs?

Mr. Elgin. I have been to Sacramento and asked that question. I also made a special trip up there one day, took off work, to meet Commissioner Bennett to meet with him at that time. He could not get an audience with Governor Reagan; he sent one of his assistants. I asked a question of his assistant. I did not get a satisfactory answer.

Senator Fannin. My question is, Have you written to them? In other words, you have these questions to ask and you have officially requested answers from the Bureau of Indian Affairs?

Mr. Elgin. No, I have not written.

Senator Fannin. Don't you think it would be in order for you to write to Mr. Bennett and ask him these questions?

Mr. ELGIN. I believe it would be in order for every individual who is of California extraction and who is interested in education in California, higher educational opportunities, to write letters requesting such information.

Senator FANNIN. You have your organization represented here today. I think it would be wise to write Mr. Bennett and determine why this exists.

Mr. ELGIN. Fine, we will do that.

Senator FANNIN. You have referred to what is happening in some of the other States and you feel that they are being treated differently than California is. In what respect do you feel that this is factual? In other words, you have mentioned Oklahoma Indians, but are you knowledgeable about assistance being given in other States that is not being given in California?

Mr. ELGIN. This is why I have Mr. Brown with me, he is from Oklahoma, and he could perhaps comment on your question.

Mr. BROWN. If I can give a personal example: I am a Creek Indian, I come from Muskogee, a town of 50,000 people, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs gives me a thousand dollars to go to college, and I have never lived on trust land or near trust land, to my knowledge, whereas the California Indians to qualify for any Bureau program have to live right on trust land, not near it but right on it.

Senator FANNIN. This has been officially established. What I am trying to determine is whether or not the Bureau of Indian Affairs has turned down requests that have been made to the Bureau for funds for these purposes?

Mr. BROWN. The only program in California that the Bureau of Indian Affairs has is the vocational training, and they have about 130 positions available each year, to my understanding. The requirement for that is that the Indian has to live on trust land.

In Oklahoma, many more positions are available in vocational training but the Indian does not have to live on trust land. The problem in California is that a great majority of the Indians don't live on trust land and are not eligible for these programs.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Is there a representative of the Bureau of Indian Affairs here? Would you come forward, please? I don't know whether it would be possible for you to give an answer to the question that has been raised.

Before you start to speak, if you have not gotten all that information, you can furnish it later to the committee, because I had not expected to call on you, but as these questions were raised rather than leave the record like this, if you have answers to the questions raised by this gentleman, it might be well to finish the record.

Would you please identify yourself.

STATEMENT OF WESLEY L. BARKER, COMMUNITY SERVICES OFFICER, SACRAMENTO, CALIF., BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

Mr. BARKER. My name is Wesley Barker, I am the community services officer for the Sacramento area, which covers California.

In answer to the questions that have been raised: I don't have any comforting answers, true. As a matter of fact, I felt that the statement probably was very fair. It is true there is no education program in California through the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Why?

Let me say at the beginning I know you are not in Washington and you're not making policy, so I don't wish to put you on the spot. If you have any information for us——

Mr. BARKER. I think I can explain the national policy as it applies to California, or the stated reasons why we don't get an educational program here through the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and that is the policy is to provide educational services where they cannot be so filled by other agencies. In fact, this is true of all services, and part of our problem that these gentlemen have been discussing, and we have discussed it many times before among ourselves, is that it is felt that California does have a generous program for people, including Indians.

For that reason, about 15 years ago the entire education program was taken out of the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and turned over to the State of California. By and large the State is doing a better job than the Bureau did for many years. I think it is better for the Indian people to go to public schools.

The problem is a deeper one, because so many Indian people live in rural areas, and there just isn't sufficient financing for any poor person in the rural areas of California, which are just as poor as the rural areas anywhere else in the United States. I think we really should make an effort to get title I money in the rural area, a share of title I money, and get some to the Indians. I would rather see the money go through the State Department of Education than through our office. I think it provides more quality.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. I gathered, however, that you agree that the Indians in the State of California, many of the Indians in the State of California, are not receiving an adequate education at the moment.

Mr. BARKER. I think it is very true. I think it is true to the same extent of other poor people in rural areas.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. I gather that their problems, of course, are unique. I recognize that the poor child in the rural area is suffering, but I gathered from the unique problems that exist for the Indian child that the Indian child suffers even more. Would you agree with that?

Mr. BARKER. Yes, I do; because the teachers in the rural areas have been given no special training to deal with the cultural differences, the problems of an Indian child. They just have not had the curriculum, they have not had the training, and they have not had the special work and understanding of the problems. Besides that, in the rural areas in the northern part of the State and in the southern part, too, very often the only poor people in the community, the really poor people, are Indians, so there is no poverty program that gets that far. There are some special compensatory programs, but none of the special programs that we are looking for to solve our problems in the cities.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. It seems to me as we do have this special relationship with the Indian children and they are suffering—because of our failures—that steps need to taken, both by the State and by the Federal Government, to rectify these injustices. I think what is of concern to us as members of this committee is the fact that it does not seem to us that there is a kind of a program in effect at the moment, nor really any definitive plans to develop such a program for the future, and that the result is that the Indian child continues to suffer, despite the fact that we made these pledges to the Indians for so many decades that we provide an adequate, satisfactory education—and this we have not done, as your testimony makes clear, and the testimony of others before the committee makes clear.

Mr. BARKER. I agree with you completely. There is a lot more that should be done.

My own point of view would be that the Indian people would be better off if it was done by special funds that Congress can give, by cooperative ventures with the Bureau but I don't think we should rebuild the Bureau Education System in California.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. We should develop, whether it is done through the Bureau or through the State—I think you would agree—an education system which will affect the lives of these Indian children even if they live in remote areas.

Mr. BARKER. Absolutely.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. In short, it is better to have that done through a State rather than a Federal bureaucracy?

Mr. BARKER. Yes, sir.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. But if it is not done through the State, it seems to me we should make it possible for the State to do it, or to take on this responsibility ourselves at the Federal level.

Mr. BARKER. Yes.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. It seems to me that this is our responsibility and our treaty obligation to do it.

Mr. BARKER. This is true and the question they raised about Johnson-O'Malley funds is very valid, a very valid point of view.

Senator FANNIN. I am a little puzzled because I realize that the Bureau of Indian Affairs has a responsibility to assist our Indian people in their educational programs.

We have had witnesses here today testify that there is a great need, and still the Bureau of Indian Affairs is not doing anything about it; that it is not doing what should be done or can be done to alleviate this problem. I realize that California may not be like the other States, but we have the same responsibility to our Indian people and I don't see where a State line should place a barrier before the Bureau of Indian Affairs in carrying out such a program.

Mr. BARKER. Senator, I can't argue with that at all except that it is true that the Bureau does offer services in some States and not in others, depending on whether the State handles it.

This is true in welfare as well as education. A decision was made on the basis that California could handle the education, therefore the Bureau would not, and this is a 15-year-old policy that could be changed. I don't think it is true that the Bureau offers a uniform service throughout the United States. Most services are offered in places like the Navajo Reservation where it is not possible for the local agencies to have a financial burden.

Senator FANNIN. You mentioned the Navajo, we do have an Indian problem there,but from the testimony we heard today, we certainly have a problem in California that is not being met.

Mr. BARKER. Yes; we do.

Senator FANNIN. And I hope we can have a clarification of what the responsibilities are.

Mr. RISLING. As a matter of fact, Public Law 280 turns all public education over to the State of California, and they are under the State's supervision, all educational functions in the State.

Senator FANNIN. The recent legislation that has gone through Congress has changed the present status of Public Law 280. This is just in the last few months.

Mr. RISLING. Public Law 280 has not been too clear as to the provisions and service. I don't think Public Law 280 is what prohibits a Federal education program for Indians in California.

Senator FANNIN. As for as Public Law 280 is concerned, changes have been made.

Mr. RISLING. If I know the changes you are referring to, it requires the consent of the tribe.

Senator FANNIN. Yes.

Mr. RISING. And I don't believe that applies to California, because California was one of the enumerated States.

Senator FANNIN. That was the legislation that the Senate passed.

Mr. BARKER. I don't think that is the problem. The problem is really a difference of opinion as to whether or not the State can educate Indian children on the same basis that it educates someone else. It is true that other poor children in the rural parts of the State, not Indian children, are receiving an equally unsatisfactory education, because compensation programs have not gotten to them.

Mr. SOZA. May I make one statement: When we talk about Public Law 280, the State legislature passed a resolution setting up that California would take over all the functions of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and so on and so forth, but they can pass another resolution, and we hope they will do that in the next few months, asking that the Government will make programs available to California again.

It is a responsibility, if you notice in several of the reports, that California is failing the Indian people. They said they were going to take over the function, but they prevented the people of California from getting that; this is an excuse that has been put back and forth, and it puts everybody on the spot.

He is only supposedly doing his job, and I would hate to be a Bureau of Indian Affairs man, and I admire him for being here and being in his position.

Mr. BROWN. I would like to say it is true the State does take a responsibility, but in other States, every State has a responsibility for Indians in their State, like California has. California is not unique in that respect. These other States, Arizona, for instance receives $3 million a year in Johnson-O'Malley funds to help the Indians in the State, yet the State of Arizona has a responsibility.

What we need is the State and Federal Governments working on the problem of inadequate Indian education, yet in California it is on the State. As you heard in the testimony here, the State is doing an inadequate job.

Senator Kennedy of New York. I think we are really going to need more testimony from the representatives of the Bureau of Indian Affairs about what the situation is, analyze it. The situation is obviously unsatisfactory; we are not doing what needs to be done. There are no plans to do it for the future and it seems to me that there will have to be changes brought about that you can put your finger on in a very fine way. We have developed a program, but after experimenting with the State for a period of time, if the State is not going to be able to do it satisfactorily, the Federal Government will have to supplement what the State is doing. It seems to me that is obvious.

Make an effort to turn it over to the State; the State can do it. If the State is not doing it—and I think our studies indicate that they are not—then the Federal Government will have to have supplementary programs.

I think you have handled it very well, you were not expecting to be called, I congratulate you.

As far as the Bureau of Indian Affairs, we will have to hear later again in Washington or possibly if we have further hearings out here, but you might send them back a message that the committee does not feel it is a very satisfactory situation at the moment.

Mr. Barker. House Concurrent Resolution 108 would be a good point to open this whole discussion with the Bureau over responsibility in California. Some of the people have mentioned it. This is a great impediment to our providing any funds or doing very much. It has a great impact.

Senator Kennedy of New York. Fine, we will study that, we very much appreciate your coming.

STATEMENT OF JIM WILLIAMS, MEMBER OF YUROK TRIBE, NORTHERN CALIFORNIA

Mr. Williams. Could I state something that would straighten out the California situation a little?

Senator Kennedy of New York. Would you identify yourself, please.

Mr. Williams. I am Jim Williams from the Yurok Tribe in northern California, and we presented our situation on our particular tribe but found out in the situation concerning all California Indians that last year in the Senate we had a proposed bill up that would have given Indians the right to go to court or to hear their case on the highest level in our court, and the legislation was killed there by the Senate at that time. The Senate at that time stated the reason that they had killed it was because Indians were bound by treaties and not by laws, and being bound by treaties, they were in the same classification as a foreign nation, and therefore we could not permit a foreign nation in the courts to sue the Federal Government.

We found out, also, through Bennett's meeting that he had in Las Vegas, that California Indians were nontreaty Indians and that the 18 treaties signed with the California Indians put them in a classification, because those treaties were never ratified, that they end up being nontreaty Indians, and therefore all the California legislation and all the legislation concerning Indians in California leaves the California Indians out in the cold, and that some of these reasons bringing about termination, they offer us termination at a level where the Indian cannot accept termination.

They say, "We will give you termination providing you give us everything you own now." They already took everything we own except our blood.

I think that these Indians that have shown themselves here today and presented themselves to you certainly are in a position where they can govern and discipline themselves on the same level that we are believed not to be able to do so. With that in mind, if the Indians were given the right to defend themselves at the highest level in our courts, then they could go to the highest levels and get the agents that operate the Bureau of Indian Affairs and bring them out in the open, before an open jury trial, and not before Commission judges, where we could make these fellows answer why the Indians in one area are under a certain leadership of the same Bureau and in another area he is under a different leadership.

I know that the economics of the southern California Indian are not the same as the northern California Indian, as you know back East is not like out West, and because of these situations I think that the Indian could justify his situation with our present so-called Bureau leaders by bringing them before a court and having them answer these questions where they don't have to do it now.

They can direct policies now without answering to anybody. This is our big problem.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Thank you, I think that was very helpful.

We will have our staff study that and see if we have some idea about it. I hope you will work closely with us regarding it. Thank you very much for the very helpful and interesting statement.

We will not have our next two witnesses.

STATEMENT OF MRS. STELLA RUNNELS LEACH, CHAIRMAN, HEALTH AND WELFARE COMMITTEE OF BAY AREA SIOUX CLUB, OAKLAND, CALIF.; ACCOMPANIED BY MRS. MARIAM ROWLINSON, BOARD MEMBER, LOS ANGELES INDIAN CENTER, LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Mrs. LEACH. I am Mrs. Stella Leach, Sioux and Cahuilla, I am an Indian displaced under the relocation program.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Could you identify yourself.

Mrs. ROWLINSON. I am Mariam Rowlinson, also a Sioux Indian.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Are you displaced?

Mrs. ROWLINSON. I sort of displaced myself 35 years ago.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Mrs. Leach, do you want to go first?

Mrs. LEACH. Like our Great Fellow Indian, Chief Joseph of the Nez Perce, I, too, have fought the long fight against the injustice wreaked upon our people, and I, too, was tired and ready to lay down the fight, but your appearance here today has given us all new hope. This is indeed a momentous occasion. This is the first time, in my knowledge, that a Commission has ever appeared before the Indians to ask them what they want, without the intervention and control of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

This is indeed a lesson in freedom of speech, especially when we are afforded the opportunity addressing a brother Sioux, Senator Sitting Warrior—we all consider it a great honor.

The position of the American Indian in current American society is analogous to a man trying to ride two horses in different directions simultaneously.

While seeking the benefits of better working conditions, and a better standard of living for his family in an urban surrounding, he finds himself alienated and alone in a strange and often hostile environment, a victim of the stresses and strains of a modern civilization, to which he has not been educated, nor whose potency he can control.

To resolve this continuing conflict requires patience, tact, and understanding on the part of the Federal Government—the motive power to make the American Indian an integral part of the mainstream of the American society. To date, these qualities are mainly conspicuous by their absence.

Basically, the Indian needs education equal to that obtainable in the urban area in which he will live. But this educational process requires more than the simple material of schools and teachers. It needs an orientation of the Indian to the new and usually incomprehensible world he will face. This orientation must take place long before he is uprooted from the familiar places of his reservation and cast adrift in the steel and asphalt jungles of urban living.

For instance, one example, one of our Indians from a remote area in Arizona was brought here on relocation. He had no orientation into modern traffic. He was informed when the light turned red he was to cross the street but no one bothered to explain the flow of traffic to him, so when the light turned red he stepped out into the traffic and ended up with a broken leg. This is only a product of poor orientation on the part of our relocated Indian. If the Indian is to become a productive member of society, he must be given the tools with which to gain this end. He must be trained in competent schools by competent and recognized teachers. We suggest, therefore, the following educational changes:

1. Public schools on the reservation equal to those of urban areas.
2. Orientation and documentation of the Indian to modern society, beginning with the first grade level through the high school years on the reservation. This includes field trips into urban areas, perhaps a student exchange format by which Indian children could live with families in a city, much like the foreign student exchange which exists between friendly nations. We would like to see classes in his native language. Even Europe has become appalled at the school of Navajo children. An article appeared not too long ago where the Russians were appalled at the schools, and the article was on the last page of the paper in a small column.
3. Opportunities for higher education through the college and postgraduate levels in fields personally chosen by those interested, without Federal contravention. Selection of students, not by the Bureau of Indian Affairs but by an impartial board, including scholarship loans perhaps repayable in a revolving fund type of situation after graduation, so that the Indians coming after them may obtain an education.

Assistance in maintaining a healthful way of life while pursuing these ends, rather than the subsistence levels now doled out by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Health care, perhaps, could be provided under Public Law 89–97, which could cover part of this. The conditions of the relocated Indians in the urban areas are appalling. They are placed in slum areas, their health situations deteriorate. Last year under one organization that I worked with, we found 12 cases of active tuberculosis in relocated Indians. They have been sent from their reservations without proper medical attention.

On December 27 we were informed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the Oakland area that they were no longer responsible for health care for the relocated Indians, that this was up to the Indian himself. This subsistence allowance is too low. They allow $4 for an office call. As a nurse I know there are no doctors in the bay area that have taken a patient for $4 an office call in the last 15 years. Consequently, no doctors are willing to take these patients unless, of course, you find someone who has great empathy for the Indian.

4. Support for self-help programs now existing, started by relocated Indians. Indians, when they come here, are not informed of these organizations. The Bureau of Indian Affairs conceals this. They don't want the Indians to band together. Consequently, the Indian spends many lonely hours until he discovers that there are many other Indians around.

5. Social counseling in matters of health, recreation, finances, marriage, family planning, by counselors trained in understanding the particularly unique psychology of the Indians.

The Honorable Senators may not be aware that the divorce rate among the Indians is one of the highest of all minority groups. The divorce rates among Indians educated in boarding schools is higher than those educated in urban areas. We feel this is because the student has been torn away from his family life, and when he himself is ready to establish a family, he has no knowledge of how to go about it.

This latter part is of the utmost importance, because the Indian wants to retain his identity. He also wants to retain his land. He could be given help by bringing industry to the reservation. This would upgrade his living standard, help to renew his faith in his fellow man. He is not asking for doles, only the opportunity to help himself. He does not want to become a white, he wants to remain what he has always been—an Indian, proud of his ethnic background, his legends, his historical figure, and his role in the future of his nation. The Indian is fighting a silent battle; we are not imploring help for ourselves; our day will soon be past; we are imploring help for the children who come after us. They are the ones who need your assistance.

We are hoping today that this meeting may bring about drastic changes in the educational fields of the Indian, not only to Indians within the State of California but the relocated Indian.

Thank you.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Thank you; that was very helpful.

Mrs. ROWLINSON. I think most of the things that I would like to have said have pretty well been covered.

I came up here without notes and on a last minute basis. I, however, would like to stress the education in the lower grades, the beginners, because this is very important, since we do not have too many of our Indians in the professions, and statistics will prove that.

Also, I believe that we should go back to bringing the culture and the heritage back into our schools, since they were taken away from us by the Indian schools.

One more point I'm going to make is very brief. This has to do with the omnibus bill. I believe the omnibus bill should be supervised under Senate hearings rather than decided by the Department of Interior.

Thank you.

Senator Kennedy of New York. Senator Fannin.

Senator Fannin. I certainly appreciate the comments both of you have made, especially about education. What then for the Indian? You brought out there is a great problem from the standpoint of the professions. Would you advise us as to what you think should be done to interest more of our Indian youngsters in going into the teaching profession?

Mrs. Rowlinson. Absolutely. Bring the level of education up higher.

Senator Fannin. If they were given an opportunity, would more of our Indian youngsters go into the teaching profession?

Mrs. Rowlinson. Absolutely.

Senator Fannin. I think this is one of the greatest needs we have today.

Mrs. Rowlinson. Yes.

Senator Fannin. I would hope that we can emphasize the need for a program that will accomplish this. We have many problems, and I know that the scholarship loan program is available. At the same time, you speak of Federal contravention, Mrs. Leach. Would you elaborate on that?

Mrs. Leach. I am an old fighter. I have fought on the reservation level for many years for the education of our people. It is very unfair how the loans are handed out. The deserving child, the child that has the ability, is not always the one that is recognized. The Bureau of Indian Affairs plays too much politics in scholarship loans.

I will cite an incident to you: In the November or December issue of my tribal paper, moneys were made available for scholarship loans. All eight scholarships were given to the tribal council, people who are past the prime of life, people who no longer need the type of education that they're asking for now.

Our children needed that money; it was unfairly given. Incidentally, this is often repeated. This is why I say this should be taken out of the hands of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and put into some other bureau where the child would be judged on his ability, his grade level, and his desire.

Senator Fannin. I certainly agree that your background is an indication that you are a fighter, as you have stated, and that you are excelling in the work that is necessary to bring about your goals. I wonder what you mean by "too much politics"?

Mrs. Leach. I think that the case just cited, why the Bureau of Indian Affairs would allow the tribal council to vote themselves in for scholarships when there are children crying for these scholarships, who are young, in their tender years, who could make something of themselves—if they just had a small $500 or $1,000 scholarship—why was the council given it?

Senator **Fannin**. How does that enter into politics?

Mrs. **Leach**. This is politics. Our tribal council is composed of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. We have fought and fought it for years. The same people are elected year after year after year.

I might cite an incident to you: There are people in the audience who are aware that this is true. One of the tribal councilmen was given a loan prior to election. He rounded up all the Indian boys that loved to drink on the reservation and took them to the local bar and there they stayed all night, and the next morning they went in for election and voted for him. Incidents like this, this man is on the educational committee. A man like this, if the Bureau of Indian Affairs is aware of this they are the ones who run this election, they know these things go on—and this is not only in our reservation, there are Indians from all over that can cite these instances to you.

The child that does go on relocation is not given a choice after he gets here. He perhaps wants to be an accountant. We have one boy who we're working with now who wanted to be an accountant. He was brought here and he was told, "the school already started, you can't go, you have to take welding or carpentry or electronics, or something else." This boy had planned his education all through high school to be an accountant and now he is asked to take vocational training. These are some of the unfair instances that are practiced.

Senator **Fannin**. What agency would you recommend to take over this program.

Mrs. **Leach**. Health, Education, and Welfare is established for education. I used to be in Indian health under the old regime and under Public Health, and I think we made great progress as far as counseling and clinical help situations are concerned. I know it was much improved over the old system. I don't know why education would not be improved under the new system.

Senator **Fannin**. When we requested the information regarding the changeover, we heard that the Indian people opposed this change.

Mrs. **Leach**. Did you go to the people like this or did you go to the tribal councils?

Senator **Fannin**. The tribal councils, yes. But that is why we are here today, to hear from people like this. And we will be listening to citizens all over the country.

Mrs. **Leach**. I was asked not to bring this point up, Mr. Senator, but I'm going to, anyway.

Senator **Fannin**. Fine. Go ahead.

Mrs. **Leach**. A great deal of discussion went on about our Indian boys being drafted more so than the white boys in the large reservation areas. They feel they're being treated very unfairly, because they do not have the opportunity to go to colleges and universities, where they would be exempt. The only thing open to thim is vocational training.

We spoke with 23 young men and women in the last 2 days concerning this and they are all very concerned about it. They feel that this is another discrimination against them, and that perhaps under your educational planning for them they, too, can get out of the draft.

Senator **Fannin**. I would like to ask this question: What kind of housing is available to the relocated Indian here in this area?

Mrs. **Leach**. Well, Mr. Senator, one incident we have, there are four boys living in a two-room apartment, each paying $70 to $90 apiece on an apartment that would rent to the average individual for not over $70 a month. Incidents like this continue.

We visit these places, we are aware of them. We did a study not too long ago in a place called the Hawthorne House in Oakland, Calif. There we went in and interviewed some of the people who stayed there, and they informed us how much they had to pay, and they were in crowded conditions and the sanitation was poor.

In the clinic situations where we work, these children are brought in with malnutrition, staph infections from living in close quarters where they can't practice proper health sanitation. These things all go on continually.

The public health nurses in the schools are wonderful women. I don't say this because I am a nurse, I say this because they themselves realize the differences of the Indian children and they send them to you to see if we can do anything about it.

We have a well-baby clinic that we started 3 years ago that is free to Indian children, because the health needs were so great that our clubs got together, and we financed this clinic ourselves, and we found a wonderful doctor by the name of Dr. David Kemper who has assisted us free of charge. We have taken care of 2,700 Indian children free of charge. These are children that should have been taken care of under the sponsorship of the Indian Affairs, and they allow $4 an office call, and what doctor is going to take them?

Senator **Fannin**. Mrs. Rowlinson, is this true in the Los Angeles area as well?

Mrs. **Rowlinson**. Yes, we have many tragic situations that come into the Indian centers in Los Angeles. Many Indians have been sleeping in their cars because of not having a place to stay. I checked on several families myself, where I found deplorable living conditions. One family of six children, two adults living in one room with the seventh child on the way. This is just one of the several conditions. These are on the record in the Indian Center in Los Angeles, if anyone cares to check on them, and these are relocated Indians, incidentally.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. You talked about the draft. Is there much feeling among the Indians that they are being drafted at a higher rate?

Mrs. **Leach**. Oh, it is well known. In fact, we were just discussing in one draft period, whatever this is, 4 or 5 months' period, 57 Indians were drafted from a reservation, I was informed, to three white people in the outlying district, so you see.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Is it widely discussed among Indian families?

Mrs. **Leach**. Yes, it is widely discussed. We had a 3-hour discussion on it the day before yesterday with a group of young people. We are very concerned.

For instance, my family alone, my oldest boy has served his time, I have two boys in the Army, one is leaving for Vietnam, the other one has just returned, the other one is going the 8th. I have five sons. I think it is very unfair myself that I should give my five sons.

I am only speaking for myself but other mothers have discussed this with me, too, where they have four or five boys that are drafted and when they come back they have lost all connections with schooling, they just become dropouts, that is all.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. You don't have the figures of how many Indians are serving in Vietnam?

Mrs. **Leach**. No; we don't. We attempted to get this information but so far we have not been able to.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Do you have that information?

From the Floor. 16,500 in there about a year ago. These are Indians from all the tribes. These are from my own files.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. I will try to get those figures from the Defense Department, anyway, and make them part of the record at this point.

(The information requested had not been received when this hearing record went to press.)

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. We will next hear from Mr. Aguilar. Will you identify yourself, please.

STATEMENT OF FRANCIS J. AGUILAR, CHAIRMAN, BOARD OF DIRECTORS, AMERICAN INDIAN CENTER, LOS ANGELES, CALIF.; ACCOMPANIED BY EARL LIVERMORE, MEMBER, CALIFORNIA STATE SENATE

Mr. **Aguilar**. I am from Los Angeles, my name is Francis Aguilar. I am president of the American Indian Center, headquarters located here at this center.

I am a Piute, and I am from the State of Nevada.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. And who is the gentleman with you?

Mr. **Livermore**. My name is Earl Livermore and I am a member of the Senate.

Mr. **Aguilar**. Senators and guests: It has been covered by all the people ahead of me, but it seems to me that we're all talking on the same subject, so my subject will be short and I will read my testimony.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. That will be fine.

Mr. **Aguilar**. Many of the problems stem from lack of education from Government Indian schools, both on reservation Government schools, and off reservation.

According to the statistics, the student receives substandard education, because the student is subjected to ½-day vocational and ½-day academic classes, the student graduates with a 10th-grade-level education. Generally when the student reaches the city, he has to make up credits, which may take up to 18 months to complete. In order to enter college, or higher level training, even though there has been some improvements, not all are qualified for jobs.

There have been instances when people were relocated into this area by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and placed on jobs. But these people were terminated by their employers because of lack of education and proper training. Not having had the proper education and training, they were unable to find another job.

This center has, on file, many such cases. Unfortunately, out of approximately 20 percent of job placements, only 9 percent have proved to be successful. Sixty percent of these people have, on the average, a 9–12th grade education.

Because of the many different tribes and their different cultures, there are certain integration problems. These problems are being solved through the formation of Indian organizations and programs which have proved to be, in the past, beneficial social activities for the Indian community.

But this does not solve our education problem!

Many of our children, going to public schools, drop out because of the lack of help at home. This is due to the fact that their parents did not have the proper education. There is also lack of funds in the home for these children to join in school activities.

Therefore, we feel that this lack of education is the core of our problem.

That concludes my short presentation.

Senator **KENNEDY** of New York. Thank you very much.

Senator **FANNIN**. Mr. Aguilar, you say the student graduates with a 10th-grade-level education. After he had 8 years of elementary and 4 years of high school he still has a 10th grade level of education when he comes from the Bureau of Indian Affairs schools?

Mr. **AGUILAR**. Yes; I say this for the reason that I went to a Government school all my life, from the first to the 12th. I did not find this out until I went into the service, took an aptitude test, and I went into the Navy and so I ended up in the deck force, because I did not have enough education to go into radio or electronics or this type of thing. That is where I found out that I had only a 10th-grade education, plus being a second-class education, it is not as high as it should be.

The next time I found out again I tried to apply for a job when I relocated to the city here on my own, to get a job, a simple busdriver job for the Greyhound Bus. This is simple, I think, supposed to be simple. I took a test there and I didn't pass. My grade was only 68 and 70 was the lowest they would accept, so there again I found out I did not get the education in the Government schools I wish I could have gotten.

Senator **FANNIN**. Do you feel that adult education would assist greatly as far as the youngsters are concerned? If the parents have a better understanding of the need for an educational program for the youngsters, would that not be of great assistance in emphasizing the need for adult education as well as the improvement in the education of the youth?

Mr. AGUILAR. Yes; I think the Bureau, the public schools, and the parents would have to assist. What makes it hard is if the kids are going to public schools and the parents are not educated. Let me use an example: The kid comes back, say they are in the 10th grade, you were only educated to the eighth grade, most parents right now, Caucasians, are educated where they can help their children, say they went through high school—our kid comes back, he is in the 12th grade, how are you going to help him if he has got some homework or homework problems?

Senator FANNIN. Some adult education is vitally important?

Mr. AGUILAR. I would say so. Kids who are relocated now, if they had a chance would like to go on to higher education or get more education.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. It is as difficult as the lady, who talked about the adjustment problems in a city, testified earlier. Would you comment a little about whether the educational system, the education that you receive on a reservation, prepares you at all for life if you leave the reservation and come to the city, come to San Francisco or Los Angeles or one of the large cities in California? Do you think that the educational system that is present at the moment prepares you or a young Indian boy or a young Indian girl to live a life off the reservation and come to a major urban center, such as this?

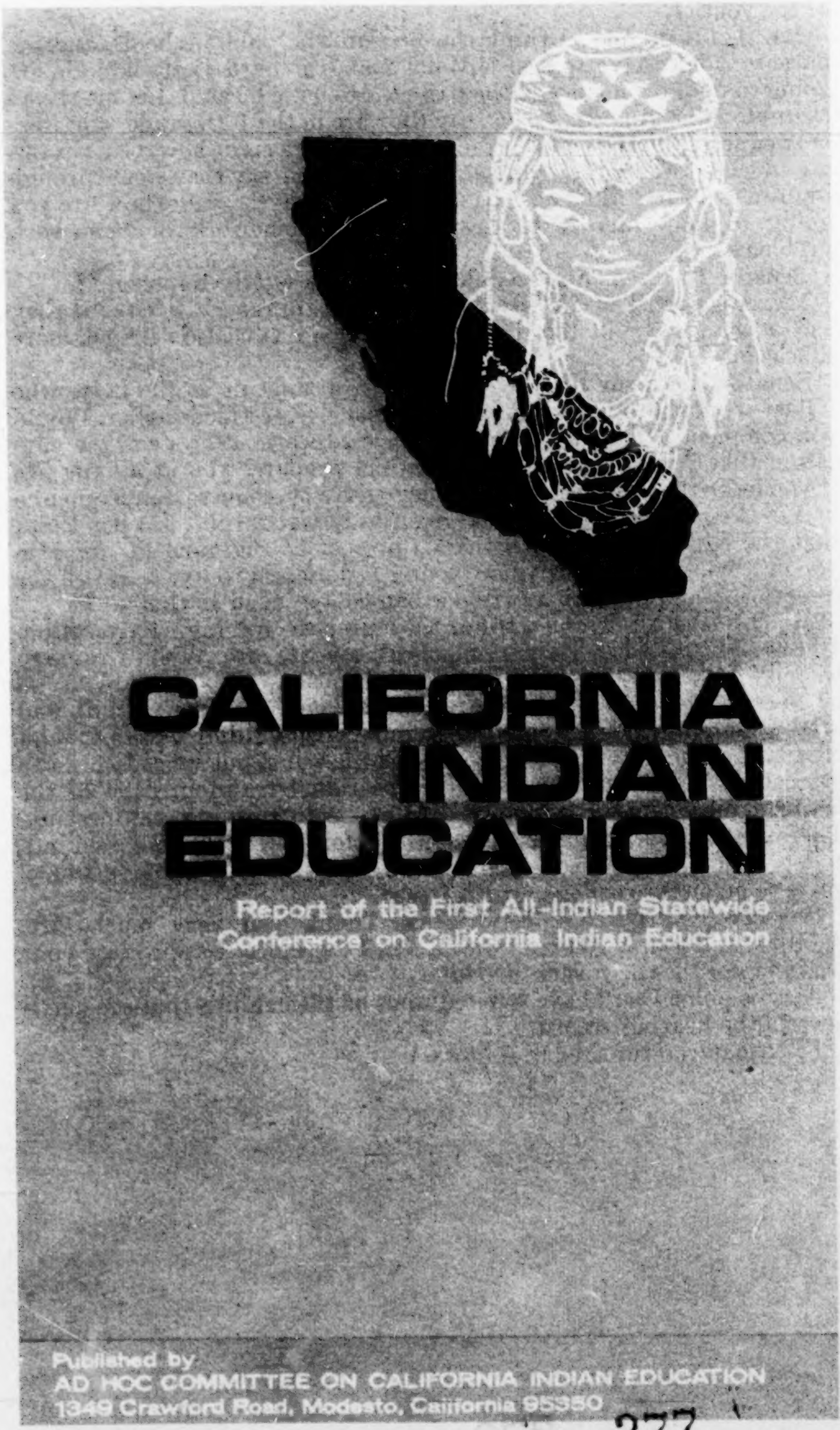
Mr. LIVERMORE. I don't think they prepare for higher education. I have been raised in Indian schools all my life also. When I came to the city I wanted to receive a higher education but was unable to go on to college. I went into the service and then I used my GI bill, and after I got out, when I wanted to go into college, I didn't have enough credits. I definitely wanted to go into engineering, but we did not have geometry, physics, or chemistry in vocational training, none of the major subjects that I would need to go on in training, engineering. Therefore it took me almost 18 months before I was able to go on into college, and I had already used 2 years of my GI bill, which left me 2 years to go on into college, which I used.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Thank you very much, Mr. Aguilar, and thank you very much, Mr. Livermore. I appreciate your testimony. It has been very helpful.

At this point I will have printed some of the exhibits that are pertinent to the hearing record.

(The material referred to follows:)

EXHIBIT 1



CALIFORNIA INDIAN EDUCATION

Report of the First All-Indian Statewide Conference on California Indian Education

Published by
AD HOC COMMITTEE ON CALIFORNIA INDIAN EDUCATION
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THANKS

The Ad Hoc Committee wishes to thank all those agencies which helped to make the North Fork Conference a success, including especially,

The Rosenberg Foundation

The North Fork Union Elementary
School District

The Far West Laboratory for
Educational Research and Development

The Committee also wishes to thank all of those Indian and non-Indian individuals who worked so hard to contribute, through the conference, to the improvement of California Indian Education.

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Editor's Preface

The editor wishes to state that his task has been primarily that of a compiler. All of the material in the body of this report, aside from the introduction, and much of the material in the appendices, is the contribution of individual Indians or of Indian people working together as a committee. Minor textual changes made by the editor have been thoroughly examined by the Ad Hoc Committee so as to guarantee that the body of this report accurately states the opinions of the California Indian people who participated in the statewide conference.

The editor wishes to thank Mr. Larry Martin of Fresno City College for his work in recording the recommendations of the conference study groups and the Indian scholarship students at Fresno City College who typed the above.

Jack D. Forbes
Far West Laboratory for
Educational Research and Development

Introduction: the Significance of the Report

The native people of California are the victims of an especially harsh series of armed conquests which reduced their numbers from perhaps 200,000 in 1769 to 100,000 in 1848 and from the latter to less than 20,000 by 1880. Such a conquest, where within the span of one generation a population is reduced by 80%, produces traumatic socio-psychological results, and this is especially true when the survivors are forced for several additional generations to live as members of a legally inferior class systematically deprived of wealth and afforded little protection from almost every conceivable form of exploitation and denigration.

That California Indian people have endured and have increased in numbers once again (numbering between 30,000 and 50,000 today) is testimony enough to their courage and stamina. That they have also preserved a substantial, albeit variable, amount of their pre-invasion cultural legacy in the face of systematic efforts to destroy that heritage is testimony to the value of what they have to share with their fellow Californians of today.

Conquered peoples, and especially those who have experienced a brutal conquest, tend to isolate themselves from their conquerors, spatially where possible, and-inwardly (psychologically) almost universally. They tend to develop styles of behavior which cause them to often be categorized as apathetic, withdrawn, irresponsible, shy, lazy and helpless in terms of managing their own affairs. Alcoholism and excessive personalistic factionalism seem to typify such defeated, powerless populations, and individuals exhibit signs of possessing serious inferiority complexes and a weak or negative sense of personal identity. This style of behavior tends not to be greatly ameliorated by paternalistic-elitist reform or welfare programs which may subsequently be administered by the dominant population, perhaps because such programs serve simply to reinforce a sense of inferiority and incapacity.

It may well be that a conquered population can be truly liberated from the state of being conquered and powerless only through a process of self-liberation wherein the people in question acquire some significant measure of control over their own destiny. As a part of this process, a conquered people must acquire some control over the various mechanisms which serve to develop or to destroy that sense of personal inner security and pride which is essential for successful participation in socio-political affairs. All forms of education, including that which derives from the home, the community and mass media are crucial in this connection.

This report, and the various conferences and meetings leading up to it, represents a significant step in the California Indian people's struggle for psychological liberation. It represents an effort to come to grips with those educational forces which, too often in the past, have either been hostile, devastatingly paternalistic, or indifferent to the Indian individual. The California Indian people are attempting, through this effort, to gain some measure of influence over their own destiny and of the destiny of their children. By so doing, they are liberating themselves from the negative self-images forced upon them by the conquest, are helping to insure that their children will not be victims of such negative self-images, and, in addition, that all California education will be improved through the enrichment represented by the native legacy of this state.

The recommendations made by the Indian participants at the North Fork conference are very good ones, in my opinion. They are in essential agreement with developing social science theory as it relates to education in a multi-cultural society and are also in agreement, in principle, with the educational changes sought by many Mexican-Americans, Afro-Americans, and other culturally different minority populations within the United States.

The acceptance of these recommendations by public agencies will, I believe, contribute to an enriched educational experience for all Californians, of whatever ethnic background.

Jack D. Forbes

I. How the Conference Came About

According to the U. S. census figures, California Indians have achieved much less in formal education than their white counterparts, (8.9 median school years). The State Advisory Commission on Indian Affairs, in its report to the Governor and Legislature, indicated that Indian children from high schools with a high percentage of Indian students, upon reaching the age at which attendance is no longer a legal requirement, have a drop-out rate as high as seventy-five percent. A very small percentage finish high school and very few attend college. In as much as lack of formal education is generally related to low income and poor living conditions, among other things, there is a great need to identify the problems which cause Indian students to drop out so that some positive action can be taken.

A conference on the Education of Teachers of California Indians was held at Stanislaus State College on March 19-20-21, 1967. The conference participants included administrators and teachers from representative schools in California with a high proportion of Indian students, anthropologists and social scientists from various colleges, and Indians from representative areas throughout California. Several good recommendations for ways to improve the education of California Indians evolved from this conference.

Even though the conference report was to be submitted to the Chairman of the State Advisory Commission on Indian Affairs, the Indians in attendance at the conference felt that there was no assurance that the State Legislature would do anything about it. Therefore, they met on March 20 and 21 to discuss ways and means of following up on the conference recommendations. Out of these meetings came the unanimous agreement that a committee on Indian education was sorely needed at this time. To this end the Indians in attendance formed an Ad Hoc Committee whose purposes are: to recommend to the State Legislature that funds be provided to implement the suggestions of the conference; to work toward establishing future conferences involving more Indian people; to study ways and means of financing educational programs for Indian children; and to investigate resource material for teachers of Indian children and other teachers.

The Ad Hoc Committee's first order of business was to go over the semi-final draft of the conference report when it was ready, to make sure it really expressed the Indian conference members' true views. For this purpose, as many of the committee as were able met in Modesto on April 22, 1967. The final report of the conference, with the committee's suggested corrections, was submitted to the State Legislature, along with the committee's recommendation that funds be appropriated to implement the recommendations presented in the report (something which the Legislature has not yet seen fit to do).

The committee decided that, before planning a statewide conference, more Indians should be made aware of the activities and purposes of the

Ad Hoc Committee; therefore, each member of the committee was charged with various responsibilities prior to a July 15th planning meeting. One of the responsibilities included was for each member to hold several small meetings with Indians in neighboring areas in order to interest more Indians in becoming involved in improving the education of California Indian children. Such meetings were subsequently held in Bishop, Hemet, Covelo, Ukiah, Crescent City, and elsewhere.

Our July 15 meeting at Modesto Junior College had a good representation from most of California. The northeastern part of California was the only area not represented, and southern California had only two representatives. This was understandable, since the Bureau of Indian Affairs held meetings on this same date in these areas, to explain the so-called "Omnibus Bill," the Indian Redevelopment Act, (H. R. 10560 and S. 1816), which is of vital concern to the Indians.

The people in attendance at this meeting voted to have an all-Indian statewide conference on Indian education in the Fresno area sometime in October. Most of those attending volunteered to serve on the Conference Planning Committee.

During August, September and October the Conference Planning Commitee and the Local Arrangements Committee held several meetings at Tuolumne and North Fork. Thanks to offers of cooperation from the North Fork Union Elementary School District Superintendent, Grant Sturm, the Sierra Indian Center and the Sierra-Mono Indian Museum group, the committee decided to hold the statewide conference at North Fork in a delightful foothill setting.

The purposes of the conference were:

1. To interest a total representative cross-section of the California Indian adult population in the education of our children.
2. To involve our people in planning the improvement of the education of their children.
3. To unify our people and use our collective strength toward a common goal: improved education for our children.
4. To identify clearly the problems which prevent the majority of Indian children from achieving the same level of education as the white children.
5. To investigate ways and means of solving these problems.
6. To decide on the next course of action.
7. To record the conference findings in a professionally prepared report which will truly reflect the all-Indian approach to these problems.

Widely circulated among native California Indian people were the following possible topics for discussion, so that they could be talking about them in their own local areas:

Why Indian children drop out of school before finishing high school?
What problems do Indian children have in the elementary school?
What problems do Indian children have in the high school?
How can we get disinterested school administrators to get involved in improving the education of Indian children?
How can we get our own Indian people involved in the improvement of the education of their children?
What can we do to get teachers more interested in helping Indian children?
What can we do to help teachers in the teaching of Indian children?
How can we get Indians interested in helping teachers who are interested in teaching Indian culture?
How can we get Indians to invite teachers and administrators into their homes?
How can we get Indians to cooperate with educators who are interested in writing up Indian history, cultural practices, languages, etc.?
What can we do to improve the image of the Indians?
How can the reestablishment of Indian ceremonies, games, dance, etc., contribute toward the improvement of the Indian's image and his education?
How do Indian arts and crafts contribute to the improvement of the Indian's image and his education?
What can Indians do to help in gathering and disseminating resource material on Indians for the teachers?
What can Indians do to help make the teachers feel at ease with Indians and Indian children?
What can Indians do to help school districts secure finances for underprivileged children?
How can Indians interest colleges in getting graduate students to do research in Indian history, lore, languages, etc.?
How can Indians interest a college or university into becoming a center for Indian education?
How can Indians influence agencies, school boards, etc., to work toward the improvement of education?
Is there a need for a strong Indian organization in California to work in the improvement of education?

Members of the Conference Planning Committee and Dr. Jack D. Forbes met with Mrs. Jackson Chance of the Rosenberg Foundation in San Francisco. A formal proposal was submitted requesting financial support for the conference in order to be able to provide free meals and lodging and transportation reimbursement for the California Indians coming to North Fork and in order to finance the printing of a report of the conference findings. Mrs. Chance was very interested in the proposal and late in September the Rosenberg Foundation's governing board approved the request for $5,050. The Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development agreed to administer the grant for the Ad Hoc Committee in addition to the furnishing of some of Dr. Forbes' time.

The next step was to make the California Indian people fully aware of the plans for the conference, a process well underway thanks to local meetings and the "Indian grapevine." News releases were sent to newspapers, Indian publications and Indian organizations and letters were dispatched to several hundred individuals whose interest in Indian education was known. Letters were also dispatched to tribal chairmen, whose tribes were not already represented on the ad hoc committee.

The following is a copy of the general announcement sent to more than 400 Indian people:

Dear Friends:

The Indian people of California will be writing a new page in history--in more ways than one, perhaps--when we gather for the All-Indian Conference on Indian Education at North Fork, October 20-22. This event will mark the first time such a large group of us, through our own initiative, have met together with the determination to guarantee the future success of our people through the improvement of education for our children. With the sharing of our ideas and experiences, we expect to evolve ways for our children to achieve at least as much formal education as their white counterparts. Most of us are aware of the fact that the economic condition of the people of America is closely correlated with their level of educational achievement; therefore, it seems that one of the best ways to improve the economic position of the Indian in America is to improve his education. With this in mind, each of us should make every effort to attend this important event.

Most of us will be "camping out" free (at the North Fork Campground), just as our forefathers did when they gathered for special "conferences" in the years gone by, so if this is your preference also, bring your bedding and some shelter, if you want it. We also have two large buildings reserved as "his" and "hers" domitories, for those who would rather sleep indoors (with your own bedding of course). In addition to this, several teachers and local townspeople have offered to share their homes with the Indian visitors.

Noon and evening meals will be provided free of charge. Breakfast will cost one dollar. Money will be available to pay for your gasoline. Early returns from participants throughout the state indicate that there will be at least 150 attending the Conference, but there is still room for more, so if you know of anyone else who might be interested in participating, please encourage him or her to attend.

Registration will be at the lower campus of North Fork Elementary School. A Host Committee will be there to welcome you and to assign your camp or sleeping places.

Enclosed is a copy of the tentative program. We are looking forward to meeting and working with you.

That, in brief, is the story of the background of the first all-Indian statewide conference on education. Reports of the early meetings are presented in the appendix for those interested in details and in the names of the many individuals sharing in the work of planning the conference.*

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*The preceding material is taken from the proposal presented to the Rosenberg Foundation and other documents prepared by the Ad Hoc Committee.

II. An Overview of the Conference

The All Indian Conference on Indian Education, held on the lovely campus of the North Fork Elementary School beautifully located in the Sierra foothills of North Fork, California, proved to be both challenging and inspirational to the participants who gathered there from as far as Pala in southern California and Smith River in the north. Of the 180 Indian people who attended the various parts of the Conference, approximately 150 actually participated in the conference small-group meetings.

The Conference got off to a rousing start with a delicious Mexican style dinner, followed by a very informative and inspirational speech presented by Dr. Jack D. Forbes of the Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development in Berkeley. In his speech Dr. Forbes pointed out, among other things, the reasons why Indians are faced with so many problems, the need to recognize and understand these problems, how to cope with them, and why it is important to tackle these problems at this particular time. His talk did much to set the tempo for the meetings which followed during the next two days.

The Saturday morning session began with the chairman setting the stage, (with purposes, format, conference questions under consideration, etc.) for the sessions which followed. Robert Lavato of Pala spoke on the educational problems faced by Indians in his area and programs that are being undertaken to help alleviate some of these problems. Henry Jones of Clovis told of the programs carried on in Fresno County through the efforts of the Sierra Indian Center.

Following the presentations, the assembly was divided into eight seminar groups whose purposes were to answer the question, "What problems do you feel prevent the majority of Indian children from achieving the same level of education as the white children?" Discussion continued until lunch time.

The afternoon session began with a panel of Indian speakers. Vivien Hailstone of Hoopa told of the work being done in her area to preserve the Indian culture, including, among other things, several classes in basketweaving and pottery making. Adam Nordwall of San Leandro discussed "Project Eagle," a vocational education proposal by "New Futures, Inc.," a program designed to train Indian people for various occupations. He asked the Indians in attendance to consider the program and to elect two members from the group to serve on the board of directors for the project. (The delegates later voted not to act on this matter at this time, since they felt that they did not know enough about the project to make a fair evaluation at the conference). June Garcia of Dunlap discussed the various programs, including "Head Start" and other self-help programs with which she is involved. Frances Sherman of North Fork told of the various programs and the successes they are having with them in her area. Larry Martin of Fresno told of the program that Fresno City College has had for Indians in Fresno and Madera Counties to encourage them to go to college. Two of his students told of their experiences and successes at

Fresno City College.

The rest of the afternoon was devoted, through the individual seminar groups, to answering the next two conference questions: "What recommendations do you have that might correct these problems?" and "What would be your suggestions toward implementing the above recommendations?"

Following the afternoon meeting and evening meal, Mrs. Thelma McVay and the Ed Lopez family of Smith River, dressed in the beautifully ornate handmade costumes of their tribe, entertained the group with native songs and dances of their area.

The evening program, which was presented by Mrs. Rosalie Bethel of the Sierra-Mono Indian Museum, included demonstrations of the uses of various handcrafted items, native songs and dances and story-telling. Clifford Bethel was master of ceremonies for the show, whose performers provided a delightful evening of entertainment as well as a fascinating insight into their rich culture.

Sunday morning's general meeting was devoted to reports, by the seminar chairmen, of their group's answers to the conference questions. It was amazing to hear from eight different seminar groups, practically identical findings, indicating quite clearly the similarity of the many problems faced by Indian children in trying to get an education equal to that of their white counterparts.

Delegates felt that a large part of school achievement is based on the "self-image" of a child and that this can be damaged or destroyed by classmates and teachers who are ignorant or scornful of Indian cultural values and contributions which Indians have made to the enrichment of western civilization.

Among agreed upon factors are these: Teachers do not understand the adjustment problems of Indian children to classroom situations. There is little communication between the teacher and the parents: The parents rarely visit the school except when they come to the teacher or administrator when upset about some serious problem. In turn, the teacher rarely familiarizes himself with the actual home situation of the Indian pupil, resulting in severe misunderstandings, including schoolwork assignments which the pupil finds impossible to carry out in his normal home environment, or which have little practical relationship to his home life. The majority of textbooks contain almost nothing about the character of Indian cultures prior to the coming of the white man. Rural schools have little available in audio-visual and library materials to make Indian history and his culture vivid and intriguing to all students. It is desirable for the entire educational structure to be aware that, though basic differences exist between Indian and non-Indian cultures, these are not necessarily bad, but can be used to make human interaction more meaningful and successful for all children. Indian parents need to become more vigorously involved with the schools and school problems, as well as with the community at large. They need to identify and preserve and disseminate information about their cultural heritage. Many parents need to improve their behavioral patterns if they expect others to have a good image of them. This is essential for their children's self-respect, especially. Parents should cooperate with teachers and other interested people or organizations interested in learning about Indians.

Following the reports, members attended the last seminar group meetings to answer their last question: "How can you be assured that the agencies responsible for carrying out these recommendations will not take them lightly?" These meetings lasted until lunch time.

The final session began at 1:30 p.m. Each seminar chairman reported the results of the group discussion on the last question, each agreeing that some type of statewide organization on education was needed, and that we should continue the good work started by the Ad Hoc Committee.

It was agreed that, since the State of California has largely failed, to date, to carry out earlier recommendations for the improvement of Indian education in the state, we are in favor of the reinstatement of the Johnson-O'Malley Act funds as soon as possible in order to get a corrective program started.

The findings of this conference generally concurred with those outlined in the report on the Conference on the Education of Teachers of California Indians, held at Stanislaus State College, March 19-21, 1967.

A motion was made to continue the Ad Hoc Committee on Indian Education until such time that the committee is able to formulate plans for a more permanent statewide organization. The motion passed unanimously. David Risling, Jr., was retained, by unanimous vote as chairman of the committee.

Elected to a steering committee to work with the chairman in carrying out the business at hand until a permanent statewide organization is formed were: Marie Potts, Sacramento; Margaret Mathews, Crescent City; Clifford Bethel, North Fork; Robert Lavato, Pala; Harvey Ince, Fresno; Madeline Ball, Banning; Alfred Elgin, Jr., San Lorenzo; Mariano Tortez, San Jacinto.

It was the general consensus of the assembly that a follow-up conference be held in the spring somewhere in central California for the purpose of continuing the dialogue begun at this conference and to involve other interested persons, agencies, etc., who are concerned with the welfare of Indian people. Inter-Tribal Friendship House in Oakland was tentatively selected as the place to hold the conference. The first or second weekend in May was selected as the best time for the conference. Alfred Elgin, Jr., and Adam Nordwall were selected as co-chairmen of the host committee.

The steering committee was directed to meet immediately following the general assembly to conduct necessary business in order to carry out the wishes of the assembly.

The benediction in her native language was given by Maude Sherman. The meeting was adjourned at 3 p.m.

David Risling, Jr.

III. The Conference Findings: Recommendations

Preliminary Statement

The Indian participants at this first statewide conference divided into eight study groups for the purpose of assessing problems in Indian education and making recommendations. Since the reason for examining problem-areas was to arrive at solutions, emphasis here will be placed upon the resultant recommendations. Individuals wishing more information on the Indians' view of problem areas may wish to examine Section IV of this report, which presents the verbatim reports stemming from the individual study groups.

A. Recommendations to the Parents of Indian Children

The conference participants feel very strongly that the role of the Indian parent is of crucial significance. Parents must assume greater responsibility for the educational and emotional development of their children and not expect the school to succeed where parents fail. More specifically,

1. parents should assume the responsibility of counseling and guiding their children at home;
2. parents should provide training in Indian language, history and culture at home, to supplement community and school efforts;
3. parents should participate actively in organizations such as Parent-Teachers Association and should visit the school frequently (not just when their child has a problem);
4. parents should help the Indian community develop educational and recreational programs for youth;
5. parents should attend classes in order to prepare themselves for helping their children, if the parents lack suitable background;
6. parents should be willing to serve as teachers in Headstart programs and as teacher aides and resource persons in regular classrooms, and;
7. parents should work to improve their self-image by setting better examples for their children within home and community.

B. Recommendations to the Indian Community

The local Indian community must better organize itself so as to provide services to youth not now available and so as to be in a position to help the schools improve their educational programs. More specifically,

1. Indian-centered clubs should be encouraged, along with museums, arts and crafts workshops, recreation programs, and Headstart classes where these do not now exist:

2. Indian self-help (benevolent) societies might be organized to provide financial assistance to pupils and families in times of emergency;

3. Indian people should have greater contact with teachers, counselors, administrators and school board members by means of formal and informal meetings arranged by the Indian community:

4. To achieve the latter a local education organization may be necessary; and

5. The Indian community should develop resource people for use in the school and should put on lectures about Indian subjects for the benefit of Indians and non-Indians.

C. Recommendations to School Administrators and Board Members

The school should serve all people in the total community. Indian parents and organizations must be involved in the life of the school and in making decisions about the school's program. Communication between the school and Indian parents must be improved. The local Indian heritage must be recognized as a key part of the school's curriculum, reflecting as it does the heritage of the local region for all pupils. More specifically,

1. Indian parents should be encouraged to be involved in the school as school board members, resource people, teacher aides, volunteer counselors, and PTA members.

2. School personnel must establish friendly contacts with Indian people which means that they must overcome prejudice and participate, when appropriate, in Indian-organized activities and get to know parents;

3. Better lines of communication should be established between the school and Indian parents, perhaps by means of frequent contacts as recommended above;

4. The school must show respect for the Indian language and heritage but at the same time must allow the Indian people to determine for themselves what "Indian-ness" means today. That is, the school must rely heavily upon Indian resource people in the development of curriculum dealing with the Indian heritage, especially as it relates to the present day; and

5. School districts with Indian pupils should make every effort to secure certificated staff members of Indian background, in addition to utilizing local Indian adults and older youth as aides, tutors, etc.

D. Recommendations to Colleges and Universities

The conference participants strongly recommend that California's colleges and universities strengthen their programs in California Indian history and culture, develop special programs for teachers of California

Indian pupils, establish more scholarships for Indian students, and take steps to insure that full information on college requirements and scholarships are made available to Indian high school students. More specifically,

1. Courses should be available where feasible on California Indian languages, taught for the benefit of average students and not solely for students of linguistics;

2. Additional courses on California Indian history and culture should be available, especially for prospective and experienced teachers, and existing courses dealing with California history should be altered or lengthened so as to allow for full treatment of all minority groups' contributions;

3. One or more California state college or university campuses should be strongly encouraged to develop a center for Indian studies in order to provide special training for teachers, Indian leaders, social workers, et cetera, for example to carry out research projects relating to California Indians, and in order to help develop Indian-related materials for use in the schools. Such a center should work closely with an Indian advisory panel and with Indian organizations in order to insure that the scholars involved do not simply exploit Indian culture, archaeological sites, et cetera, for their own purposes in a manner offensive to the Indian people;

4. Special interdisciplinary training programs should be developed for prospective and experienced teachers emphasizing anthropology, sociology, social psychology and minority group history and culture. These programs must include procedures whereby the student teachers become familiar with the specific language, history and contemporary culture of the people they will be working with, perhaps by means of instruction "in the field," after employment is secured but prior to beginning actual teaching;

5. Scholarships or other aid should be provided to encourage graduate work in Indian education;

6. Special counseling and tutoring arrangements should be developed to help Indian students overcome high school deficiencies;

7. More dormitories should be provided at economical rates for rural students at junior and state colleges;

8. Work-study opportunities should be provided for Indian students, and;

9. Special procedures should be developed for insuring that minority high school students are fully aware of college requirements and scholarship aid programs.

E. Recommendations to Teachers and Prospective Teachers

The conference participants recommend strongly that teachers receive special preservice and inservice training designed to thoroughly familiarize themselves with the special background of the Indian child and with the history and values of the local Indian community, that teachers working with Indian pupils need to be especially empathetic and prejudice-free individuals, that teachers need to interact in a friendly manner with Indian parents more frequently, and that teachers should be receptive to the use of Indian adults as resource people and aides in their classrooms. More specifically,

1. Teachers need to understand thoroughly the background of the Indian child with whom they are working which requires an understanding of the local Indian heritage and the social structure of the region in addition to a general knowledge of Indian history and culture;
2. Teachers should respect the heritage and values of the local Indian community because such respect is closely related to the development of a positive self-image on the part of Indian youth;
3. Teachers should become familiar with at least commonly used words and phrases from the local Indian language as one means for showing respect for the native culture and also in order to share the linguistic heritage of the region with all pupils;
4. Teachers need to be aware of their own middle-class assumptions and prejudices, and of their own personality traits and manners, so as to be able to modify those aspects of their behavior which inhibit easy interaction with Indian pupils and parents;
5. Teachers should be trained to utilize Indian aides and resource people in the classroom and should be helped to overcome any fear of having non-teacher adults in the classroom.

F. Recommendations to Counselors and Administrators

The conference participants feel that counselors and administrators need to develop the same understanding of the Indian heritage and community as do teachers, and that, in addition, counselors must strive to develop an empathetic behavior as regards the shy or alienated Indian child. Also,

1. Counselors must not channel an Indian child into a largely athletic or non-college program until the child has clearly demonstrated that he wishes to be a "vocational" major. Even then, the vocational programs available at junior colleges

should be kept open as options for future education;

2. Schools should be sure that Indian pupils are made aware of scholarship opportunities and college requirements at an early age;

3. Work-study programs should be available as an alternative to dropping out of school completely and every effort should be made to keep "drop-outs" in school at least part-time;

4. An Indian person, preferably an older person familiar with the language and culture of his own people, should be used as a liaison person between school counselors and parents; and

5. An "opportunities" counselor, preferably an Indian, should be available to work with both parents and youth.

G. Recommendations on the Indian Heritage

The conference participants believe very strongly that the Indian heritage should be an integral part of the programs of the school and the Indian community, that the use of the Indian heritage in the school is especially important for helping Indian pupils develop a sense of identity and personal worth (but that it is also important as a part of the common heritage of all pupils), and that local Indian people must be actively involved in any programs developed by a school that touch upon the Indian heritage. More specifically,

1. The Indian people must unify and emphasize their Indian culture, and learn how to retain it and teach it to the younger generation;

2. Indian people should be brought into the school to help professional staff develop materials for the curriculum and to teach arts and crafts, dancing, singing, et cetera;

3. The school and Indian adults and children together should develop projects to record local Indian history, protect historical and cemetery sites, construct exhibits, preserve Indian place-names, and put on pageants; and

4. Non-Indians must recognize that the Indian heritage is a living, evolving legacy which has not been static in the past and is not static today and that the "core" of being Indian is being a member of an Indian community and not a particular style of dress or ornamentation. Teachers must avoid the idea that a "real" Indian needs to dress and act as Indian people did a century ago.

H. Recommendations on Textbooks and Mass Media

Indian people are not pleased with most of the textbooks utilized in the schools. It is recommended that textbooks used in California be changed so as to deal accurately with the history and culture of California Indians, that new supplementary materials dealing specifically with California Indian history and culture be prepared, that all texts include pictures of children of different racial backgrounds and that the "mass media" (television, et cetera) deal accurately and adequately with minority groups. For example, in documentary materials Indian actors should be utilized for Indian roles and the use of stereotypes should be discarded.

I. Recommendations to the State of California

While many of the above recommendations should be of concern to state officials, the conference participants specifically wish to recommend the following for action at the state level:

1. That the State of California request its fair share of funds for Indian education available under the Johnson-O'Malley Act;
2. That these funds be utilized under the direction of a panel of Indians who would supervise their distribution to projects within the state;
3. That the Johnson-O'Malley funds be utilized to help implement the recommendations of this report; for example to finance meetings of Indian people and teachers to aid in the teacher training programs referred to earlier, and to pay the salary of a specialist in Indian education who would be a person intimately familiar with the culture and history of California Indian people;
4. That state financing should also be made available in support of the establishment of a center for California Indian studies;
5. That the State Advisory Commission on Indian Affairs be improved by placing Indians on the commission, that the State Advisory Committee on Indian Affairs be improved by adding enough Indians to form an Indian majority, and that the Commission and Committee study carefully and act upon the recommendations of this conference and of the Stanislaus Conference; and
6. That adult education programs be expanded especially in terms of preparing parents to help their children educationally.

J. **Recommendations to the Federal Government:**

1. That the federal government make Johnson-O'Malley funds available for California Indians to be administered by the State of California under direction of California Indians;
2. That all possible college scholarships (such as those of the Bureau of Indian Affairs) be available for California Indians;
3. That Headstart pre-school programs be expanded with more all year activities, a smaller pupil-number requirement, and more local Indian involvement;
4. That local Indian communities in California should be actively encouraged to develop educational programs financed by the Office of Economic Opportunity;
5. That federal agencies carefully consider ways in which federal funds can be utilized to encourage the adoption of recommendations made to the State of California and also consider reforms which will ensure a greater degree of Indian involvement in the management and operation of Bureau of Indian Affairs schools (such as Sherman Institute, Haskell Institute, and the Santa Fe Arts and Crafts Institute).

IV. The Reports of the Seminar Groups

A. Questions and Possible Lines of Discussion for the Seminar Groups

I. What problems do you feel prevent the majority of Indian children from achieving the same level of education as the white children?

1. Preschool
2. Primary grades
3. Junior high school
4. High school
5. Post high school
6. Etc.

II. What recommendations do you have that might correct these problems?

1. Parents
2. Teachers
3. Schools
4. Community
5. Indian culture
6. Colleges
7. State
8. Federal
9. Etc.

III. What would be your suggestions toward implementing the above recommendations?

1. Federal
2. State
3. County
4. Local
5. Colleges
6. Legislative
7. Other agencies
8. Etc.

IV. How can you be assured that the agencies responsible for carrying out these recommendations will not take them lightly?

1. Continue AD HOC Committee on Indian Education?
2. Form Statewide organization?
3. Continue dialogue with follow-up conferences where interested persons, agencies or organizations can get involved and lend support?
4. Other ideas.

B. Report of Clifford Bethel, North Fork, Leader of Seminar Group I

As to the problem of why Indian children fail to progress as quickly as their white counterparts, we discussed the Headstart Program first. We feel that it is perhaps a little too early to start the education of our children. However, comparisons of the children who were members of the Headstart Program and then went to kindergarten and those who entered first grade without this previous training, it was found that those attending Headstart were noticeably more successful in the learning progress. We agreed, therefore, that this must be a worthy program. And we wholeheartedly accept the kindergarten program. When you get these children together at a young age and let them mix and learn together, they can go more smoothly into first grade with fewer problems.

(Added at a later session: As chairman of group one I would like to clarify some of the things I said this morning. I did it because I formed conclusions too quickly. I will take all the blame as the chairman of the group. The matter I want to correct is our impression of the Headstart Program. Rehashing the matter with my group, we found that we feel that it is very beneficial, an excellent program).

Concerning the primary grades, we decided the reason for the Indian children being a little shy (you might even say "backward") is lack of communication between the kids, the parents and the teachers. The parents should be aware of the progress of his child; if he is doing well, he should be praised, if he is doing poorly, help should be obtained. The parents and teachers have to get together and talk more often, this will make the child feel that he is wanted in this school, that what he does is important and he will progress a lot more.

We didn't discuss junior high school, for no one in our group had any contact with this age group.

When we discussed high school, we came right back to that word, "communication." The high school for our area, North Fork, is far away. But we figured that if your child is doing poorly in school there is still no excuse for not communicating with the school. If there is a distance involved, you can still set up an appointment and have your rendezvous with the teacher and cover all the points that need to be discussed. If the parent and teacher show the child that they are really interested in him, you are going to get the child motivated to the point that he will want to stay in school.

One attitude that we found prevalent among drop-outs was the belief that the teacher is prejudiced. The student has a problem with one of his subjects and pretty soon he thinks the teacher doesn't like him, this grows until he stops trying and his grades drop. We know that we can't always have things the way we want them, but this is the child's one chance to get an education. There have been cases where the child feels he is being discriminated against by a particular teacher and goes to the higher administration to request a transfer to another teacher. This request is often denied. Then the student really becomes disgruntled, soon loses interest in school entirely and drops out. The parent should intervene and go to the school officials to discuss the problem, instead of just telling the child to go back to school. With a parent-teacher-administration conference, the problem might be remedied and you could prevent a child discontinuing his education.

We have this GED program where a student who has dropped out and now feels he is too old to go back to high school can study and pass a test and get a diploma equivalency.

We'll start out with the parents. We figure a lot of parents wonder why their children aren't getting their education. They think they send their children to school and it is the job of the school teacher there to school them. When the children come home, they expect them to work. We figure the parents should go to the schools, to the board of directors' meetings, to the PTA and any other function that comes up. We find out just by talking with them that when something like an "Open House" at school comes up, they all get letters for it and all say that they are going to attend. But when the evening comes, they are sitting back and a good television program comes on. They decide not to pass it up, but to go to the next meeting. If the parents would participate in school functions, their children would do better in school to show them they can do good. This would help the teacher out and they can all work together.

We felt the same way about the teachers. If the teachers don't pay enough attention to them, the students feel this attitude and don't perform as well. They feel the "teacher should learn them, before they learn the teacher."

The community should take more interest in the school. They should stress the importance of education in everything they do. Then the student would feel more a part of the community. The school should be stressed out in the field and out in everything they do. Put the student in the limelight. Stress the importance of schooling in all the community functions.

The Indian culture -- well we feel that is self-explantory. We should display this culture of ours, and let the students know that they should be proud of their nationality. With this pride, they can go to work and show the other children what they, as Indians, can do.

Scholarships for College -- A lot of Indian students don't go on to college because of finances. They have heard about these scholarships, but they don't know how to go about obtaining them. So, we felt not enough literature was being passed out to the homes in different areas to tell them where and who they can go to about these scholarships. In Group one, I told the participants that if there was anybody there who needed any information on it, they could go and contact Mr. Larry Martin.

State -- We feel the same about the state. They should put out more literature--booklets and pamphlets--about different programs and scholarships. They should also put out lists of the different colleges and what they are majoring in teaching.

Federal -- You lost us there. We figured this was the Bureau of Indian Affairs. If you send a request for funds to them, they reviewed it up there, and if they figured it was a good idea, you may get it. If the people in a local community send in a request and the BIA thinks the idea is poor, they will reject it. Yet the people in the next community may send in a very similar request for their community and the BIA may approve it. So, we came up with an idea, they should revise that whole outfit up there, and investigate it and find out just why we can't get these funds. There is money alloted up there, we always hear, "Well, we have $400,000 here, we have $8,000,000 here, but where is it?" When you go to check with the various people they haven't got any funds. So I think we ought to make a clean sweep over there and find out what is going on.

C. Report of Vivien Hailstone, Hoopa, Leader of Seminar Group II: Probable reasons why Indian children fail to achieve the same amount of education as white children:

1. Preschool: Lack of parental discipline, encouragement. Prejudice, lack of funds, lack of parental involvement. Shyness of children. Lack of facilities.

2. Primary: Same as pre-school. Need library facilities. Need for early cultural training so kids are aware of old culture. Lack of confidence when they start school, due to prejudice.

3. Junior High: Lots of prejudice starts at this stage. Children feel lack of parental involvement. Lack of strong parental control and discipline. Teacher prejudice. Need more recreational facilities. Need to know Indian background. Ashamed of racial background.

4. High School: Need strong parental control and discipline. Need to instill a will to achieve. Need supervision. Prejudice by teachers and administration. Need supervision both in school and in outside activities. Discrimination of classmates. Lack of motivation. Need for more social functions where they can become accepted. Poor counseling, lack of money to continue. Short-range goals. Need textbook changes. Need better self-opinion. Need to be made aware of available aid. Available training programs in some areas inadequate, such as the BIA program. No job placement help after training. Limited fields

of training open. Not enough openings in area of training.

5. Post High School: Training not suited to needs of students.

6. Colleges: Lack of communication between schools and students, i.e., scholarship programs. Poor counseling. Need changes in history texts and other media such as TV, movies, books. Parental education to change home attitude about education. Adult education programs. Intercommunication between parents and schools. Need for educational programs in other areas to involve Indian parents and other adults to include Indians in more fields. Need to create better understanding of cultures, both ways. Training of teachers for better understanding of the Indian culture.

Recommendations to Correct These Problems:

Parents -- Involvement in the school and community activities. Voting. Participation when asked to contribute to better understanding of cultural differences. Should provide more home training, cultural and otherwise. Better control and more attention to children to improve their own self-images. Motivate children.

Teachers -- Better communication between the school and Indian students and parents for better understanding of Indian problems and the finding of possible solutions to these difficulties. Teachers need better training in Indian history, culture, background and problems, general and local. Need more careful selection of teachers for Indians -- sympathetic, involved, knowledgeable in Indian affairs. Teachers should be ready to call upon Indian resource people and resources to enrich classroom experience. Field trips involving Indian students. They should get to know the Indian people better.

Schools -- Communication gap a problem here too. Need to investigate aid resources for Indian students. Use Indian resource people. Involve the community in the school. Need counseling. Vocational curriculum requirements different from academic and the same applies to the high school program. Need more continuation schools and on the job training programs for drop-outs and potential drop outs.

Community -- Indians should become more involved in community activities, take part in clubs, PTA, elections, etc. Parents should become involved in childrens' organizations, cub scouts, etc. Share cultures for better understanding, benefit to all. Organize to form plans for community help.

Culture -- Training in cultural heritage should start in infancy. Share it, but not necessarily sacred things. Teach respect. Record and preserve material in all manners. Encourage young people who are interested to do all these things.

More Junior Colleges -- More junior colleges are needed in Indian areas. College extension programs to fit local needs. Changes in textbooks and other materials used. Changes in curriculum requirements needed for teachers of the Indian people.

Be concerned and interested in the programs and needs outlined above. State agencies should carry out the recommendations suggested in this conference. Federal agencies should also try to implement these suggestions -- we are in favor of the Johnson-O'Malley Act used to help implement the recommendations of this conference, probably carried out on a state or regional level. The state legislature should be made aware of our problems and act to remedy them. Head-start Program and better libraries should be incorporated into the Indian communities. At the local level there should be better cooperation and greater communication within a community. In colleges we should try to involve the administration in helping to obtain the required changes in texts and in teacher curriculum revisions. PTA, clubs, etc., and other projects people can do in their own specialty to help are all needed.

D. Report of Larry Martin, Fresno, Leader of Seminar Group III:

We discussed what we should talk about. The answer arose -- why do Indian children drop out of school? We decided they have no motivation. We have to get something to interest and make them want to accomplish their particular goals. Students usually drop out in the tenth grade; in the ninth grade they are interested and motivated, but the tenth grade work is more difficult. Their grades drop down and they drop out. Too much emphasis is placed on social activities in high school -- clothes, popularity, dating, etc. He feels he can't keep up with the other students and he blames his parents for giving him a bad break.

A child needs pride and recognition in school. The important word is pride. The child should have pride in his tribe and race; the social society may melt down this pride by downgrading the Indian, making him look like a red savage with large amounts of scalps on his belt, by making him embarassed when he is called a drunken Indian. Another key word is encouragement, the parents and teachers and counselors have the duty to encourage the students to keep them in school. An education is very important in obtaining a well-paying job. The encouragement should start when the child first holds a pencil in his hand, also in kindergarten....

It is important that the parent go to the P.T.A. and all the school functions and encourage their children to attend the social functions. A parent has the responsibility to go to "Open House" and examine the child's work. A child should receive praise, that will encourage him to go on. A child that realizes how limiting a lack of education will be to his future life, will try to go on. When they see people with little education and how they are forced to live, they try to go on -- with encouragement and praise. Comparison is a means of motivation. If the parents don't care, the student thinks "why should I?"

Children should know the important contributions of other Indians--there have been famous athletes and soldiers. There should be a publication like a weekly reader to acquaint them with these contributions. Knowing of this, the Indian would be vary proud of himself and of his heritage.

E. Report of Frank Canizales, Sonora, Leader of Seminar Group IV:

I would first like to say that my group talked a lot like the other ones and we got a lot accomplished. We placed a great deal of emphasis on the parents individually becoming involved in their own children, with their own welfare. We also placed a lot of emphasis on community action, all working together for common goals. We didn't talk a lot about prejudice, mainly because we felt that this was on a minimal scale compared to that faced by many minority cultures. It was the consensus of our group that we wanted to stay away from this area, since no one in our group felt they had been overly discriminated against. I will read through the problems we came up with.

Lack of communication between the homes and the schools. Each is waiting for an invitation from the other to get together. Teachers and administrators fail to realize that Indian children are different and lack knowledge of the Indian background. Children starting school are often frightened, shy, anti-social and have rebellious attitudes, they are also prone to inferiority complexes. There is a lack of opportunity to assume responsibility and to speak up for themselves. There is also often a lack of discipline and teachers often fail to draw the Indian child "out of his shell."

In junior high school emotional changes take place at about the same time that there is a transition in the school life, which causes the Indian child frustration and insecurity. They also encounter more competition and become more aware of social differences. There is a letdown in supervision both by the school and by the home. This comes at the time when the child needs security. There is a lack of discipline at this age and it is emphasized by the lax supervision within the school and home.

The negative attitudes of the parents are reflected in their children. Older people have handed down such feelings as inadequacy, the feeling of being discriminated against, and resentment towards non-Indians. There is a lack of unity among Indians themselves, and envy develops about the competency of other Indian groups. Some Indian families are clannish and lack association with other cultures. Most high schools do not take enough interest in counseling Indian children. Understanding of Indian students' needs and aspirations is lacking. There is a lack of participation by parents in their childrens' activities, and attendance by Indians at meetings is very poor.

Recommendations which we concluded would remedy these problems are as follows:

1. Extend Headstart Program to more than just the summer session. Include more children; include children regardless of economic status. Provide programs for smaller groups than the number now required. Headstart is considered to be a good program by all involved in it. It was considered beneficial especially because the parents became very involved in it.
2. Indians should initiate meetings concerned with the education of their own children and invite school administrators to attend. This is extremely important for the teachers want to come into your homes, they want to get to know you. We felt it was the parents' part to say, "Okay, here I am, I am inviting you, let's get acquainted." We felt that the Indians have to initiate this invitation.
3. Summer programs need to be expanded which are beneficial to Indian children. Transportation needs have to be met. It was found that in some programs such as Headstart, children in some areas had to travel as far as twenty-five miles, and the means was not provided.
4. Parents need to become involved in such organizations as PTA to promote integration and social awareness. Parents need to help the child understand school discipline and its importance. They need to express more interest in their child's school and social arrangements and become more community-minded.
5. Teachers need to become more involved in teaching different cultures to their students. Some Indian parents need to teach their children to be more self-sufficient, and to assume more responsibility; they need to instill their children with the importance of discipline.
6. Junior and senior high schools need to set standards so children will have more of a sense of direction, such as manner of dress and behavior. Counselors need to adopt a more positive attitude when working with Indian children. They need to prompt them to stay in school and succeed in other things besides athletics. Work with the children to find part-time work, finding sources of aid, loans and scholarships. Acquiring information on various training resources available. Encourage them to attain their own goals.

7. Teachers should teach in their major field of interest. It was brought out that many teachers of history were teaching speech, etc. Therefore, the teachers have a certain lack of interest. Where not already done, there should be incorporated an inservice training for teachers. There should be more courses in psychology and more knowledge of different cultures, so as to promote better racial understanding in the pupils.

8. Teachers need to participate in the arts and crafts being studied, and utilize the materials available to learn more about the culture. Schools should make more personal contacts with the children regarding their futures and with parents regarding their children.

9. Schools, especially high schools, should be aimed more for the Indian needs. They should guide the children to better their ability to live within their own communities. Develop better cooperation between schools and communities to improve vocational training programs. Encourage parents to teach their own skills to their children.

One point I should make is that a lot of our attention seems to be centered on the college-bound student, and a lot of young people aren't college oriented. Those with no desire to attend college should be afforded a vocational training in their own communities. These individuals should be given training so that they will have abilities to work at a skill as soon as they are out of school.

There should also be leadership training programs for Indians to revive the culture and develop more individual pride.

Educated Indians need to return to their own people to teach these people the best way to live in this society.

An Ad Hoc Committee should be continued so the desired programs can be implemented. Conference information should be disseminated back to the local communities. There needs to be another conference so interested people, organizations and agencies can become involved and give aid to the programs. Since the State Department of Education could lend financial support, it should be contacted so that they, along with the Ad Hoc Committee, county and school superintendents in Indian areas and state colleges could plan programs to communicate the findings of this conference to those as yet uninformed.

F. Report of Harvey Ince, Fresno, Co-Leader of Seminar Group V-VI:

Hearing these people before me speak, I find we are saying about the same things. I would like to say that our group was a very friendly group, we had a lot of talking going on, we did not have strict rules on who was going to talk, we just reached in and triggered it. I think I, as chairman, was doing a lot of talking, but everybody contributed.

Reasons why Indian children do not achieve on the same level as white children:

a. Inadequate advantages at home. No books, privacy, limited vocabulary. Inability of parents to help children, the way the teachers want them to.

b. Parental drinking problem.

c. Not enough guidance by men.

d. Inadequate education of teachers of Indians.

e. Uncooperative administration. Hostile teacher attitudes -- "Indians are ignorant and lazy."

f. Textbooks inadequate. (Untruths about Indians, keyed to middle-class whites.)

g. Lack of realization of problems.

h. Poverty. Poverty covers all these areas we have been talking about.

i. Lack of learning. Need facilities close by, such as libraries, teachers.

j. Inadequate communication between the races.

Recommendations for alleviation of these problems.

1. Parent groups to meet with PTA to aid understanding.
2. Preschool preparation for children.
3. Teach parents understanding of education.
4. Organize among ourselves.
    a. ...for public acceptance
    b. ... for state's rights.
    c. ... grass roots.
5. Benevolent society for Indians to aid when problems arise.
6. Education of teachers in minority education.
7. Update textbooks. (Inform Indian students about Indian history.)
8. Lectures to inform non-Indians about our problems.
9. Indian dormitories. Places for Indians to stay so they can live close to a college.
10. Continuation schools, work studies, and so forth.
11. Full-time "Opportunities Counselor".

Implementation

A. Ad Hoc Committee write the State Department for reestablishment of

Johnson-O'Malley Act.

B. Pay resource people to gather material about ourselves for students and those who are preparing to teach Indian students.

C. Contact history, anthropology and sociology teachers in colleges to develop materials on Indians.

D. Get scholarships and graduate studies on Indian education.

Where do we go?

A. Continue this organization for better education.

B. Build foundations strong enough not to bog down in dissent. Try to interest more men in this area.

C. Form statewide organizations.

D. Have follow-through meetings.

I want to add that under B of "Implementation", it is noted that Marie Potts is doing this kind of work. We thought maybe we could pay her for her services.

G. Report of Dennison Knight, Ukiah, Co-Leader of Seminar Group V-VI:

I'm not going to take up a lot of your time. I know you are tired of talk. I would like to point out that it is often mentioned that poor housing contributes a lot to the problems of the Indian people. There has been a lot of talk at this conference and a lot of it is old, we have brought it up before. What we need now is action. We have mentioned these solutions before, but now we have to be more demanding in our requests. We have to be more specific about what we need and want for our children.

Besides poor housing, one of our biggest deficits is in the realm of employment. Many of our men are out of work during the winter months. I feel that they believe they have no one that they can turn to for assistance in this problem area. I think the answer is to turn to the State Unemployment Office, and that seems to be the feeling of the men involved; but I think we should go further than that.

Now we come to television. We Indians are pretty tired of seeing Tonto in re-runs. More Indians should be employed by the television stations. We should also provide programs on Indian problems to the schools. They should also be provided with programs on our culture.

Funding is another problem. I think Indians are afraid to ask for anything substantial, instead they ask for little "hand-outs" which are insufficient. If we are going to have programs on housing and education and television, I think we should ask for enough money that it would cover the entire state.

On college facilities, I was the one who suggested that high school and college students be provided with a dormitory near the campuses. There should be these dormitories provided for a junior college (preferably) in the several sections of the state. Many students do not go on to higher education because they do not have the money to pay for living quarters and live in isolated areas where commuting is impossible.

And further on Indian education, I think we are becoming too adult. I think we should involve the younger generation in these conferences.

Discrimination? I often hear the word. But I think it is time that the Indian looks at himself and says: "Am I not responsible for part of this discrimination?" The Indian likes to curse the white man, I use that term instead of "nonIndian," and blame him for all of our aches and pains and problems and their status in society. But I would like to think that our people can turn around and look at themselves and find out whether they are responsible for promoting some of this discrimination.

On the unity problem, there is a program I know of called the "Shake Hands." We are going to have the community understand and be the first to shake hands. If you are going to go on from here, I think any organization should be set up soundly enough so that if anyone has a problem--educationally or otherwise, they can send their problem and not get a form letter back. (The president living in Smith River and the rest of the officers live in El Centro.) Once an organization has a strong enough status this isn't the case. I think that when we have a problem, the organization should be willing to come and look over the situation and help, and not with an arrogant attitude.

We have heard a lot about "lack of leadership." And I have often mentioned that at our meetings there is a predominance of women involved in these services. There should be more men involved in these things than women. I hope the new generation, knowing about Cochise and the wonderful things that our ancestors accomplished, will try to provide this leadership. Where we go is up to you.

H. Report of Margaret Mathews, Crescent City, Co-leader of Seminar Group VII-VIII:

All of our problems are the same, we are here to educate our children and to get a better education for them.

From the discussion, we agree that the major problem with the younger children is that they fail to get enough discipline from their homes.

We have three kinds of Indians today, from what I have heard at these meetings I think we have all categorized ourselves -- first there is the Hollywood Indian, this is the image that all of us have come to believe that we are. We say "how" and "ugh", television has promoted this image. Then you have the white man's Indian, Dr. Forbes mentioned this image, the placing of a square peg in a round hole. Here we have this group of people who think they understand us and they try to do the best they can for what they think would make us happy. It is what we have in the history books, the white man's version of the Indian today, formed from what he was in the past. Then we have a real, personal Indian, the Indian's Indian. This is what we are here for, we have an all-Indian conference, so it is Indians' Indian. We are saying how we feel, why we feel this way, and how we can adjust ourselves, and just assimilate ourselves into the group. We know that the federal bureaus have kept us the way they think we should be. They think they are helping us to their best ability, so we have sat back as the white mans' Indian, content to let him do this for us, we let the government help us. And it should, for some things, but this is no excuse for our not helping ourselves. At first, the proudest people in the United States were the Indians. Someone mentioned that we celebrated a very well-known holiday the other week -- October 12. The children all know we celebrate October the 12th for it is the day that Columbus discovered America, this is not right; we discovered America. We were here first, someone had to discover it before Columbus got here. So now we may have to contend with Leif Erickson who said he got here before Columbus did, and here we are a group of people complaining, but who is to blame? We are.

The problem of clothing came up right away; that our childrens' clothing aren't as nice. My mother always said, "You are an Indian; there is nothing you can do about it, you are what God made you." We can choose our friends but not our relatives. But you can be a clean Indian. People aren't going to say "That lady is dirty," they are going to say, "That is a dirty Indian." You don't drink because you aren't just someone who drinks but a "drunken Indian." Don't give them a chance to say these things. We all have one purpose -- to better ourselves, and we find that these important things come first.

We find that drop-outs are concentrated in different areas. I come from the area of Redwood trees, here the fathers make lots of money -- $40.00 a day -- chopping trees. Indian children here can hardly wait until they are old enough to go into the woods and make money like their fathers. They want the clothes, car and money that they see among the white high school kids. So the cleanest, richest Indians in our area are the high school drop-outs. Be clean, wash with soap and water, don't wear bandanas, this is the image of the reservation Indian. My mother would not wear a bandana into town because that is the way the white people expected reservation Indians to look. You don't have to wear the most expensive clothes in town, be neat and clean. The white people have made us feel a little bit inferior, we aren't and we can do all of these things.

We must make our children (especially from junior high on) realize that clothes don't make the person. We have many reasons to be proud, we are artistic; we are calm. My mother used to tell me that I should be glad I was not a white man becuase they cry all the time and they are nervous. God gave us all of these things. We have a little head start on some of the others. Be proud, this Indian image has been an excuse. We have many excuses, in school for instance, we say the teacher is bad. The teachers aren't all bad, my son is a teacher. He gives special attention to the Indian children. We, as parents, have to put a foot forward. Other people are proud and have feelings, let them know that we are proud and we have feelings. Show them that we are sincere, go to PTA meetings. Don't feel bad because your dress is not as good as another's -- as long as it is clean. It doesn't cost but $.10 to shine your shoes, it is the little things that count.

When your child is big enough, put him into cub or girl scouts, you will be the most popular person in the club. Why? Because they want to be Indians. They want to do the things the Indians do; we have so much to give the other people, if we would get up and open our mouths and say so. We can do these things by going on and educating ourselves. No one has any control over your abilities -- it is you, yourselves...

When a new teacher comes to the area and we know our children are shy, you can be the most important person in her new year in the school by going to her and saying, "My child is shy and I want to know what is happening to him, and I'd like him to overcome this shyness." The teacher sometimes doesn't understand the child if she doesn't know the background; how is she going to know how it feels to be shy and afraid to talk. My teacher understood that I was shy and she had me stand outside the door and do my reading for her through the door, so that I would not have to stand up in front of the class, for I could absolutely not do it. This is important, she got me over that hump, she heard my voice, and she realized my problem and that it was just a little thing. We have children with stammering problems, children who feel they are different. "You are no better than anyone else, they are no better than you" -- just keep that in your mind constantly and you can go as far as you want to. We have so much ability, we have so much potential -- and they will help us, if we, for heaven sakes, get busy and help ourselves. Sure we like to blame someone else, and this is an easy thing to do....

We are very fortunate to have in our group a lady as an observer who said when your child gets to high school, encourage him in sports and go to the games. Three-fourths of the main sports in our school are taken over by Indians. Why? Because they don't have to get up and make a big speech; they don't have to worry about their clothes, so they get out there with the best of the ability and they have it. They go on -- why? Because they have an incentive. Everyone is "making over them." They are outstanding football stars, they are excellent track stars. There you are. They have something that someone else wants, this athletic ability. They get encouragement, an incentive, so they go on. There are athletic scholarships for the boys. For the girls there are nursing scholarships. One woman I know in government service said to me that she has been hiring nurses for the past twenty years and she will hire an Indian nurse over any other applicant. Why? They were calm, they had a lot of understanding and empathy, they were dependable because they were proud to hold this kind of job. Once Indians get over the initial hump of that inferiority complex, they are good workers. They have one thing working for them that nobody else does. We originally have a search for our identity. Once we find this, we also gain pride from the great Indian heritage. And just because we are Indian doesn't mean we can't have just as much education, just as many degrees as anyone else. And when we go looking for a job with good educational qualifications, we have one extra thing too, that people will remember us for--we are Indians. This is our country and we have to go out and show people we are proud of it, and of our background as Indians. Back yourselves up. When someone says something about Indians, ask them if they know this--that Indians had this, that they contributed this or that. I talk constantly to groups and mostly to children. The other day I took a group down to an Indian House and they were just fascinated. They thought it was wonderful to be an Indian when I showed them the things that we used and the things that we made. One of the little girls wanted to sit on my lap just to be near a real Indian. It works if you use the analogies. Say, "Your parents have soup bowls; the Indians have platters and soup bowls. The Indians eat, they have disposable napkins where they throw the fish out if it didn't taste good -- the Indians feed the men first." It makes an impression, children remember these things, but it also makes all the other little Indian children in the room feel so proud. I heard a little Indian boy get up after this talk and say, "I'm an Indian, my mother used to put me in a basket, my grandmother was an Indian."

I have many friends in the teaching profession, and I have been hounding them ever since I first heard about this, and they want to help.

Children become aware of their difference, that they are Indians, very young today because of television. There was a little boy in kindergarten, and he said, "I don't want to be an Indian anymore." His auntie asked him why and he replied, "Because they are all bad, and I don't want to be one."

In one class, they were talking about Indians and a teacher noticed a little Indian boy, and he held his head very low, he was embarassed because the teacher was talking about Indians. The teacher noticed this and said, "We are very lucky today, for we have a real Indian boy in our class. And do you know he is descended from the very first Americans in the United States. He is a real American, the original American, before any of our ancestors even came to this country. And this is really his country." And then she talked on and on and noticed that his head got higher and higher and pretty soon he was just grinning all over. And pretty soon the children in the room started talking and they said that they knew Indians, and their grandmothers were part Indian, etc. These things are important, for our children are our leaders and educators of tomorrow. Our solution is to get Indian educators on the school boards, go to them, that is what they are there for -- to answer your questions. Go to the teachers, to the PTA meetings. At most of these meetings there are more teachers than parents. If a few Indian parents came, the teachers would be impressed. They would realize that the Indian mother is really interested. Go to the teacher and introduce yourself and say, "I am Johnny's mother, and he has a little problem -- he is shy. And I can't help him with the new math, and now this new English is terrific. Can you help him?" The children need to be encouraged. There are libraries, teach your child to go to the library. And another problem the teachers tell us is that the Indians don't let them into their homes. Let them come and visit, they will accept you, as long as your home is clean, they want to become your friends.

We can educate the white man by letting him know we are proud, that we are proud of our homes. I have learned to live with this white man's attitude, but I have never accepted it. You should never accept it. For that is why we are as we are, because we have learned to live with it. Never accept it, every chance you get you should try to change it by showing that we are proud and by educating our children. Our children should be taken to Sunday school, where else in the world would a child be more acceptable regardless of his race or color than in church? They can learn discipline there; how to sit through class; how to sit still. How to excuse themselves to go to the restrooms, instead of running out of the room "like a wild Indian" -- there again is another white man's image. I talked to a church group the other day and told them it was as much their fault as ours; they must welcome us to their churches.

Our final recommendation is that we would like to have this statewide organization to get the Indians together and to continue this. On the Johnson-O'Malley , revise it, with the insistance that qualified Indians be on the panel to give everyone a chance so it won't be controlled by a group of people interested only in the interests of the state and to let them know what we want. For there is much aid for the Indian and the junior colleges have programs for those who know they can't afford to go to school on their own. There are job openings, when your children are juniors and seniors in high school, go to their counselors and find out about junior college programs. They have jobs that can help you through. There are homes where you can get room and board for a few hours work. If you are willing to work one or two hours a day to get through school. I worked for two years with San Francisco State College paying for my tuition, room and board. I lived in a home and it was nicer than a dorm. I had my own room and shower and car rides to and from school. I had gone to the Dean of Women and she gave me a job.

We can't work on these problems without a little financial aid.

I. Report of Seminar Group VII-VIII; Synopsis Made by a Recorder:

Section I

1. What problems do you feel prevent the majority of Indian children from achieving the same level of education as the white children?

   A. Pre-school

      1. Clothes-hand-down embarrass the children
      2. Children need help, out of school hours; parents and grandparents can't give the time to help students with schoolwork.

   B. Primary grades

      1. Children can't respect teachers if parent is always saying, "white men are no good."
      2. Indians also say, "I'm only an Indian, what's the use." (pre-determined failure).

   C. Junior high school D. High School E. Post high school

      1. In northwest California Indian boys who stay in high school are good athletes.
      2. Young boys can start in woods and earn $25.00. Those that stay in school are terrifically motivated.

Discussion:

At Stewart's Point,whenever a very tiny hole appears in the child's tennis shoes parents keep the child home for fear of more talk about the Indians.

In Head Start, the Indian children were very shy and inclined to be seclusive; never hear Anglo children say, "He's Indian," problem is parent's attitude.

Section II

2. What recommendations do you have that might correct these problems?

   A. Parents

      1. Lack of communication of parents to children; children to parents.
      2. Parents don't have the education to help the students with homework.
      3. Parents should communicate with the teachers to see how their children are doing in school.

   B. Teachers

      1. Teachers should visit homes with open minds, no social prejudice.

2. Teachers should learn to cooperate with the students: students should do the same for the teachers.
3. Counselors should show sympathy towards the children.

C. Schools

1. Junior colleges should communicate with the senior and juniors in high school.

2. They schould also learn better study habits in high school.

D. Community

1. The parents should go to P.T.A. and join the clubs that the community puts on.
2. The students that are in school and college should join clubs and be members also.

E. Indian Culture

1. We must keep together and emphasize our Indian background, and learn how to keep it and teach our younger generation the Indian culture.

F. College communication

1. Communication down from colleges to high school counselors to inform of college opportunities and classes that are required.
2. College dropouts because of reservation and home offering more security.
3. Students could apply for scholarships or work their way through college.
4. Athletes may be homesick and not motivated to stay (might need better social contacts).

G. State

1. State problems: Indian students at higher levels quit college because of motivation problems.

H. Federal

1. Federal schools are not open to California Indians.
2. Johnson-O'Malley Act, if it is possible, for California Indians to share in O'Malley funds by establishing a panel of Indians to supervise distribution of funds. This committee unanimously approves.

I. Other Opinions

1. Basis of our gathering -- to see if we can reeducate teacher institutions on the problems of Indian children.
2. We must keep together and emphasize our Indian background.

3. Recommend -- Statewide organization of Indians to be concerned with the improvement of Indian education.
4. Would welcome participation of other organized Indian groups.
5. Desire need to set up public relation channels with the press and other media to help us.

J. Report of Nona Silva, North Fork, Leader of Seminar Group IX:

Mr. Chairman, panel members, hosts and observers. My home is North Fork and we are very proud and happy to welcome all of you people to our district. We are especially proud of our superintendent in making these facilities available. I hope something good has come out of this for each one interested, especially the observers. I think we, as Indians, are a little bit timid. And being as we are all assembled here and having our say, I hope it has been beneficial to all of us, both Indians and non-Indians. I qualify myself as being half-Indian and help non-Indian. I can see the Indian's point of view as well as seeing the non-Indian's point of view. Many good points have been brought out in our group which is group nine and has nine members. It was a cross-section of the entire state, having representatives from Hemet, San Jacinto, North Fork, Smith River, Potter Valley, Lone Pine, San Diego, Stewart's Point and Yosemite. The nine members all had contributions to make. We arrived at the decision by majority vote that the problem that centrally prevented the Indian from not achieving at the level of the non-Indian is a definite lack of discipline.

Preschool: The group unanimously decided that one of the chief lacks in our preschool children is discipline. We all felt it was necessary for the parent to control the child, in order for him to go to school and be able to understand the instructor, who is responsible for teaching him and shaping him into a decent, mature human being. Therefore, home discipline is very certainly lacking and the parent, failing to take his full responsibility in this matter, very often blames the teachers. They dump the child onto the teacher and expect miracles to happen. We know that it can't happen that way, but requires constant work. They are pretty variable people, these little Indian children, but as they learn, and they learn quite rapidly, they have to be guided and this entails discipline. Without the discipline the cooperation will be lacking, mainly because we use that as an excuse. "Oh I am an Indian, I don't have the qualifications, I don't have the opportunities." But this isn't a fact, this is an excuse. In reality the problem may be laziness or placing importance on other values, such as making money. One member of our group didn't go on to college because he was already making lots of money. He concentrated on "the time being." Another boy who dropped out a month before graduation from high school, went back to school (after working and Vietnam, etc.) and says now he is glad he did. That these went back, or wanted to go back are good reasons for continuation schools for the dropout (through BIA). Headstart is unanimously approved by this group. We felt that the discipline problem continues through junior and senior high schools.

Headstart has stimulated understanding between the parent and the child. It also took care of health and welfare. Both dental and medical work is provided (I know this becuase I am a dental nurse and we took care of the children for the Headstart program). I would encourage this program, for those that cooperate; they will find it is very beneficial.

The sophomore year is when most of the Indian children drop out of school. Two instances of teacher discrimination during this period were pointed out. The teachers made the Indians and Mexicans sit at the back of the room refusing to include them in class participation, (conversations, oral reports). This was found in southern California, we don't have that problem here. There, they will have to have better communication between the teacher and the student to solve this problem. I don't doubt this is true and it is a shame. In this case instead of the student needing more education, the teacher needs more education.

The main reason for dropping out in high school is financial (i.e., they feel they should dress as well as the non-Indian and I agree with them to a certain point). I don't feel, however, that it should dominate and be the reason for a student dropping out. I feel that if they want the education nothing will stop them, even if they have to go in rags. Not everyone feels that way, so financial difficulties are the major reason for Indians not completing high school. This isn't such a problem in our area, but it seems to be a generally accepted problem and the major reason in other areas, especially in southern California.

Solutions Proposed

1. Parents: They should guide, urge and finance education.

2. Teachers: They should set an example and be understanding of the shyness, whether it is self-imposed or a real psychological problem that could be overcome by their understanding.

   It was also decided that a teacher could set a good example with an Indian student by giving him a little more time. He definitely does have a problem, but if she could devote this little more time she might do more good for this particular student than all the parents or community.

3. Community: Recreation seems to be a major reason for keeping the student busy, creative and satisfied. Idle time is a detriment to adults as well as children. So if they have recreation to occupy some of their energy, it can be put to very good advantage. Also, the community as a whole should have an interest in the Indian population, because they are human beings. Therefore, if they live in this community, [all agencies should] work together as a unit and all of these problems could be solved, at least they wouldn't be so burdensome.

4. Indian Culture: It was strongly suggested that the Indians should

be proud of his heritage and he would cooperate because of being proud because of being an Indian. He will then realize that he was born an Indian and will die an Indian...Now I will take the honest part, instead of the historic part that has been misrepresented too often. When an Indian invaded a village and made off with a non-white child, the child would take on all of the characteristics of an Indian. In speech, habit and all his forms of living he would resemble the Indians, but he would never be an Indian, although he played the part. But a natural Indian will die one, we can't change what we are. With all the facilities that are available to Indians, we can make use of them or we can reject them. Much of it is emotional, and many of the handicaps are self-imposed it was decided.

5. Colleges: Courses should be given to the teacher who is preparing to teach the Indian. These courses should pertain to the Indian in the locale in which they will be teaching. They should make more available, California students often have to go out of state to obtain these courses...

So, these are programs to help the Indian. This is especially true for the handicapped child who doesn't seem to catch on. Maybe he is brighter than the so-called "sane" people, but we have to have a way to test these children. Mendocino County, it is noticed by all, is outstanding for having a real health problem.

K. Report of Elijah Smith, Riverside, Leader of Seminar Group X:

Our group consisted of twelve people most of the time and we had a very good cross-section. We had good communication all the way. We had good participation: we knew we could say what we pleased. Some people have the idea that Indians are timid, but this group wasn't timid at all...I am going to be short with what our group discussed because it is synonomous with what has already been discussed.

The reason we decided so many Indian children dropped out of school before finishing high school were: broken homes, lack of facilities, and reading materials, lack of discipline on the part of the parents at home, there is a lack of interest in the education of children at home. Some of the participants brought out the idea that when an Indian child reaches the age of 18 he feels no further obligation at home. He feels no further obligation to attend school.

What problems do Indian children have in elementary and high schools? We combined the two and decided there were discipline problems. There were communication problems and a lack of guidance from parents. Sometimes there is a language handicap. There is, of course, lack of parental participation at the schools, most of the time there is no participation at all. There is a need for the teachers to come into the homes. It is up to the parent to give permission for the teacher to come into their homes, but much can come about if this happens. They should be invited to visit, it would probably mean more cooperation.

How can we get Indians to cooperate with educators who are interested in writing Indian histories? We can do this by setting up regular times for study and visitations by these people. We need for them to learn from the Indians directly.

How can we develop a better Indian image? We can do this by having real Indians show our ways and have real Indians represent us.

How do Indian arts and crafts contribute to the attainment of his education? Indians take great pains to produce a piece of artwork that will give them much pride, and sense of accomplishment. For example, many Indians benefit very much from handiwork, in the way of earning both self-satisfaction and even money. Indian art reflects the real Indian image.

How can we help in gathering and dissemination of resource material on Indians for teachers? We can help them by giving them the true stories about Indians. The Indian stories relating to animals and things of nature.

Needs of children: Children need to be given encouragement and constantly shown the benefits of education. Children should be counselled by parents from the elementary grades up. Childrens' mannerisms and attitudes reflect directly back to the parents. Therefore the parental attitude should be a positive one.

Other suggestions: The group highly endorsed the Head Start Program. It is good because it carries the child into school without any gaps. It teaches the child certain mannerisms and courtesies and it is an advantage over the children who don't have this type of training. It is an advantage for these children over those who don't attend Head Start. It involves the parents, and therefore, the community. Head Start disregards racial differences, which eleviates the discrimination which can be carried over to the older years.

I highly endorse this type of conference. I know that Indians disagree on many things, but one thing they all agree on is education. The more we can stimulate and motivate our younger children into going to school, the more benefit the whole of the Indians will reap. If we are going to be good parents, we should consistently work with our children. After all, the hope of our people is our children. What we can do with motivating and stimulating our children is one of the models we should carry in our own hearts. I highly endorse educational programs for Indians, I am going to work with it as long as I can. I am getting pretty gray now, but I am still interested in education. I am very interested in children, I have always worked with them. I think furthering their education is our responsibility as Americans. It is a test of American democracy, American morality, American honor and you can probably say American justice. Thank you.

V. Future Plans of the Ad Hoc Committee

The conference participants in each of the study groups recommended that the Ad Hoc Committee on California Indian Education continue its work. Some groups favored the immediate development of a permanent "Organization on California Indian Education," but the consensus was that the Ad Hoc Committee, with an enlarged membership, should continue "as is" until 1968 when a permanent statewide organization will be developed.

A. The following is taken directly from a tape recording of the conference proceedings:

(Risling):
These seminar reports, with your suggestions will be sent to all participants, or everyone who has registered; it will be sent to the administrator in your district, so if you come from a multiple district you may have to ask for an additional copy or two for your administrator. We intend to send these reports to all State Department people, superintendents of schools in the counties, state universities and state colleges, and any place else where we think it might do any good. We will also make it available to all of the legislators and the Indian Advisory Commission, and any other Indian groups that we know of. So, if anybody has any suggestions, that you think a report like this should go to any particular group, leave this name with me and I will be sure the group is included.

I mentioned to you that the Ad Hoc Committee that was formed at Stanislaus State will be complete after our adjournment. And what you do with it at this point is up to you. I hope all the foundation that has been laid is "not for nought." So at this time, I am going to open it up for any suggestions, questions, or whatever...

The question we want to discuss now is number four, if any of you have any comments. The question is: "How can we make sure that the various agencies don't take our suggestions lightly?"

(Chairman #1: Clifford Bethel): We have had our discussion and we have come to the conclusion that we would like to continue the Ad Hoc Committee. And at later times, as it gets a little stronger, and gets known around the state a lot more, at that time we should form a statewide organization to continue on with this work. We feel the Ad Hoc Committee has come a long way in a short time, and later we would like to see a state organization..

(Chairman #2: Vivien Hailstone): We recommend that the Ad Hoc group remain intact and then organize on a permanent basis with a new name, an elected group of officers, hold regular meetings both state and local at least on a yearly basis, that a regular publication be put out to keep Indians abreast of local affairs, and that it find funds.

(Chairman #3: Larry Martin): It was the consensus of the group to continue this organization and drop the name Ad Hoc and call it Indian

Organization on Education, make it statewide, have officers and regular meetings. And I would like today to express our appreciation for this hard work in putting on this meeting. I would like to conclude with the fact as one Indian told me in Taos, New Mexico, (Tony Whitecloud), "If I were born again, I would still rather be an Indian."

(Co-chairman #5 & 6: Dennison Knight): Our group didn't quite come to any conclusion. We do want to continue this Ad Hoc group, but we didn't come up with a name or anything. However, it was mentioned that if this were going to become another pressure group like all the other groups, that this one man was not for it. There were others who agreed, and I think I do too. If this is going to be only for education, then we are all for it...

(Chairman #4: Frank Canizales): We made two recommendations: one is that we should have an agency of our own, established by the Indians for the Indians' use. It should be a clearinghouse for Indian information on education. Set up for Indians, by Indians. The other suggestion is that the Ad Hoc Committee be continued until a permanent organization can be formed.

(Chairman #7 & 8: Margaret Mathews): We thank everybody, Mr. Risling and all concerned on behalf of our group. We also think the Ad Hoc Committee should be continued until a state organization can be formed, with officers representing four or five different regions. Each area has different problems, but they should all be brought together.

(Chairman #9: Nona Silva): The general consensus of dialogue in our group would conclude that a state organization be created to continue the work of the Ad Hoc Committee, and engage interested persons, agencies or organizations to lend support to an educational program.

(Chairman #10: Elijah Smith): Our group approves continuing this educational program by committees and in the meantime would like to keep it alive in their respective areas by meeting sometimes.

(Co-Chairman Harvey Ince [with Mr. Knight in #5 & 6]): There was no clear-cut decision in our group, but I would like to speak for myself on some of these things. If we are going to continue to work on these problems, and there seems to be quite a few, and people have come here from one end of the state to the other. So the problems must be important enough to warrant an organization that is set up solidly and fully incorporated so that you can be funded from federal, state and other foundations. Without it, I don't think you can continue to ask Indians to come to these meetings.

(Risling):

Now you have heard the various reports from the different seminar groups. Now I throw it out to you. You can decide to form an organization right away, but if you decide to, you'll have to be prepared to stay all night; you can't expect to form an organization over night.

We could form a nucleus of committees -- a working committee, step by step. What is your pleasure at this particular point?...

The motion is, as I understand it, to continue the Ad Hoc Committee until such time as something more permanent can be formed by this Committee. All those in favor raise your right hand. Opposed?

Unanimously in favor. Excellent. The maker of the motion was Leona Alameda. The seconding motion was by Clifford Bethel. The point to come to now is when and how. I might mention that the Ad Hoc Committee is the committee that met at Stanislaus State, that is the Ad Hoc Committee as it stands now. And the Ad Hoc Committee has included all people up to now. The Ad Hoc Committee was the people at Stanislaus State College, now the committee is formed of the people from North Fork, the Ad Hoc Committee now has been enlarged to include all the people who are attending these sessions...[David Risling was unanimously elected to continue as Chairman].

The next meeting will be similar to this one in size. If there are going to be teachers and educators perhaps the Johnson-O'Malley Act or some foundation will be able to give us some funds for that. Maybe the teachers will even get an expense account, so we won't have to worry about that. [It was decided to have a major conference in May, 1968, in the Bay Area and a "steering committee" was elected by the conference participants].

B. The newly-elected steering committee met on the afternoon of October 22, 1967. Their report is as follows:

The meeting was called to order at 3:15 p.m. in the music room of the North Fork Elementary School by Chairman David Risling Jr. Members present were Margaret Mathews, Crescent City; Alfred Elgin, Jr., San Lorenzo; Marie Potts, Sacramento; Clifford Bethel, North Fork; Harvey Ince, Fresno; Mariano Tortez, San Jacinto; and Robert Lavato, Pala.

The first order of business was to divide the state into several geographical areas so that all areas of the state would be represented on the Ad Hoc Steering Committee. The committee named the following regions with their representatives:

I. North Coast -- Oregon border to Santa Rosa
*Margaret Mathews, Crescent City
Vivien Hailstone, Hoopa
Dennison Knight, Ukiah

II. North East -- Oregon border to Lake Tahoe
*Bonnie Roberts, Redding
Gladys Mankins, Janesville
Mildred Rhoades, Big Bend
Vivian Tye, Weaverville

III. Central Coast -- Santa Rosa to San Luis Obispo
*Alfred Elgin, Jr., San Lorenzo
Adam Nordwall, San Leandro
Tony Brown, Berkeley
Lorna McLeod, San Jose

IV. Eastern Sierra -- Lake Tahoe to Mojave
*Eleanor Bethel, Bishop
Ronald Hancock, Lone Pine
Martha Joseph, Lone Pine

V. North Central Valley -- Chico to Merced

*Marie Potts, Sacramento
Frank Canizales, Sonora
Mahlon Marshall, Orangevale
Viola Wessell, Tuolumne

VI. South Central Valley -- Merced to Tehachapi Mountains

*Clifford Bethel, Bishop
Harvey Ince, Fresno
Henry Jones, Clovis

VII. So. Calif. -- North -- Hemet to Mojave

*Mariano Tortez, San Jacinto
Jane Penn, Banning
William Soza, Hemet
Madeline Ball, Banning

VIII. So. Calif., South -- Hemet to Mexico

*Robert Lavato, Pala
Frank Mazetti, Valley Center
James Parcel, Escondido

*Regional Chairmen

The committee will meet in Modesto at the Risling home late in November or in early December, depending on when the "Conference Report" is ready for editing and approval. They will also make preliminary plans for their "Spring Conference" at this time.

The chairman was directed to write to the various legislators on the State Advisory Commission on Indian Affairs to inform them of our conference and to request that they initiate action to reinstate the Johnson-O'Malley Education Program in California; also, his letter was to make them aware of the Report of the Stanislaus State Conference on the Education of Teachers of California Indians, and the fact that we wholeheartedly agree with its recommendations.

The committee appointed Kay Black, of Modesto, news correspondent.

Since there was no further business to be taken care of, the meeting was adjourned.

Appendix A:

Documents Relating to the Planning of the North Fork Conference

Mailed - April 14, 1967

I. INDIAN AD HOC COMMITTEE ON INDIAN EDUCATION: Initial Organization

The Indians in attendance at the Conference on Education of Teachers of California Indians, held at Stanislaus State College on March 19-21, 1967, voted unanimously "to do something" about following up this conference.

An ad hoc committee was formed by the Indians in attendance for the following purposes:

I. To review the report of the conference.
II. To recommend to the State Legislature that funds be provided to implement the suggestions of this conference. (Providing, of course, that the report meets the approval of the ad hoc committee.)
III. To provide for future conferences involving more Indian people.
  A. Ask Legislature to provide funds for future meetings if total program cannot be met.
  B. Investigate ways and means of financing educational programs for Indian children.
  C. Investigate ways and means of gathering and disseminating resource material for teachers of Indian children and other teachers.
IV. To select a steering committee to follow up on the conference and to make arrangements for follow-up meetings.

The members of the steering committee are as follows:

1. Leona V. Alameda, P.O. Box 187, Hoopa, California, 95546. Phone: 625-4241.
2. Eleanor Bethel, Route 1, Box 175A, Bishop, California, 93514. Phone: Upton 34364.
3. Frank Canizales, Jr., 69 North Ash, Sonora, California.
4. Reginald Elgin, c/o O.A.I.A., 1314 Clay Street, Oakland, California.
5. Vivien R. Hailstone, P.O. Box 7, Hoopa, California, 95546. Phone: 625-4432.
6. Henry C. Jones, 4692 Blackstone, Fresno, California, 93726. Phone: 222-9281.
7. Marie Potts, 2727 Santa Clara Way, Sacramento, California, 95817. Phone: 455-5360.
8. David Risling, Jr., 1349 Crawford Road, Modesto, California, 95350. Phone: 523-2270.

David Risling, Jr. was selected acting chairman. Marie Potts and Henry Jones were selected as secretaries.

The committee requested that Dr. Forbes, Program Director of the Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development, be asked to help with future conferences on educational programs.

II. REPORT: A Meeting of the Ad Hoc Committee on Indian Education held in Modesto, April 22, 1967.

Members of the Ad Hoc Committee, and other persons who attended the March conference at Stanislaus State College, met at 1 p.m. at the home of David Risling, Jr. The purpose of the meeting was to review the report of the "Conference on Education of Teachers of California Indians," and to discuss ideas for future conferences.

Reviewing and revising the Conference Report occupied the first four hours. Present was Dr. William McClintock, conference coordinator for Stanislaus State. After hearing the discussion and suggestions, he graciously accepted committee recommendations.

Dr. McClintock stated that the report would be at the printer's the last week of April and soon would be available to conference participants. The committee expressed gratitude to Dr. McClintock for his interest and cooperation.

The report then was approved unanimously by members present. The chairman was directed to write to key legislators concerned with Indian affairs to inform them of the committee's action. Members also were directed to write their state senators and assemblymen concerning the recommendations.

At 6 p.m., a recess was called for two hours for dinner. This was a "California feast" which included such foods as piñon nuts, acorn soup, kippered salmon, smoked eels, surf-fish, venison stew, whole cured acorns, cured seaweed, flat bread, candle fish, turkey and gooseberry jelly.

At 8 p.m., the meeting reconvened. All agreed that the sole reason for existence of the Ad Hoc Committee is to work for better education for California Indian children and adults. We felt that everyone can agree on the need for improved education and that if we concentrate on this one issue we have a very good chance of producing desirable results. Differences between us regarding other issues should be forgotten at such times as we gather to plan and work for educational betterment.

The next topic discussed was: Should there be future conferences? The committee felt a definite need exists for more conferences on Indian education and that these should involve more Indians. However, the group felt that at this time it was not ready to plan a large conference. The reasoning is this:

1) Before a big conference is scheduled, Indian people all over the state should be made aware of the coming "Report on the Conference on Education of Teachers of California Indians."

2) For a large general conference to be a success we will need a lot of backing and leadership

3) It seems impossible to get financing for such a conference until after September.

4) Before deciding on the number of conferences we should have, we need better representation from southern California.

The committee decided that a logical first step is for members to call small meetings in their home areas before July. At these, there will be discussed: 1) what the Ad Hoc Committee is trying to do; 2) the Conference Report: 3) need for a follow-up conference on Indian education and ways and means to involve more Indians; 4) the July conference-planning meeting.

The committee felt that by July it should be possible to firm up plans for a general conference or conferences on Indian education.

We tentatively selected Saturday, July 15 as the date and place for the Conference Planning Meeting. David Risling, Jr., and Mr. and Mrs. Black were given the job of arranging for housing, camping, picnicking and meeting place and also for sending out information about the meeting.

It was felt that those coming might be happy to bring something toward a potluck feast that would take place Saturday evening.

The committee believes that planning a large general conference will take a lot of time and hard work; thus, the meeting should begin at 9 a.m. and continue all day and into the evening if necessary.

Each committee member is to bring at least two other interested Indian people, perferably from outside the member's immediate home area, in order to produce a more representative group at this July meeting. Consultants will be invited to help plan the big conference.

Dr. Jack Forbes of the Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development, acted as our resource person at this meeting. Throughout the session his guidance was invaluable.

Dr. Forbes thinks that if we can come up with a good plan for the conference (or conferences) on Indian education, if we so desire, he will ask the Rosenberg Foundation for money to finance it. He said he already had contacted Mrs. Chance, of the Foundation, concerning the possibility and she seems receptive to the idea. However, there is no earlier date than September for them to act on it.

He said that San Francisco State College has a center for Community Anthropology which might help by furnishing resource people and perhaps some funds. They have staff people who are interested both in education and practical (applied) anthropology (which includes helping Indians.)

He stated that he and the Far West Laboratory will be willing to aid in any way they can.

The Committee thanked Dr. Forbes warmly for the interest, time and advice he has contributed to the project.

The committee then reviewed what should be done before the July 15 conference-planning meeting. The following were agreed on as necessary:

1) Keep remembering and emphasizing that our aim is to bring collective strength toward improvement of the education of Indian people.

2) Write to legislators to describe the Stanislaus State Conference Report and the action of this committee.

3) Hold small meetings (5 or 6 people) in home communities, followed by similar meetings in neighboring communities, to tell people about the Conference Report, the Ad Hoc Committee, the need for further conferences, the July planning meeting.

4) Interest at least three other Indians, from three different neighbor areas, in attending the July 15 meeting in Modesto.

5) Inform David Risling, Jr., of the dates and times of your neighborhood meetings so he can pass this information on to someone who might be interested in attending.

6) Come to the July 15 meeting prepared to contribute ideas for the general conference to be held later in the year.

7) David Risling, Jr., and Mrs. Black were delegated to contact Stanislaus State College to see if each of the Indians on the Ad Hoc Committee could be provided with two or more copies of the conference report to be used in local informational meetings.

The Ad Hoc Committee business session concluded at 10:00 p.m., followed by coffee and dessert.

A number of people invited to this meeting could not attend due to the weather or for business reasons. Those who were present included:

Leona Alameda
Charles & Kay Black
Anthony Brown
Frank Canizales
Mr. & Mrs. Paul Chappell
Viola Evans
Mr. and Mrs. Albert Hailstone
Sidney Parrish
Marie Potts
Mr. & Mrs. David Risling, Jr.
Mr. & Mrs. Ed Wallace
Dr. Jack D. Forbes
Dr. William F. McClintock

P.S. The address for all state senators and assemblymen is:
State Capitol, Sacramento, California 95814

III. A Report of the Conference Planning Meeting in Modesto, July 15, 1967

Modesto Junior College was the site of a day-long meeting for 35 California Indians on Saturday, July 15. Discussion centered on how to stimulate involvement of a maximum number of California Indians in improving the education of Indian children in our area schools.

After a group breakfast, served by local volunteers in the outdoor patio of the MJC Agriculture Building, the company gathered in a conference room.

A welcome to the school was given by Dr. J. K. Rowland, MJC Vice President. He then read a proclamation of the Modesto City Council which called on local citizens to extend the courtesy of the community to our visitors.

Kick-off speaker for the session was Dr. William McClintock, Stanislaus State College professor and coordinator of the conference of last March on Education of Teachers of California Indians. He outlined the weeks of preparation which went into planning a large conference--the letters, committee meetings, drafts of proposals and preparation of the final report. Also described was how participants were selected (to represent areas around the whole state) and of the many reviews of the conference proceedings (it was tape-recorded) before the final results were okayed and the report went to Senator Stephen Teale, chairman of the State Advisory Commission on Indian Affairs.

Dr. Jack Forbes, of the Far West Laboratory for Educational Reseach and Development, next spoke on "The Need for Indian Involvement in Education." Forbes discussed the problems existing for a conquered people who have lost control of their own destiny and the hurdles which must be overcome in order to reform ideas of the society of the ruling class. Conquered groups, such as American Indians, in order to acquire some amount of self-management, must find accepted principals of the ruling class which will permit decision-making by themselves.

To do this, involvement is a necessity, as apathy only permits continuance of decisions imposed by bureaucratic paternalism. Native peoples "cannot be handed democracy on a platter. What we call democracy must be developed via trial and error and learning from mistakes."

Forbes continued: "Education is the key to development of self-sufficiency and improvement. But before education can be successful, the programs must meet the needs and desires of the local community. To bring this about, Indian people must become fully involved with their schools--as school board members, PTA members, teacher-aides, etc., and must be concerned with the education of their children.

"At present, involvement of Indians in education in California is in a crucial stage. Trends in Indian education throughout the U.S. now contain both good and bad aspects. To make certain the good trends prevail, it is essential that Indian people get on the ball and take command of the situation," he concluded.

Mr. Frederic Gunsky, of the California State Department of Education, next reported on the Availability of Educational Programs to Indians of California.

Why Indians do not get an education equal to that of their white counterparts, he said, is because most California Indian children attend poor rural schools which cannot afford programs which meet the needs of disadvantaged children. A second problem is the lack of Indian leadership in education at the state level.

Programs described by him include: Title I, Compensatory Education; Title V (he has been trying to get a person in Sacramento to work on Indian education problems under this Act but as yet has not been successful); Bishop demonstration school (pre-school and a student center); the Maple Creek Willie scholarship fund; Assembly Bill 1331, which would provide money for pre-school children.

To take advantage of these programs at the local level, he stated, it is necessary for Indian people to become so involved with local schools that boards of education can be pressured into applying for funds which are available.

Next, Mildred Kiefer, of the Office of Compensatory Education, State Department of Education, then presented details of Title I, the Compensatory Education Act. She explained how much money is available, who qualified, how to apply, how grants are determined, and where to write for information. Miss Kiefer made herself available to answer questions individually throughout the day.

Mr. Tony Brown from the staff of the State Advisory Commission on Indian Affairs gave a report on the Johnson-O'Malley Act (1934, amended 1936). The act provides for financial aid to states for implementing educational programs for Indians residing on or near trust land. California was the first state to use these funds and continued to do so until 1958. The apparent reason for withdrawal was that the B.I.A.'s policy was to terminate all services to California Indians as soon as possible. Since that time there seems to have been a change in B.I.A. policy regarding termination and it is possible for California to again apply for these funds. It is possible that these funds could be used to implement some of the programs suggested in the Stanislaus State Conference Report of March 19-21, 1967. Mr. Brown will try to get copies of his report run off and sent to the participants before the fall conference.

Vivien Hailstone of Hoopa gave a report on what is being done in northwestern California in regard to arts and crafts. Early in the fifties, a group of women in Hoopa began an effort to retain the basket shapes and designs through pottery, becuase it was becoming impossible to gather necessary materials for basketry. They have secured an exclusive contract with a leading San Francisco art dealer to market their products. Recently, through the cooperation of the Forest Service, B.I.A. and private individuals, they have been able to harvest necessary materials for basketry and have begun classes in basket weaving. Their classes have been so successful that a representative of the Department of Interior Arts and Crafts Board, Washington, D.C., visited them and offered to provide funds to help defray the cost. Mrs. Hailstone and Mrs. Alameda of Hoopa are helping the Klamath and Smith River people start classes in basketweaving. Mrs. Hailstone reported that people are interested in Indian arts and crafts and it is not hard to start programs along these lines.

After a hearty lunch, the participants met in three different sections, where the conclusions of the Stanislaus State Conference Report of March 19-21, 1967 were reviewed and discussed. An additional topic, ways and means of promoting or re-establishing Indian ceremonies and dances throughout California was also discussed. Much enthusiasm and spirit prevailed at these meetings.

Following the group meetings, the participants met in a general session where several reports were given on the group meetings. The general impressions were indicative that most all of the people in attendance were involved in the discussions and contributed much toward the success of these meetings.

The full group then discussed the need for future conferences and voted unanimously for a fall conference. After much discussion on whether to have a statewide conference, or to have regional conferences it was decided to have one conference in the Fresno area in October.

Dr. Forbes was asked to outline procedures for arranging and conducting a large conference, which he did, in his usual eloquent fashion.

After considerable discussion of who, where, how, when, etc., the group decided to leave the details to a planning committee.

The Planning Committee was made up of active members of the Steering Committee which evolved from the Stanislaus State Conference, March 19-21 and volunteers from the people in attendance. The members of the Planning Committee for the fall conference are as follow:

Mr. David Risling
Mrs. Thelma McVay
Mr. & Mrs. Dennison Knight
Mrs. Marie Potts
Mrs. Marie Bartow
Mr. & Mrs. Henry Jones
Mr. & Mrs. Harold Marrufo
Mr. Frank Canizales
Mrs. Betty Lewis
Mrs. Eleanor Bethel
Mrs. Leona Alameda
Mrs. Arlene Crow
Mrs. Vivien Hailstone
Mrs. Kay Black

Planning Committee Meeting, July 15, 1967, Modesto Junior College

At 7:30 the Planning Committee for the Fall State Conference, chaired by David Risling, Jr., met to make preliminary plans.

Much discussion on places to hold the Conference, possible dates, speakers and experts to be invited, participants, etc., preceded the positive action which followed.

The committee decided that the meeting, if possible, should be held in an outdoor atmosphere such as one would find at a YMCA or Boy Scout camp where there are sleeping, eating and meeting facilities. If this is not possible, then the committee on housing would find the next best place. October 20, 21 and 22 were selected as the dates. The Conference would begin Friday evening with a dinner and end Sunday noon. A Sunday afternoon program of entertainment or recreation would be available to those who could stay longer. Experts, selected to speak at the Conference, should be Indians, if possible. It was felt that there are many well-qualified Indians throughout the United States who could contribute much to the Conference. It was decided that the participants for this Conference should all be Indian and consequently the report of the Conference would express all-Indian feelings.

A rough sketch of the proposed Conference format should be available to submit along with a request for funds from the Rosenberg Foundation by August 4, 1967.

Sub-committees were to have meetings prior to August 4th so that a progress report could be made at the Friday evening, August 4th meeting to be held at North Fork Elementary School. Henry Jones will send out notices of this meeting. Dr. Forbes was asked to notify the Rosenberg Foundation of the Committee's intentions of applying for funds to finance its State Conference.

The Committee decided to have another planning meeting in conjunction with the Acorn Festival in Tuolumne on Saturday morning, September 16. Frank Canizales is to send cards announcing the time and place of the meeting.

The sub-committees are as follow:

Facilities Committee (Housing, Meals, Meeting Facilities, etc.)

Frank Canizales - Chairman
Arlene Crow - Secretary
Leota Jones, Betty Lewis, June Garcia

Program Committee

Henry Jones - Chairman
David Risling - Secretary
Mrs. Kay Black

Speakers Committee

David Risling - Chairman
Mr. and Mrs. Harold Marrufo
Mr. and Mrs. Dennison Knight
Thelma McVay
Marie Potts

Publicity Committee

Mrs. Kay Black - Chairman
Mrs. Marie Bartow
Mrs. Vivien Hailstone
E. J. Wallace
Marie Potts
Leona Alameda
Alfred Elgin, Jr.
Thelma McVay
Harvey Ince
Sierra Indian Center, Clovis

Arts and Crafts Committee

Marie Potts - Chairman
Thelma McVay - Secretary
Leona Alameda
June Garcia
Vivien Hailstone
Mary Bartow

Entertainment Committee

Henry Jones - Chairman

The meeting was adjourned at approximately 9:45 p.m.

The spirit and enthusiasm exhibited by all the participants indicated that the meeting was quite successful. Several people stated that this was the best meeting they had attended.

Part of the success of this meeting can be attributed to the fine atmosphere created by the people of Modesto who, through the host committee, (the Blacks were our co-hosts) became enthusiastically involved in doing something to help the Indian people help themselves. Over sixty Modesto firms and individuals, including faculty members and students, contributed to the housing, meeting facilities, coffee breaks, breakfast, lunch and evening feast, including clean up. The Indians were quite impressed with friendliness and enthusiasm of the Modesto people.

The familiar flavors of the evening feast of turkey, baked salmon, acorn soup, seaweed, elk and venison stews, smoked trout and salmon, surf fish, fired bread, wild tea and other American dishes brought back many fond memories of days gone by, and the relaxed, happy feeling of good fellowship was a fitting finale to a long, busy, stimulating day.

It is our sincere hope that the enthusiasm generated at this meeting will carry over to the home areas, and that each of the participants will continue to tell other people about the committee activities and goals, so that they too can become involved in this inspiring task.

Lets make our State Conference on Indian Education a model for future conferences.

IV. Sample Letter Mailed to California Indians, September 15, 1967

Your name has been suggested as a person vitally concerned with the welfare and education of our Indian people who would probably be interested in a statewide All-Indian Conference on Indian Education.

The Ad Hoc Committee on Indian Education composed of all the Indians who took part in the Conference on Education of Teachers of California Indians held at Stanislaus State College on March 19-21, plus a growing number of Indian people who are vitally concerned with the education of their children, are holding a statewide All-Indian Conference on Indian Education at North Fork (northeast of Fresno) from Friday evening, October 20, until Sunday at 2 p.m., October 22.

The purposes of this conference are to identify the problems which prevent the majority of Indian children from achieving the same level of education as their white counterparts and to involve the conference participants in plans to solve these problems.

The committee would like two delegates from your area who are interested in improving the education of our Indian children to attend as participants in our conference.

We plan to have displays by various statewide Indian organizations as well as exhibits from the various areas of the state. We would welcome any Indian arts, crafts and artifacts from your area that the delegates would care to bring and add to the exhibit. We feel that an exchange of ideas through meetings, displays and exhibits is educationally vital to the welfare of our children as it serves to improve the "Indian image" in the eyes of both our Indian and non-Indian people alike.

I am enclosing information which leads up to the statewide All-Indian conference so that you will have a better understanding of the goals and activities of the committee.

Camping facilities, dormitories and private homes, along with noon and evening meals, will be available free of charge to participants. Some funds may be available for gas for those participants traveling long distances.

We would appreciate hearing from you soon as we need to know the names and addresses of the participants so that we can send them necessary information prior to the conference.

V. Report of the September 16 State Conference-Planning Meeting Held at Tuolumne Indian Rancheria

The Statewide All-Indian Conference on Indian Education planning committee met in the "Roundhouse" during the MiWuk Acorn Festival at Tuolumne Rancheria on Saturday morning, September 16, 1967, to make final plans for the October 20-22 conference at North Fork, California. Chairman Risling reported on the activities which have taken place since the July 15 meeting in Modesto. The most encouraging fact presented was that Indians throughout the state are overwhelmingly in favor of such an activity and are enthusiastically looking forward to the conference.

Frank Canizales of Sonora reported that the North Fork Elementary School District has provided accommodations for meetings and eating facilities at no cost to us except for janitorial services. Camping facilities will be available free of charge at North Fork. Some homes will be available to families for those who want them. Only a few motels are available in the area. A list of these will be sent out in the near future.

Mrs. Henry Jones of Fresno reported that all arrangements have been made to provide meals for the conference. Breakfast will cost $1.00, but lunches and dinners will be free of charge to all participants.

Mr. Risling of Modesto reported on the program which will begin with a dinner Friday evening, followed by a kick-off speech by Dr. Forbes of the Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development. Other speakers will include Melvin Thom, Chairman of the National Indian Youth Council, and other Indians who are carrying on successful educational programs in California. Most of the remaining time will be devoted to discussions by Indian participants in small seminar groups.

Mrs. Alameda of Hoopa reported on the arts and crafts display. She said several groups are planning to bring various Indian displays. All participants are encouraged to bring some displays to represent their area.

Mr. Knight of Ukiah gave a report on a meeting we had with Mrs. Chance, Executive Director of the Rosenberg Foundation in San Francisco, in which we discussed our financial proposal with her. She assured us that she would do her utmost to get the necessary finances for the conference.

Mrs. Black of Modesto reported on publicity. She said that she will send out news releases to the participants who, in turn, should contact their local newspapers and get the news items in to them. She plans to contact the large newspapers directly, such as the Los Angeles Times and the San Francisco Chronicle.

Indians in Southern California will have a chance to learn more about October's Statewide Conference on September 30 at 7:30 p.m. in San Jacinto, where your chairman and Dr. Forbes of the Far West Laboratory will be the featured speakers. Anyone interested in attending this meeting may do so by contacting Mr. Edward Wallace, 334 E. Johnston, Hemet, California.

North Fork is located about forty miles northeast of Fresno, and may be reached by taking the highway to Yosemite from either Fresno or Madera, then turning off at the O'Neale-North Fork turnoff.

In order to estimate the number who will be attending the October 20-22 conference, and to send necessary preparational material to participants, we will need names and addresses of those who plan to attend.

VI. The Conference Program

Friday, October 20, 1967

5:30-7:00 Registration.....................Lower Campus, B.S. Building
7:00 Dinner...................................Gym, Lower Campus
Greetings: Blaine Thornburg,
Board of Education, North Fork
Union School District
8:00 Speaker...................................Kennedy Hall
Dr. Jack D. Forbes, Research Program Director, Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development
9:00 Seminar Leaders' Training Session.............Music Room
Chairman: Larry Martin, Dean, Evening College, Fresno City College

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Saturday, October 21, 1967

8:00 Seminar Leaders' Meeting.......................Music Room
8:45 General Meeting..............................Kennedy Hall
Greetings: Grant Sturm, Superintendent, North Fork
Union School District
Panel Presentation: Robert Lavato and Henry Jones
10:15 Coffee Break
10:45 Small Group Seminar Meetings
Gp. I--Rm. 1 Gp. V---Rm. 5 Gp. IX-Rm. Mu.
Gp. II--Rm. 2 Gp. VI---Rm. 6 Gp. X--Rm. 10
Gp. III-Rm. 3 Gp. VII--Rm. 7
Gp. IV--Rm. 4 Gp. VIII-Rm. 8
12:30 Lunch.............................Lower Campus
1:30 Panel Presentation.....................Kennedy Hall
Vivien Hailstone, Larry Martin, June Garcia,
Frances Sherman, Adam Nordwall
3:00 Small Group Seminar Meetings
4:15 Coffee Break
4:30 Small Group Seminar Meetings
5:50 Adjourn
6:30 Dinner.................................Lower Campus
8:00 Entertainment..........................Kennedy Hall
Rosalie Bethel
8:30 Seminar Leaders' Meeting...................Music Room

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Sunday, October 22, 1967

8:45 General Meeting..............................Kennedy Hall
Reports from Seminar Groups
10:30 Coffee Break
11:00 Small Seminar Group Meetings
12:00 Lunch......................................Lower Campus
1:00 General Meeting..............................Kennedy Hall
Business
Concluding Remarks
Adjournment
2:00 Exhibits and Entertainment..............Lower Campus
2:00 Leaders' Meeting with Writers
to Summarize Conference Findings...B.S., Lower Campus

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We extend our sincerest thanks to the following people and institutions, who have contributed greatly to the success of this conference:

The Rosenberg Foundation, San Francisco: for financial support

Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development: for technical assistance.

North Fork Union School District, Board of Education, and Superintendent: for providing facilities and services at no cost to us.

The citizens of North Fork: for providing homes and camping facilities at no cost to us.

The members of the Conference committees: for taking the time and effort, at their own expense, to make this conference possible.

The Conference Leaders: Larry Martin, Chairman; Clifford Bethel, Eleanor Bethel, Leo Calac, Frank Canizales, Vivien Hailstone, Mahlon Marshall, Margaret Mathews, Harvey Ince, Dennison Knight, Nona Silva and Elijah Smith.

The Recorders: Thelma Barnes, Kay Black, Wayne Cox, Dorothy Dandy, Florence Dick, Barbara Garcia, Kathryn Jackson, Barbara Karr, Lois Risling, Vivian Tye, Ed Wallace, Janice Yerton.

The entertainers, exhibitors, secretaries, speakers, writers, all participants and the many others who have so kindly helped with the Conference.

WE THANK YOU!

----------The Ad Hoc Committee on Indian Education

Appendix B: Conference Participants

I. Seminar Leaders

Clifford Bethel - North Fork
Vivien Hailstone - Hoopa
Larry Martin - Fresno
Frank Canizales - Sonora
Harvey Ince - Fresno
Dennison Knight - Ukiah
Mahlon Marshall - Orangevale
Margaret Mathews - Crescent City
Nona Silva - North Fork
Elijah Smith - Riverside

II. Recorders

Kay Black - Modesto
Wilma Lavell - North Fork
Barbara Garcia - Dunlap
Katheryn Jackson - Hoopa
Lorna McLeod - San Jose
Vivian Tye - Weaverville
Karen Bighead - Smith River
Edward Wallace - Hemet
Barbara Risling - Modesto
Florence Dick - Dunlap

III. Planning Committee

Mr. and Mrs. David Risling - Modesto
Mr. and Mrs. Henry Jones - Clovis
Mr. and Mrs. Dennison Knight - Ukiah
Mr. and Mrs. Harold Marrufo - Stewarts Point
Mr. Frank Canizales - Sonora
Mrs. Vivien Hailstone - Hoopa
Mrs. Thelma McVay - Smith River
Mrs. Marie Potts - Sacramento
Mrs. Marie Bartow - Smith River
Mrs. Betty Lewis - Clovis
Mrs. Eleanor Bethel - Bishop
Mrs. Leona Alameda - Hoopa
Mrs. Arlene Crow - Clovis
Mrs. Kay Black - Modesto
Mrs. Nona Silva - North Fork
Mr. Clifford Bethel - North Fork
Mrs. Frances Sherman - North Fork
Mrs. June Garcia - Dunlap
Mr. Edward Wallace - Hemet

IV. Panelists

Larry Martin - Fresno
Vivien Hailstone - Hoopa
Robert Lavato - Pala
June Garcia - Dunlap
Henry Jones - Clovis
Frances Sherman - No. Fork
Adam Nordwall - San Leandro

V. Alphabetical List of Indian Participants

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*Ad hoc Committee on Indian Education participants who were unable to attend the Conference at North Fork.

Appendix C: Comments of a Non-Indian Observer at the North Fork Conference

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

I had the honor to serve as an outside observer at the statewide All Indian Conference on Indian Education at North Fork, California from October 20 to 22, 1967.

I was asked to give my impressions of the conference, particularly of format and continuity. These impressions are given in two ways: leadership and participation.

It was obvious on arrival that the planning for the conference had been painstakingly developed. Registration moved smoothly, housing was readily available, and the events flowed easily through their schedule. It was apparent that the key to this success was found in the leadership provided by the conference chairman, Mr. David Risling, and by his steering committee of Indian adults who met on numerious occasions preceding the conference. As one who had chaired an earlier statewide conference of somewhat similar nature, I was highly impressed with the quality of the organizational time spent by Mr. Risling and his committee, resulting as it did in a smooth running conference with maximum involvement of its participants.

Participants attended a balance of large group meetings and small group seminars. Each large group meeting provided the setting for discussion. The presentation Friday evening by Dr. Forbes was outstanding; it was regrettable that some participants could not arrive until Saturday morning and thus missed the opportunity to hear of the scientific roots of their problems today. Nonetheless, any difficulties here were overcome by the discussion leaders who referred to this presentation as needed as they met with their small groups.

I was assigned to one section and my views of interaction are limited to that group. The chairman, an Indian adult who admitted that this was a new experience for him, provided a model group setting for the Indian participants. His skill in asking questions of the group, involving all members in the discussion, redirecting negative comments into positive proposals, impressed me deeply. When I spoke to him of this, he indicated that a training seminar for leaders had been most helpful.

At no place in the conference could I sense that participants were being dominated or forced to participate in any certain way. There was one main criterion for discussion, both on the floor of the large meetings and within the smaller settings. This criterion was discussion that would lend light on the problems faced by California Indian children in their classrooms. In one instance when discussion tended to veer away from this topic, Mr. Risling, as conference chairman, politely yet firmly brought the discussion back to the track and thus avoided one of the problems often faced by Indian groups in the past, that of splintering into factions of a political nature.

I quizzed a number of Indian adults concerning the importance of the conference and their role within it. Without exception they mentioned their respect and appreciation for the work performed by the conference chairman. Several from northern California where participation in past conferences has been meager or scattered, remarked that they were there because Mr. Risling had come to their area and had talked with them formally about the need for statewide articulation. Others remarked that they were proud to have taken the initiative for the conference and to have prepared for it with a minimum of outside interference. Still others praised the small group leaders for allowing them to speak freely on the topics before them. No one with whom I spoke felt that the outcomes had been predetermined.

Two outcomes of the conference reflected the democratic nature of the interaction. One was the admission by those in attendance that they as Indians were in great part responsible for the educational deprivation of their children; the other was expressed desire to continue with another conference planned and operated by Indian adults. At such a meeting they would invite those to attend who have major responsibility for the schooling of their children. To me such outcomes reflect a maturity gained only from direct involvement and individual decision.

William McClintock
Professor of Education
Stanislaus State College

Appendix C: A Letter to the Chairman of the Advisory Commission on Indian Affairs, Nov. 2, 1967

Senator William Coombs
223 South Riverside
Rialto, California

Dear Senator Coombs:

As Chairman of the Advisory Commission on Indian Affairs, you undoubtedly are aware of the recent All Indian Conference concerning the education of Indian Children which was held at North Fork. The one hundred and eighty Indians in attendance from throughout the State, realizing that the economic condition of people in America is closely correlated with their level of educational achievement, voted overwhelmingly to form a statewide organization on Indian education for the purpose of improving the education of their people. An ad hoc Committee on Indian Education (formed earlier at the Stanislaus State College Conference on the Education of Teachers of California Indians), which was responsible for the All Indian Conference at North Fork, has been given the tasks of formulating plans for this organization, and of holding another conference in the early part of May, 1968, in Oakland. The purposes of the coming conference are to continue the dialogue begun at the All-Indian Conference and to involve other interested persons, agencies, etc., who are concerned with the welfare of the Indian people.

I have been asked by the participants at the recent conference to write to you and inform you of the conference and to tell you that as soon as our conference report is published, a copy will be sent to you. They also wanted you to know that they agreed wholeheartedly with the recommendations of the Stanislaus State College Report of the Conference on the Education of Teachers of California Indians (March 19-21, 1967) and that they would like the Commission to recommend to the Bureau of Indian Affairs to reinstate the Johnson-O'Malley Educational Program in California. This would provide immediate funds for the implementation of several of the recommendations found in the "Report of the Conference on the Education of Teachers of California Indians held at Stanislaus State College, March 19-21, 1967." The State Advisory Commission's report, "A Johnson-O'Malley Educational Program for California Indians," by Staff Analyst Anthony D. Brown, June, 1967, also makes several suggestions concerning ways the funds could be used to carry out these recommendations. Commissioner of Indian Affairs Bennett has indicated to various members of our committee that these funds could be available immediately upon request from the State.

It is our hope that the Commission will provide the avenue whereby our children will ultimately acquire as much formal education as their white counterparts--the goal of our organization.

Enclosed are a program and copies of news stories which will give you more information on our conference.

We are looking forward to a very fruitful association with the Commission during your term of office.

Respectfully,

David Risling, Jr.
Chairman

Appendix E: The Recommendations of the Stanislaus Conference

I. Conference Recommendations

The following recommendations are offered by the conference planning committee and seminar leaders based on an analysis of tapescripts of the discussions in each of the four seminar groups that met throughout the conference. The first two recommendations should receive financial support from the California State Legislature at this time; the latter four should be communicated to the appropriate officials of the California State Colleges, the University of California, the California State Colleges, the University of California, the California State Department of Education, the Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development, and Southwest Regional Laboratory. It is recommended:

(1) That there be instituted a statewide conference or regional conference of Indian adults in 1967-68. Leadership might well come from those who participated in the planning conference. [Now in process, ed.]

(2) That a series of meetings be planned in several regions in 1967-68, utilizing teams from the above conference and involving other representatives from the Indian community, from selected school districts, and from higher education. [In process, ed.]

Further, it is recommended that the following agencies and/or responsibilities be identified to provide leadership in realization of other long-range goals identified in the Conference Report:

(1) That the trustees of the California State Colleges and the regents of the University of California be requested to consider appropriate ways to develop and coordinate programs directed towards meeting special needs in Indian education.

(2) That within the California State Department of Education a person be employed as an Indian education resource specialist. This person should have a strong background in the behavioral sciences and a record of intimate experience in working with Indian people. His major responsibilities would be to direct a strong recruitment program for teachers in areas with significant Indian population, to provide more comprehensive data about special federal or state aid programs available to school districts with Indian children, to recommend local specialists to be employed through county offices and to cooperate in the organization of existing curriculum materials and in the production of needed additions about Indians in California.

(3) That a centralized curriculum laboratory and depository be organized cooperatively by Indian associations and the State Department of Education. Those responsible would first organize

a task force to determine what curriculum materials are needed about Indians in order to identify local, regional and statewide cultural contributions.

(4) That some research center or centers within the state work cooperatively with the State Department of Education, or independently, to undertake experimental programs concerned with the solutions of problems of the education of Indian children.

(5) That the inservice education of teachers of Indians in the rural Indian regions be extended and strengthened through the extension programs of colleges and universities and by other means. Teachers, administrators, Indian adults and community members should be directly involved in programs dealing with their local needs.

II. What Special Talents or Training Are Required to Teach Indian Children?

Identification of those special talents necessary for effective teaching was believed by many conference participants to be the most critical factor in the process of Indian education.

One of the talents listed as important is the ability of the teacher to be flexible; to have a willingness to revise, if necessary, virtually everything learned in college about "ordinary" children, and to learn entirely new approaches. This implies a willingness to start with a whole new concept of how to teach in an entirely new situation and an ability to realize that the general principles taught in any formal college classes must be tested in practice and be modified until the teacher and the students share common goals. Then the production of desired results may begin.

Formal education courses that are most useful for the teacher of Indian children are ones which provide knowledge in anthropological, psychological and sociological theory. Also valuable to the teacher are the application of case study approaches to the understanding of culturally different groups.

Such experiences should make the teacher alert to the social and cultural dynamics of any community into which he may go. He needs to act as a social scientist in that he has to have the tools to observe, analyze and understand the community and its peoples.

Beyond this, the teacher needs to have an appropriate first-hand orientation to the people he is going to serve. In other words, if he is going into the Trinity-Klamath region to teach, he needs to have a particularly intensive program in the current Indian cultural and social problems of that region. When new teachers are hired by a district, it would be desirable that they begin a workshop or inservice training session four to six weeks before actual teaching commences. The success of any such session depends on the awareness of local problems relating to Indians as recognized by the local school administrators.

The foregoing, however, attacks only one part of the problem. In a region where the students are predominately Indian, inservice training should improve the teacher's insight and ability to cope with various situations that may arise. The teacher in a community where there may be only one child of Indian ancestry in the class may well be confronted with a far different situation.

One of the recommendations offered by conference participants was that workshops be provided during the summer for experienced teachers who are teaching Indian children in public schools.

Another suggestion was that preservice students interested in teaching Indian children be allowed to complete their period of observation and student teaching at a school with a high Indian population.

Teachers must operate on the "feeling level" as well as on the verbal level when working with Indian students. Indians have strong ties and kinships which cannot be penetrated by people who are not warm and sympathetic. It was recognized that the bulk of the new teachers coming out of colleges have the potential for interacting successfully with Indian children.

The teacher should gain the love of the children before attempting to deal with their cultural conflicts, for only through gaining the confidence and love of the children can he become an effective instrument in modifying the pupils' views of themselves and their duo-cultural heritages. It is the responsibility of the teacher to supplement the Indian culture enough to allow the children to get along in the society in which they live. At the same time the teacher should provide accurate information about California Indian backgrounds for Indian children and their classmates.

III. In What Ways, if Any, Did Your Preparation for Teaching Aid You in Teaching Indian Children?

Most participants noted that teachers starting work in a school with a high percentage of Indian students need additional preparation for special teaching responsibilities. Although a number of teachers favorably cited college studies in history, anthropology, sociology, education and psychology, they recognized the need for additional techniques in working with the special problems of Indian children.

Specifically, each of the study areas mentioned above was helpful for the new teacher. Study in a field, though, was not seen as an answer in itself. No matter how well versed the teacher happened to be in his particular academic background, a good deal of additional work, study and understanding was required before he became qualified to handle this role as a teacher of Indian children.

In general, the participants emphasized that experience rather than formal education was the most important single element in preparing them to teach Indian children, but also in working with any culturally different ethnic group.

This second question, then, turned out to be little more than a specialized part of the question which sought the special talents or training required to teach Indian children.

Granted, special fields of study were believed to provide invaluable preparation for teaching Indian children. However, it was felt that preserivce and inservice workshops during the summer and the school year dealing specifically with the problems of Indian children and the development of a sincere desire on the part of the teacher to work with these children were far more important in the preparation of teachers of Indian children than any particular college course or series of courses.

IV. What Changes in Teaching Have You Made in Order to Adapt to the Special Needs of Indian Children?

California schools, in general, operate to serve the needs of a middle class society. Teachers are too often prepared to teach only in this type of environment.

Most Indian children, of course, do not come from middle-class oriented families. Upon entering school, such children are therefore thrust into a social setting entirely foreign to their background.

The problem a teacher faces in working with Indian children could arise, for example, during a discussion of nutrition when the teacher asks, "What did you have for breakfast today?" If the Indian children have had no breakfast, the teacher, in forcing an answer, may cause them to become defensive and perhaps to lie. The teacher must be aware of such problems and adopt approaches to teaching that are less damaging to the self-images of the children.

Another trait that differs from middle-class white culture is the Indian characteristic of non-verbalness and deliberateness in action. Indian children often are labeled obstinate by the uninformed teacher becuase they refuse to answer questions for a teacher. The practice of avoiding an ultimatum and giving the Indian students time to consider the question will often be rewarded with a previously silent child "opening up" and becoming a part of the class.

In general the teacher who understands the adjustment problems peculiar to the Indian children and can relate this knowledge to the environmental demands of the classroom has less difficulty in adapting to each new situation as it arises. Experience based on this understanding is the way for a teacher to learn how to meet the day-to-day problems which arise in the classroom and to handle them in the way which will best benefit the children.

The participants, in their discussion of this question, were concerned about the existing programs of the colleges and universities in the State. However, they recognized the difficulty of trying to educate a teacher planning to work with California Indian children in a time of rapid changes in culture and social organization. The problems may be quite different even within small geographic areas. For example, there may be five to ten variations in Indian culture within a twenty squre mile area. Thus, if a program exists where a teacher receives extensive training and preparation for working with a particular Indian group, much of this training might not be helpful if the teacher takes a position teaching children of another nearby Indian group.

V. What Problems Do You Feel Exist for Indian Children in the Classrooms in California

One of the biggest problems many Indians must face in the classroom is one which has arisen out of a typically Indian characteristic--the unwillingness to compete in certain intellectual activities. This, for many, is a learned cultural trait and is reflected in many things Indians do. In a classroom where some Indian students are present, rarely does an Indian student volunteer to answer a question. The Indian children have learned that it is good to protect their peers and themselves from being noticeably different in the white man's world.

The avoidance of competition seems to be directly related to the self-images the Indians have and the insecurtiy of the Indians due to their native concepts of their culture. This may or may not be the fault of Indian children. The images that they have are frequently imposed upon them. These notions are stereotypes that other pupils in the classroom or even the teacher or members of the community may have. At any rate, the images may exist at a very early age. If the Indian children are not allowed to reshape their images in preschool or early school years, they may conclude, "I'm just an Indian anyway, so what does it matter if I try or not."

This kind of apathy and defeatist thinking seems to perpetuate itself. Most Indian children in school have poor self-images as well as a problem of communicating on the same level as their non-Indian classmates. They remain shy and do not make new friends easily. In the classroom they are uncomfortable and do not volunteer answers even when they are well prepared. Outside of the classroom, during the recess or lunch period, they seek the security of other Indian children and thus segregate themselves from the non-Indian students. As they grow older, this segregation or alienation grows and it becomes ever more difficult for the Indian youth to identify where their problems began and who is doing the persecuting the Indians feel so strongly.

The behavior problems have inevitable influence upon their classroom performances. Much of the motivation for learning that may have been generated in early years diminishes rapidly from intermediate grades on. The pattern of achievement levels off and falls rapidly behind standard norms. High school dropouts are frequent. A disappointingly small number of Indian children complete their high school education.

New pre-school programs for Indian children may offer one opportunity to bridge the two different worlds in which many California Indians live. Staffs should be trained to understand disadvantaged children and aides should be selected from the communities where the children reside. A more gradual and lasting transition may thus be effected.

Those Indian students who have accepted white middle-class values and have developed the willingness to compete, become active adult members in that society. They may or may not have retained their Indian heritage. Some continue to work closely with less privileged Indians; others are absorbed in a way which leaves the fact that they are Indians a matter of incidental concern.

For all Indians one path to a productive adulthood can be found in more extensive education related to their needs than that in which they participate today.

VI. If You Could Improve the Education of Teachers of Indian Children, What Would You Recommend?

The teacher who understands the broad, over-all problems of the Indian child, who is an effective teacher, well versed in the techniques of the profession, who has done extensive work with the peoples in the community where he will work, and who has the facility to become an accepted and respected part of that community, has the best opportunity to become a successful teacher of Indian children.

Individuals with these characteristics exist in the colleges and universities of the state today. The problem is to find them and to recruit them for teaching Indian children.

A professional recruiting program was seen as a most important first step in solving the education problem which, in its turn, is the key to the Indian's future. This program could be handled best by the Indian people themselves, perhaps working in and through the State Department of Education. The recruiters could conduct a continuing schedule of interviews among the undergraduate students in the state educational institutions both actively to recruit teachers for the school districts with a high number of Indian students and also to make the students and the institutions aware that the field of Indian education is available to them as a specialized career.

Direct involvement of pre-service students in projects within communities where Indian children reside could be a valuable recruitment aid. Inservice opportunities within local districts to produce curricular materials or to engage in research activities related to advanced degrees would also prove to be additional inducements for recruitment.

To supplement this recruiting, the participants recommended that a booklet be prepared in each county having school districts with a high proportion of Indian students. This booklet would be an in-depth report citing culture, specific problems, history and the economic situation of the area. In effect, the booklet would be a social studies "textbook" relating to that particular region and could be used as a study guide by prospective students who had selected the field of Indian education. The general feeling was that such a booklet would in itself not be as effective as a workshop or inservice education program, but would be more effective than having the teacher enter the area with little background.

It was noted on many occasions, however, that all Californians need to be better informed about the rich cultural background of American and California Indian cultures prior to the coming of the Europeans. Teaching materials should be provided which give an honest picture of Indian life and personality strengths so that Indian children need not continue to be subject to the self concept of being "just an Indian." White children need to be informed of both the good qualities and of the less noble traits and actions of their own ancestors. That is, a balanced history of the conquest of America might contribute greatly to the citizenship education of all Californians.

Another recommendation for the participants was that each teacher interested in working with Indian children should be able to help them form future occupational goals. Conflicting views were noted with regard to the dropout problem and vocational training. It was urged on the one hand that this rate be reduced through more relevant schooling. On the other hand it was suggested that the Indian children should be given vocational guidance early so that when they leave school, they will have the means of supporting themselves.

The recommendations for summer workshops, preemployment workshops in individual school districts, and inservice education programs made in previous sections were introduced again in answering this fifth question. These recommendations appear to be the most important element in improving the education of teachers of California Indian children.

VII . Conference Summary

The general consensus of the conference participants was that California Indians have achieved less in formal education than other Californians even though, in most cases, the facilities for Indian and non-Indian students are substantially the same. The consensus reinforces and supports the February, 1966, Report of the State Advisory Commission on Indian Affairs.

Strong feelings were expressed at the conference that all individuals sharing the responsibility of formal education for Indian children need to engage in extensive dialogue about the educational needs of Indian children. Particularly, California Indian adults should play a much more active role in this dialogue.

All participants agreed that the need for positive self-images for Indian children was of paramount importance within the school setting. There was real concern, however, on how these self-images should be formed. Within California there are many diverse groups of Indians. These groups include those singularly different from the culture around them and who maintain Indian traditions of the past, those who are living apart as Indian ethnic groups but who have lost contact with their Indian past, and those known as Indians who--with varying degrees of identification--live in urban centers. Each group may require a different provision for its educational needs.

Many expressed the view that further clarification is needed of the extent to which educational problems of Indians are peculiar to that ethnic group, and the extent to which they are common to members of impoverished, socially disadvantaged groups in modern urban-suburban society. Dissemination of information about existing research data is also needed. A relevant question is whether current compensatory education methods are simply not being applied to schools attended by Indians, or are inadequate to meet the needs of Indian children.

Programs for improvement of education for Indian children in California should be directed in at least five ways:

(1) The involvement of Indian adults in a series of conferences to determine what cultural emphases they desire in the education of their children. To this end the Indians in attendance at the conference formed an ad hoc committee to follow up the positive suggestions coming out of the discussion sessions. Specifically, an eight member committee is to recommend to the State Legislature that funds be provided to implement the suggestions of the conference; to work toward establishment of future conferences involving more Indian people; to study ways and means of financing educational programs for Indian children; and to investigate ways and means of gathering and disseminating resource material for teachers of Indian children and other teachers.

(2) Inservice education program for teachers of Indian children at

the local level, utilizing extension services from institutions of higher learning, and involving Indian adults, teachers and administrators within one or several closely related school districts.

(3) Preservice and inservice programs for teachers in selected institutions of higher learning, utilizing course work in anthropology and history of California Indians, as well as work in social psychology, and summer institutes which emphasize teaching techniques and which should be held near the centers of Indian population.

(4) New innovations designed to facilitate the recruitment of teachers for schools with Indian pupils are vitally needed. These innovations might include offering salary incentives, offering intensive in-the-field preservice experiences similar to those of the Peace Corps, or offering opportunities for inservice involvement in curricular development or research activities.

(5) Greater utilization of compensatory education and anti-poverty funds within the local school district on behalf of Indian children. School boards and Indian associations should be provided complete lists of special federal and state aid programs at earlier dates than they now seem to be available. It was felt that the new programs for the disadvantaged, Indians as well as non-Indian, can stimulate teachers, administrators, and school boards to search for innovative educational procedures.

Appendix F: American Indian Pupils and Personnel in California*

Preliminary tabulation, racial and ethnic survey
of California Public Schools, October 1965,
Prepared by Frederic R. Gunsky

A. Pupils reported as enrolled (other than adults):

Alameda county	543
Alpine	68
Amador	43
Butte	200
Calaveras	41
Colusa	17
Contra Costa	230
Del Norte	314
El Dorado	28
Fresno	395
Glenn	60
Humboldt	1,014
Imperial	280
Inyo	399
Kern	222
Kings	70
Lake	145
Lassen	101
Los Angeles	2,143
Madera	110
Marin	36
Mariposa	70
Mendocino	409
Merced	40
Modoc	49
Mono	56
Monterey	131
Napa	20
Nevada	15
Orange	320
Placer	87
Plumas	114
Riverside	520
Sacramento	237
San Benito	---

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*Subject to correction. Population estimates indicate larger enrollment of American Indian pupils should have been expected. Some may have been counted under"Spanish surname," "other white," or "other nonwhite."

San Bernardino	335
San Diego	685
San Francisco	148
San Joaquin	94
San Luis Obispo	40
San Mateo	116
Santa Barbara	78
Santa Clara	305
Santa Cruz	36
Shasta	333
Sierra	18
Siskiyou	304
Solano	85
Sonoma	307
Stanislaus	98
Sutter	17
Tehama	45
Trinity	29
Tulare	271
Tuolumne	65
Ventura	89
Yolo	58
Yuba	62
TOTAL	12,138

[Editor's note: it is very clear that teachers, who were largely responsible for assigning ethnic designations in this census, are not able to identify their U.S.-born Indian students in urban areas. San Francisco reported only 148 Indian pupils in spite of the residence of some 600 native California Indians and several thousand out-of-state Indians there.]

B. Certificated personnel:

Teachers	184
Principals, assistant principals or college administrators	15
Other certificated	11

C. Districts reporting more than 100 Indian pupils (other than adults):

Bishop Union Elementary, Inyo
Del Norte County Unified
Eureka City Schools, Humboldt
Klamath-Trinity Unified, Humboldt
Los Angeles City Unified
Montebello Unified, Los Angeles
Mt. San Antonio Junior College, Los Angeles
Oakland City Unified
Plumas Unified
Porterville City Elementary

Round Valley Unified, Mendocino
San Diego City Unified
San Francisco Unified
San Pasqual Valley Unified, Imperial
Santa Rosa Elementary and High School, Sonoma
Ukiah Unified, Mendocino

D. Districts reporting between 76 and 99 Indian pupils (other than adults):

Banning Unified, Riverside
Bishop Union High, Inyo
Fall River Joint Unified, Shasta
Fresno City Unified
Lakeport Unified, Lake
Los Angeles City Junior Colleges
Mt. Diablo Unified, Contra Costa
Needles Unified, San Bernardino
San Jacinto Unified, Riverside

E. Districts reporting between 50 and 75 Indian pupils (other than adults):

Alpine County Unified
Arcata Union High, Humboldt
Auberry Union Elementary, Fresno
Clovis Unified, Fresno
Garden Grove Unified, Orange
Happy Camp Union Elementary, Siskiyou
Hayward Unified
Kern County Joint Union High
Lone Pine Unified, Inyo
Mariposa County Unified
Marysville Joint Unified
McKinleyville Union Elementary, Humboldt
North Fork Elementary, Madera
Palermo Union Elementary, Butte
Richmond Unified
Riverside City Unified
San Jose City Unified
San Juan Unified, Sacramento
Shasta Union High
Sierra Joint Union High, Fresno
Stockton City Unified

EXHIBIT 2

"LAND OF THE OAKS"

by JAMES HARLOW

Published
1953 by
Oakland
Unified
School
District

Reprinted
1955
and
1959. Edition
1959 here
Evaluated

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EVALUATION

Submitted by the American Indian Historical Society, an All-Indian educational, cultural, and historical organization, with headquarters as a national Society, at The Chautauqua House, 1451 Masonic Avenue.

GENERAL: This book contains no factual material concerning the American Indian in the Oakland area. No sources are quoted. No references are given. No evidence is submitted to support the propaganda material contained therein. It purports to be a departure "to some extent, from the usual social studies textbook in that it is light and conversational in approach; it deals with the anecdotal and humorous phases of local history, as well as the factual; and it is colored in places so as to secure more dramatic reading." (Preface)

This statement appears to be a plea for the reader's indulgence as to any possible errors contained in the book. The approach is not merely "light." It is facetious in the extreme. Such an approach is ill suited to such a subject as the Indians of America as to their role in our history. Especially when it is tinctured with outright misinterpretation of Indian life and history. To display prejudice is bad enough. But to try and be funny about it adds insult to error.

Page 16:

a) "They (the Indians) liked the land for the same reason the animals had. The weather was warm and comfortable. There was plenty of food for everybody."

> The comparison between "Indians and Animals" is degrading to the Indians as a people, as a race, and as individuals. All human beings have "animal" instincts and needs. Yet textbooks do not make such comparisons about other peoples.

b) "They built their village around a little creek they named Temescal. Today the creek is known as Lake Temescal."

> The word Temescal is notan Indian word of California linguistic origin. It is an Aztec word adopted by the Spanish.

Page 17:

a) "These early Indians were often called Digger Indians. They were called "diggers" because the women and children were always digging around in the ground for seeds and bugs. The bugs were roasted and salted and eaten. They were very delicious, if you happen to like roasted bugs."

It is assumed that this statement was designed to evoke indulgent laughter. But further consideration will reveal that such a device is one engendering a supremacist psychosis in those who find it possible to laugh at such a display of arrogant provincialism. It is immaterial whether the author "meant" it to be taken in that manner. It suffices to damn it as an insidious display of innate prejudice and inexcusable ignorance in the very image developed in readers.

No one needs to be a gourmet to know about the so-called "bugs" eaten by the Indian people. One can get the special and rare variety of grasshoppers which the Indians enjoyedd for $2 a one-ounce can today. Or snails. Or certain insect larvae, highly prized by gourmets. When Americans saw the Indians eating tripe, they were disgusted, and called it "savagery." When the Spaniards saw the East Bay Indians eating sturgeon roe, they were horrified and called it indelicate and uncivilized. Now we call it caviar and pay $5 a half pound for it.

What is it to be "strange?" What is it to be acceptably "normal" on the other hand? WHO is strange? Our own Indian people, who lived well, simply, peacefully? Or the white Americans, who make sophisticated war and play the expert as to the mores of modern culture? What sort of a smirkingly self-satisfied civilization has been made here in OUR country, that such insults may be put in print and fed to young people as "instructional materials!"

b) "The Digger Indians liked to take life easy."

There was no such tribe as Digger. This is a term of insult and ought not to be used.

Indian life was not "easy," nor was the native lazy. He worked hard and well, and had a highly organized life, or he could not have survived in decency, in that type of society and in that environment.

c) "Civilization develops only when people travel about and learn new things from other people. The Digger Indians were happy with things the way they were."

"Digger" is an insulting term.

The oversimplification as to how civilization develops is impermissible in school use. The Indians travelled as far as Lower California, Arizona, and Nevada. They learned new skills from different tribes. Yet they did not develop the particular type of civilization represented by the Spaniards and Americans.

Page 18:

a) "When winter came and the cold winds started to blow, they covered their bodies with big gobs of mud. They left the mud on all winter, only replacing from time to time what had fallen off."

This is a misinterpretation of Indian customs. Generally, the body was covered with mud in certain ceremonies, in certain rituals, in an effort to hide from the white man's depredations, and as a cleansing agent. At no time was "mud" utilized to keep the body warm, nor was it ever left on the body for any length of time.

East Bay Indian tribes, as all others in California, were expert tanners. They had available to them, and freely utilized, all types of skins. They owned blankets of rabbit fur, otter, and skins of other furred animals. They hunted local game for this purpose as well as for food, and they traded for other furs with distant tribes.

b) "His mud-suit would just wash away and leave him all chilly."

This is supposed to be funny. It probably does elicit titters among the students, who thereafter have left in their minds certain ideological elements of prejudice and racial supremacy. But this type of humor, which degrades a whole people, is positively indecent in an educator and absolutely inadmissible in an educator.

c) "The women soaked the acord flour in water mixed with ashes. This took the bitter taste away."

Ashes were not used in taking the "bitter taste away." The process was LEACHING - one of the outstanding, unique achievements of the Indians of California.

Page 20:

a) "Every time you dig into the ground, you are likely to bump into something you could use to decorate your house on Halloween."

This refers to the multitude of shell mounds (refuse heaps) and Indian burial grounds existing in the Bay area. This is an invitation to unqualified students to go and dig in archaeological sites. It is also an invitation to desecrate Indian burial grounds and cemeteries. Enough of this has been done already - to the sorrow of the Indian people and the loss of priceless objects of antiquity , without inducing a project in this direction. It is also outrageously in bad taste.

b) "An Indian village was a rather strange looking thing. It looked like a bunch of bumps, about five feet high, in the ground. These "bumps" were actually huts made of mud and branches. When the rains came, the branches kept the mud from sliding away altogether. Still, the houses must have become pretty soft and mushy. That didn't seem to bother the Indians. After all, they were covered with mud, so they probably felt very much at home."

What is strange? To whom? The huts were ingeniously constructed of hard oak poles, tree branches, and clay. It amply served their purposes. There is a wealth of information to be gained from a study of American Indian domiciles, homes, and shelters. Information which EDUCATES the student as to the remarkable history of mankind. The tone of lightness and levity at the close of this statement is a literary achievement which should be accorddd a major place in a Handbook of Defamation.

c) "Temescal was the Indian word for sweat house."

Temescal is not a North American Indian word.

Page 21:

a) "It seems like an awfully complicated way of taking a bath, but it was probably better than no bath at all."

The steam bath is an Indian invention now utilized by the whole world. Indians had streams and lakes in which to bathe and they did, as often each day as time permitted.

b) "If there was any trouble with a neighboring village, the men marched off to battle."

This is another oversimplification of Indian history and culture. It is so simple it is wrong. Only as a last resort did the East Bay Indians resort to "battle." And then first of all, in the event of any "trouble" they called a council and discussed the matter.

c) "The women, on the other hand, had most of the hard work to do. Papa Indian would go out in the woods and kill a big deer. He would drag it home, drop it proudly at his wife's feet; then his work was done. Mama Indian had to skin the deer, cure it, cook it, and figure out some way of making a new pair of pants out of the buckskin for papa."

EVERYBODY worked hard: men, women and children. This is another vulgarization of Indian life. It is degrading and insulting. And it is so wrong a picture of Indian life, that it isn't even funny.

d) "At the same time she had to keep an eye on at least a half dozen little Indians who were forever dropping off cliffs, getting lost, or catching whooping cough. In her spare time, mama had to make enough acorn flour to last through the winter."

Indian children were highly disciplined, highly knowledgeable about the woods and their country. They never had whooping cough, which is a white man's disease. Acorn flour is made to last only for the next cooking. Only the acorn NUTS were stored, and they could be stored for as long as two years. The Indian ingenuity in constructing their storage bins might have been of far more interest to the students than this silly attempt at humor.

Page 22:

a) "The Indians could neither read nor write."

> NO people in that state of society had writing. The word "could" leads to misconceptions. Neither could 99% of the Spaniards read and write, and THEY had writing. The '49'ers are estimated to have been 75% illiterate.

b) "It might be that the Indians were so untidy that germs were afraid of them. They seemed to keep healthy in spite of the lives they led. But then their lives were such that they had plenty of good food, clean water, exercise, fresh air, and sleep."

> Despite the modifying last part of this paragraph, the introductory sentence is degrading. First of all, Indians were not at all "untidy." No one who has seen an Indian old-time hut or shelter would believe that. The earth was kept clean. Every smallest cooking and craft making utensil was in its proper place and ready for use when needed. Does the author really believe that the porcelain bathtub is the hallmark of culture?

Page 23:

a) "If an Indian got sick, he was almost sure to die, since little was known about the proper treatment of illness and injury."

> The Indian knowledge of medicinal herbs and plants are too well known by naturalists and scientists to make comment on this inaccuracy. Indians had a longer life-span than the white man has today. They had few, if any diseases. They had a knowledge of treating the special conditions which might threaten their health - such as accidents, eating improper foods, or poisonous snake bites. They had a superb knowledge of botany. Diseases introduced by the white man, however, were of such a virulent nature that Indian methods were incapable of treating them.

b) "He would wear a horrible false face, sing spooky songs, and do weird dances, all of which were guaranteed to scare the wits out of any evil spirit."

> This description of shamanistic methods is incorrect and degrading. It displays ignorance of the Indian religious customs. Too, what is "weird?" What is "strange?" Modern women's painted faces are "weird" to Indians even today.

c) "How Fire Came to Earth"

> This story is not a legend of any East Bay Indian tribe

Page 25:

a) "Communication and transportation. The Indians didn't bother much with either of these important things."

> The trade routs of the California and other western Indians are

too well known to give citations confirming that they had long and well-established routes - taking them hundreds of miles to other tribal lands for purposes of trade and ritual. Settlers who stole Indian land made war upon our people have good reason to know the Indian system of communication, which were superb for that day and under those conditions.

b) "The chief would send out a boy with six small pebbles to give to each of the other chiefs."

No pebbles were used. Knotted strings were generally used, as well as other devices.

Page 26:

a) "If, for example, a house caught fire, all the Indians would run over to help people get out. Then they would all stand around chatting pleasantly and watching the house burn. After the fire, they would all help clean up the mess and start to build a new house."

FIRE was one thing under supreme control of the Indian people. Forests were scrupulously protected against spontaneous fires by controlled burning. The accidental fires of Indian homes was practically unknown. They wculd hardly be likely to "stand around" in the event of such a fire. The entire village and all surrounding villages would be out en masse immediately, to control such a disaster.

b) "The men of the village were the policemen and the soldiers. It was their job to protect the village, women, and children, from all dangers."

There were no policemen, and no group or individual had that role to play in ancient Indian life, as well as before white intrusion.

There were no soldiers in the East Bay Indian tribes.

Page 28:

a) "They never tried to make their villages more beautiful. They never bothered to learn newer, better ways of doing things."

They had the whole country FILLED with the beauty of God and nature. Their hills, clean and MAINTAINED by themselves, were beautiful to behold. Their meadows, streams, valleys and forests, were the most beautiful in all the world. They LIVED and thrived, in all this beauty. They appreciated it, loved it, preserved it, cared for it, cherished it, and enhanced it. Care of the forests, streams and meadows is an Indian art only now acquiring appreciation. Conservation was an Indian mode of life only now being considered as the most effective method of preserving our remaining natural beauties. See what we have made it possible for you to HAVE - and look what you have done with it!

> Indians had an AVID taste for knowledge. They continually developped their knowledge of the woods, shrubs, flowers, bushes, tree plants. They had a knowledge of botany unequalled in that day and age. They had a name for each plant, leaf, berry, flower, tree. And all the varieties of each of these received its own name in each Indian tongue.
>
> Their languages were complex, capable of a multitude of shades of meaning and inflection, rivalling the English tongue in many respects.

b) "They went further back into the wilderness where they could be by themselves."

> They were DRIVEN, and PUSHED, and HOUNDED out of their lands and homes by the whites - Spaniard, Mexican, and American. This is a matter of record, which has resulted in litigation. This litigation has produced volumes of evidence proving exactly which areas the Indian lived in and possessed, according to tribe. Such men as Dr. Kroeber and Dr. Heizer gave evidence and testimony under oath to this effect.

Page 29:

"If the white man had not come to this part of the country, the Indians would have gone on living peacefully through the years, sitting alongside their mud houses, eating clams and throwing the shells on top of grandpa's grave."

> If the white man had not come and driven us out of our lands and our homes, we would have developed, in the next hundred years, a unique and most progressive state of society. Probably without porcelain bathtubs, television sets, and sophisticated wars. But certainly a life well suited to the human being in the eyes of God and nature.
>
> This is a slanderous statement, degrading, and the picture made of the Indian family is inaccurate in every respect.

SUMMARY:

The mass of materials which is readily available about the Indians of the Oakland-East Bay area had not even been touched nor utilized in preparation for this book. Descendants of these tribes still live in this area - their ancient homeland. The Secretary of this Society, who is co-signer of this evaluation, is one such descendant - an Ohlone Indian whose people lived here; whose people thrived here until the white man drove them out. They still live here, the proud descendants of Oakland's only native people.

For the Executive Council
RUPERT COSTO, Cahuilla man, President

Adopted by)
Executive Council)
December 6, 1966)

PHILIP GALVAN, an Ohlone man, Secretary

EXHIBIT 3

The Indian Historian

SPECIAL ISSUE

"The American Indian in Our State and National History"

CRITERIA
for the Curriculum Commission
State of California, as to the role of the Indian in State-adopted textbooks

C+

"A Critique of Seven State-adopted Textbooks"

"Suggested Aids for the Teachers"

A PILOT PROGRAM

August - September
1965
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The INDIAN HISTORIAN is a journal of the arts, literature and history of the American Indian.

Articles are invited on the subject of Indian history, literature, legends .. arts and crafts and current conditions. No payment is made. Unsolicited manuscripts must include return postage. The Editors reserve the right to alter articles to conform to space requirements.

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The Society is a nonprofit corporation founded and directed by American Indians, and organized for the following purposes:

TO DISSEMINATE information concerning the history of the American Indian.

TO PRESERVE the remaining traditions, artifacts, history, and evidences of the life and culture of the American Indian.

TO PROMOTE the culture, education and general welfare of the American Indian.

TO PROMOTE the conservation of natural resources, to preserve the remaining beautiful aspects of our country.

TO MAKE KNOWN the achievements of eminent Indians in every field of endeavor and in every walk of life.

TO CORRECT the misrepresentations and misinterpretations of Indian life, customs and religion.

The Society is a nationwide organization. Activities and programs include:

Publication of the INDIAN HISTORIAN.

The NEWSERVICE, a bulletin serving all Indian newspapers without cost.

The OHLONE INDIAN MEMORIAL, an ancient Indian burial ground and consecrated cemetery, restored to beauty and sacred memory. In Fremont, Calif.

INDIAN ARCHIVES & LIBRARY, for the scholars working on the history and culture of the American Indian.

The AMERICAN INDIAN EDUCATIONAL CENTER, offering classes, forums and educational activities for the Indian people, and all interested persons who wish to learn about the Indian.

This organization is fully nonpolitical, nonpartisan, and nonprofit. Applications for membership will be sent upon request. Dues, bequests and contributions are exempt from State and Federal taxes.

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EXHIBIT 4

TEXTBOOKS AND THE AMERICAN INDIAN

THE STUDY BEGINS

IN MAY, 1966, the American Indian Historical Society met with the Superintendent of Public Instruction in an effort to have the textbooks corrected, as they refer to the role of the Indian in American and California history.

As a result of this meeting, a committee of Indian people was set up, which began a complete study of all textbooks then in use. This study later broadened to include the textbooks being offered for adoption.

A COMPREHENSIVE report was made to the Curriculum Commission. Two more statements were made to the State Curriculum Commission by representatives of the Society. And finally, a statement was made to the State Board of Education concerning the deplorable condition of misinterpretation, misunderstanding, and flagrant errors concerning Indian history and culture, abounding in the textbooks.

Here, for the benefit of the teachers who must still utilize these textbooks - since they are in for five to seven or eight years - is the Indian evaluation of the textbooks now in use and recently adopted.

It is not possible to deal with each book now being used in the schools of California. Too, it is realized that many districts make their own adoptions. More often than not, the books adopted prove to have errors, and misinterpretations of Indian history and culture.

It is thought that these critiques of some of the books may help guide the teacher - at least help correct false statements in the teacher's mind - and at most, help her give the pupil a correct understanding of the Indian in our history.

The American Indian Historical Society looks forward to a long period of providing publications for use in the schools, including pictures and maps, textbooks for supplementary use, and instructional materials to put "meat" on the bones of educational methodology.

The matter of adopting a CRITERIA in adoptions of textbooks about Indians, will come up in two years. By that time, it is hoped that there will be sufficient information available to the teachers, so that books which peddle misinterpretations and falsifications about Indian history and culture, will FAIL of adoption.

CERTAIN TEXTBOOKS: ERRORS ARE LISTED

CALIFORNIA INDIAN DAYS, by Helen Bauer, Doubleday & Co.

This is the first book that engaged our attention. While it is not a state adoption, the book has been adopted by many districts.

This book contains distortions of Indian life, misinformation about Indian life, and misconceptions about the history, culture and the present situation of the American Indian in this state.

The distortions and misinterpretations of Indian life, existing in this book, generally arise because of a failure to understand that the Indians of California were extremely varied in their customs, traditions, languages and life, depending upon their tribe, their band, and their family.

Here is an exact criticism, by chapter and in quotations, of the errors found in CALIFORNIA INDIAN DAYS.

> Page 20: "Actually the word 'tribe' meant very little to them. If asked, they might not have been able to tell to which group or tribe they belonged. In those very early years, they all seemed to belong to one people with many families."

In other sections of this book, the author says that the Indians were "probably varied," different as to customs. Our readers and evaluators, three of whom were schoolteachers, were unable to reconcile this approach with responsible teaching methodology and responsible teaching philosophy.

It is a well-substantiated fact, that from the beginning of their history as a people, the Indians knew their tribe, band and family, and lived within the cultural structure of their tribe. This was the very foundation of their culture, social structure, and economy.

> Page 28: "The first white settlers who came to California called the Indians "digger" Indians.

The first white settlers were Spaniards. There is no evidence whatever that they ever referred to the Indians as "Diggers."

> Page 81: "A favorite Indian dance was the ghost dance. The men painted themselves white and acted in a funny way, much as our clowns do."

The Ghost Dance was a relatively modern manifestation. It was a religious and spiritual ceremony. In California, it had a brief span of life, and very little influence. Only in certain areas in the northern part of the state was it practiced even for a short time. The description of the Ghost Dance is completely inaccurate. The only type of dance which fits this strange description is the comic dance done by Indians of the Southwest.

See A.L. Kroeber "The Ghost Dance," pages 17,32.

> Page 122: "Spain knew that the Indians living in California would have to be taught to be friendly before anything else could be done."

The Spaniards would not have lasted a week, had the Indians NOT been friendly. Despite one or two brief skirmishes with Indians who felt their lands had been invaded (as indeed they had been), most of the California Indians were friendly..

See Font's Complete Diary, editor H.E. Bolton, page 256: "Everywhere they appeared to us to be gentle and friendly, and they did not seem to be very warlike."

See S.F. Cook, in sworn testimony before the Indian Court of Claims, published in Petitioners' Brief, page 62, Docket Nos 31,37: "On their first appearances among new tribes and subtribes, the exploring expeditions found the natives peaceful and inclined to be friendly. ... The customary hospitality was shown, presents were exchanged, and the gospel was heard from the priests with sympathy. As party followed party, however, and the natives saw their people drawn off to the missions or heard more and more tales of mission life, their first favorable impression changed to one of hostility and fear."

> Page 12: "Wherever Indians settled in California, in the valleys, on the hills, or in the mountains, they believed that the new land belonged to them and that it always would.
>
> Page 15: (under photograph) "Indians thought that this beautiful land belonged to them."
>
> Page 22: "Usually these groups belonged to a village or villages or lived on certain pieces of land they thought of as their own."
>
> Page 9, preface: "Once Indians owned everything they could see from their villages."

The land belonged to the Indian tribe, not merely as a matter of "belief," or "thought," existing within the mind or imagination of the individual or tribe. It belonged to them as a matter of recognition of that fact by all other Indians and tribes. The tribes had well-defined boundaries of homesites, campsites, food-gathering hunting and fishing areas. Each tribe recognized the other's rights and boundaries.

The statement made in the preface that "Indians owned everything they could see from their villages," is false. The evidence shows that tribes owned land in the mountains, deserts, and valleys, which they could not necessarily see. While some may believe this to be poetic license and to be forgiven, this may not be used as an excuse for misstatements of fact in a textbook.

See, Dr. C. Hart Merriam, ethnologist, biologist, author. Cited in April, 1959, before Indian Claims Commission brief, pages 21, 22. Petitioners Reply Brief, Dockets 37, 31, under oath:
"For about 38 years I have been platting the distribut ion of California tribes on large scale maps and years ago found that there is not an acre of land in the State of California that did not belong to Indian tribes ... Many people imagine that the California Indians are nomadic, like the Plains Indians, that they wandered from place to place. That is not the case, as every ethnologist knows. In California the various tribes have definite tracts of land, the boundaries of which are as fixed as the boundaries of our States and counties. An Indian of one tribe would not dare enter the territory of another tribe unless under circumstances of mutual agreement or except in pursuit of a wounded animal, which he was allowed to follow for a certain distance. He would not pick manzanita berries or gather a basket of acorns, or shoot any deer or rabbit or quail in the territory of another tribe, nor catch a fish in any of their waters.

"The tribal boundaries were definite and thoroughly understood in former years by every member of the tribe, men, women, children."

See A.L. Kroeber, anthropologist, cited before Indian Claims Commission brief, page 30, dockets 31,37, under oath.
"We know the California Indians owned California before the white man was here and whether a particular boundary runs here or turns a hundred yards this way or five miles differently, it doesn't matter. If "A" doesn't own this, why then "B" owned it."

> Page 45, on acorn cooking: .. "then the still bubbling hot mush was ready to be dipped into by eager fingers."

Unless our elders had a sixth finger, impregnable to burning, this was not done. Children and playful adults "licked" the side of the basket, just as the children do today. Acorn, either hot or cold, was served in little baskets, and eaten with mussel-shell or horn spoons, or spoons made of other materials native to the area. No Indian had a finger specially suitable for burning or boiling in acorn. This is another "cute" remark, not appropriate to a discussion of Indian culture.

> Page 26: "The Indians varied in their looks, just as they did in their customs and languages. Most of them had wide faces and broad noses. Most of them were short and of heavy build." All of the Indians had straight black hair. Usually it grew low on the forehead."

These last two statements bear scrutiny. There were just as many Indians with hair that grew "high" on the forehead as there were Indians with hair that grew "low" on the forehead. The Indians were not primitive human beings. They had all the characteristics of modern man. There is no evidence that the Indians were a lower form of natural man before the white man came. The hair "low on the forehead" is an insidious invitation to share the prejudicial belief that the American Indian before 1769 in California, was a lower form of life.

> Page 39: "The beds the Indians used were probably not

Question: To WHOM were the beds not comfortable? If their beds were uncomfortable, the Indians would have devised other ways of sleeping. Actually, their beds were made of pine boughs, grasses, or matted materials.

> Page 12: "No one taught them how to sew or cook, plant or build. Nature and a little work took care of their daily needs."

Question: How did they make mocassins if they didn't know how to sew with rawhide? How did they make acorn mush, stew, bread, and drinks, if they could not cook? How did they plant melons, squash?

See: Studies of California Indians, by C. Hart Merriam, page 67. See D. Strong: "Aboriginal Society in Southern Californua." See, S.F. Cook, all writings. See also Franz Boas, A.L. Kroeber, Robert Heizer among others

> Page 75: "One can well imagine the many hours it took to find all the materials needed for basket making; women wandered through the woods near the village looking for grasses, roots, and stems useful for basket designs."

The Indians knew exactly where to go in old times, for their basket materials, their foods, seeds, and stems. They knew their land and its boundaries, their food gathering areas, and their basket materials areas.

> Page 105: "The 'Indian heaven' would be a place where there was plenty of time to sleep, to dance, and to have all the food they wanted to eat."

The Indians believed always in a spiritual world, almost exactly as the Christians did, except they did not believe in physical manifestations of saints and holy men in wooden or idolatrous forms. They had no precise description of this place, and their language contained no such word as "heaven."

> Page 9, preface: "Place names, stone mortars and tools, painted rocks, stories told by early explorers and pioneers - these are all that remain as a record of that time."

Forty thousand California Indians "remain" who know their origins. Many know their history. All know their position in this society as one of the most maligned, mistreated peoples of the nation.

o) o

THIS IS A MERE sampling of what is wrong with this book. From 129 pages, 79 contain errors.

IF USED in the classroom, the teacher should be aware of the pitfalls, and is duty bound to correct the misinterpretations and falsifications of Indian life.

CALIFORNIA INFORMATION ALMANAC, Adolph Stone, editor. Published by E.V. Salitore, 8th grade supplementary, state adoption.

> This book is in general use as a source of information about California. Having become a state adoption, it is generally taken for granted it MUST be correct in every respect. However, like certain encyclopedia, it contains errors about the American Indian.
>
> Page 2, second paragraph, 1st column: "Inland groups were nomadic; northern and coastal groups were ..."

There is no evidence that any California tribes were nomadic.

> Page 2, third paragraph at end, 1st column: "These Indians lived in the Channel Island and coastal regions when California was discovered by Cabrillo in 1542."

There were Indians in California at least 20,000 years before (and new information states as far back as 60,000 years) Cabrillo was born. It is as though to state that California did not exist until "discovered" by some foreigner. Indians always are insulted by this sort of description.

> Page 2 and 3, last line of page 2, first line, page 3: "Chiefs were civil officers ..."

Chiefs were titular heads of families, clans and tribes, subject to the will of the tribal headmen and the people. There was no "civil" government and the term is wrong for a society in that early state. In some tribes the chiefs had more influence in affairs of the tribe than in others. It depended largely upon the leadership qualities of the chief himself.

> Page 3, first column, top of page; also in second paragraph, third paragraph, and last paragraph of the secion, page 3: "... the term tribe cannot properly be applied generally to California, it should be replaced by ethnic group."

This is an innovation in misconceptions about the California Indians. Dr. Kroeber first perpetrated the misconception about there being no tribes in California, dispite the disagreement of almost all Indians in this regard. Many small Bands existed; many families developed independent ways of life because of the rich resources of California. But the TRIBAL distinctions were sharp, clear, and unmistakable. Every Indian knew his tribe. And even after centuries of cultural destruction, MOST California Indians well know their Tribal derivation.

> Page 3, last paragraph: "Their own way of life, their families and friends were gone, and they were poorly equipped to live by the white man's ways."

They were driven from their lands into the missions. In the missions they endured forced labor. Then, after having been promised the mission lands upon secularization, they were once again driven mercilessly out of the missions, to become homeless, without work, unwanted by the white society which had dispossessed them, and driven from place to place until they died of disease or starvation.

> Page 3: "Treaties entered into with several Indian groups..."

Treaties were entered into with 18 groups of Indians (and one supplementary treaty, making 19).

> Page 4, right hand column, bottom of page: "As a result of this ownership restriction and to assist the Indian people in becoming more self-supporting, the Bureau of Indian Affairs constructs and maintains roads, constructs irrigation systems, manages timber and grazing land, sells timber, leases land for agricultural or other uses, collects and distributes rental income, probates Indian estates, supervises membership enrollment, aids in tribal government and performs other related functions."

The Bureau of Indian Affairs, which has in the past held great responsibility and power over Indians and reservations, no longer has this type of specific responsibility, except in connection with certain valuable trust lands such as those containing timber (Hoopa). All other functions such as education, health, etc. has been taken over by the State. (California only. Other states have different conditions.)

> Page 5, left column: "The three point program of the Indian Bureau..."

The entire paragraph should be revised. This has reference to the Relocation Program affecting Indians COMING in to California from other states. There is no program of industrial development on the California reservations.

STORIES CALIFORNIA INDIANS TOLD, by Anne B Fisher, published by Parnassus Press, Supplementary state adoption of 1965.

This book contains a preface: "FOR ALL BOYS AND GIRLS WHO LIKE INDIANS AND ANIMALS" Indians consider this an insult.

In addition, the Foreword, by Dr. Adan Treganza, contains a serious error: "In the third area, around the Channel Islands ... they looked to the sea for much of their food, the other groups toward the east like the Diegueno and the Cahuilla of the interior were true desert dwellers ..." Cahuilla Indians of the interior were also mountain dwellers, valley dwellers, as well as being desert dwellers.

The stories themselves are harmless, "cute" and not particularly authentic. Coyote tales were told for adult sophisticated entertainment; only few were told for children and then to point a moral.

CALIFORNIA, A HISTORY, by Williams, Briscoe, Babcock. Published by Harr Wagner Publishing Company.

> **While other books contain errors of commission, this book contains gross errors of omission.**
>
> **The opening chapters present an interesting and informative point of view.**
>
> **However, the book is determined to keep the truth from the children. This is a type of instruction, "Polyanna" in nature, which should be eliminated. Today, with television, newspapers, and radio blaring stories of incest, rape, and murder, one need not fear for the sensibilities of children.**
>
> **No mention is made of the near-extermination of the Indian during the gold rush, to the falsification of Indian history during the mission period, and to the complete failure to treat history factually, telling the truth and telling it in a way to induce thought without inducing horror.**
>
> **It is as though there were no Indians in the gold country, when in truth the miners stampeded all over the Indian lands, taking the lands by force, destroying homes and food stores.**
>
> **It is as though the missions were havens of refuge for the Indians, and schools which developed learning among our people. This is not altogether the truth. Indians, during the mission period, were the only source of labor power They lived in a state of feudalism, under strict authority and authoritarian control. And the missions were largely but not entirely outposts of Spanish rule.**

IT IS NOT POSSIBLE, in this sampling, to deal with every single book now being used in the classrooms. Should any teacher wish a study to be made of any specific book, the Society will be glad to do this.

ON THE OTHER HAND, this Society has pioneered in the entire nation, to have the books corrected and made to be good sources of information and good instruments of teaching - for both the pupil and the schoolteacher.

FOR THE FIRST TIME in American history, a segment of the Indian population, organized into an educational and cultural society, has come forward with concrete criticisms, proposals for correction, and a program to produce better books for classroom use.

THIS HAS BEEN DONE in the face of considerable adverse criticism. All beginnings face criticism. We are not afraid, and we owe it to the educators and to our youth, to continue.

REPORTS ARE MADE TO STATE CURRICULUM COMMISSION

THE AMERICAN INDIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY appeared before the State Curriculum Commission three times during the past year. We appeared once before the State Board of Education.

During these appearances, we made several presentations concerning the errors about Indian history and culture in the textbooks. Because these presentations reveal certain facts about the books, and certain information about the utilization of scholarship in the teaching profession, we reprint parts from all of the presentations:

WHEN the American Indian Historical Society came before you, the State Curriculum Commission, on August 19, 1965, our aim was to improve the textbooks as they tell the story of our people in state and national history.

TODAY, there is a rapidly growing movement, in which we are gaining the official support of the Tribes of California. Already 14 Indian tribes, the largest and most influential in the state, have endorsed this program of cleaning up the textbooks as they relate the history of the American Indians.

WOULD YOU be surprised that this program of the Indian Historical Society has drawn the most extraordinary interest from scholars all over the nation? Requests for materials have come from all over the United States, as well as from many foreign countries.

WE HAVE carefully studied every book up for adoption this year (1966). Universally, there is error and misrepresentation about our Indian people - their culture and history, and their present situation. It would take volumes to explain each error and to write the formulations which should replace those in all the books we have examined.

WE EXAMINED, with special care, the only supplementary book specifically on the California Indian (CALIFORNIA INDIAN DAYS). We found major errors and outright insults against the Indian people, in 62 pages out of the 129 pages of this book.

YET, there are people in the California school system who tell us: "These errors are not so bad, really! Don't forget that there is nothing else at present. So why not use this book until something better is offered?" Now this is a specious argument. Taking into consideration the fact that so many LITTLE ERRORS exist in this book, it is altogether a formidable array of "little" errors, isn't it?

IF Hitler's Mein Kampf was the only book available on German history, would you be willing to accept it as a basic text in German history?

NOW this book is being used in the districts. It would seem that no district would wish to purchase any further copies of the book until extensive revisions are made to correct the errors. And, if used, it should be done with supplementary correctional materials.

LET ME ask you, if the Negro people indicated they were insulted and misrepresented in a book about Negro people, would you ignore them? If the Mexican-Americans were affronted and insulted at their treatment in one or another textbook, would you ask them to wait for seven years, while corrections are made?

Are you assuming that the Indians are too small to have an opinion?

HOWEVER, the point is not that this is a question of some complaining minority. It is a matter of scholarship. To tell the truth, to give the facts, to present solid and authentic materials of instruction - that is the aim of education, isn't it? Well, you are not telling the truth about the Indians. You are not giving the facts. You are giving misrepresentations and even falsifications about our history and culture - and in some cases (whether by omission or commission) you are falsifying the truth, in these textbooks.

LET US take one point of fact: that is, the treatment of the Indians in the textbooks so far as their current situation is concerned. With practically no exception, every book submitted contains the same phraseology, the same concepts, the same material - all of it obviously dictated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and none of it containing basic information about the people, the tribes, or their situation as it really is.

THESE books contain falsifications about the Indian situation today.

IT IS NOT TRUE that the Indians are receiving adequate help and care from the Federal government. It is not true that the Indians have self-government on reservations. It is not true that the Indians go to schools manufactured by the Bureau of Indian Affairs which are models of high quality and produce great Indian leaders and scholars. These Bureau schools are the lowest scholastically in the entire nation. They are a scholastic fraud, and they have held the Indian people back for two centuries. How would you look at it, if the Department of Commerce, or the Justice Department, wrote your textbooks in history, civics, economics? The Bureau of Indian Affairs has dictated the history. The publishers have swallowed it.

LET US take the long view of history, the scholarly view of history, the view that humanity is progressing to social justice everywhere despite errors of the past.

Statement to the State Curriculum
Commission, March, 1966

TO THE STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION

IT IS exactly one year since the American Indian Historical Society began a practical study of textbooks as they deal with the American Indian in our history and current life.

WE HAVE studied many textbooks now in use, as well as all of those being submitted today for adoption. Our appraisal of the books you are now considering is contained in a 26-page Report now in the hands of the Superintendent.

OUR EXAMINATION discloses that not one book in the social sciences, either basic or supplementary, is free from error as to the role of the Indian in state and national history. Not one book correctly portrays the role of the Indian in our history.

ONE textbook, the Life History of the United States, in Volume 2, contains an outrageous atrocity picture showing the supposed murder of a white woman by two ferocious looking Indians. Now if we are going to show atrocity pictures in our textbooks, may we suggest that pictures be shown of white men murdering Indian women and children as they sleep, the Sand Creek Massacre, the wholesale murder of California Indians during the gold rush, Indians being poisoned and drowned and shot and thrown out of their homes and their lands. This picture has no place in a textbook. We consider the use of such materials in textbooks as a display of arrogant prejudice.

ONE QUESTION has plagued us during the course of these studies of the textbooks: Why are these misconceptions, misinterpretations, and falsifications of history allowed to appear in books which are supposed to teach our children to know and understand American history?

THE TEXTBOOKS on California are probably the worst among the books. They are bad in many ways. They are propaganda vehicles in which we tell the children how wonderful we are, how much we are doing for the world, and how BIG we are. There is nothing in these books to show the problems and how we solve them, or that we have made mistakes and must learn from them, or that there are other peoples just as great and maybe greater. The history of California in these textbooks, is tilted to the white race.

THE ERRORS, misconceptions and misrepresentations of Indian life and history which exist in these books, must be corrected. This is a point which is not negotiable with the publishers. You cannot negotiate about the truth.

WE ASK that the scholars, the publishers, the Curriculum Commission and the State Board of Education take the initiative in this matter, and see to it, as their personal responsibility, that the textbooks are cleaned up.

Statement to the Board of
Education, May 13, 1966

Published by the

AMERICAN INDIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Chautauqua House
1451 Masonic Avenue
San Francisco, California, 94117

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THE CHAUTAUQUA HOUSE
An Indian
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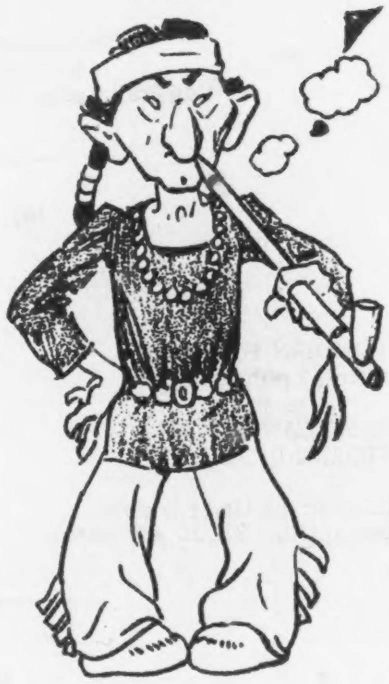
for all scholars

Exhibit 5

COMMON MISCONCEPTIONS about AMERICAN INDIANS



AMERICAN INDIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Chautauqua House
1451 Masonic Avenue
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INTRODUCTION

"There are few subjects in the history and law of the United States on which public views are more dramatically and flagrantly erroneous than on the subject of Indian affairs."

Harold L. Ickes, Secretary Interior
in Foreword, Handbook of Federal
Indian Law. Felix Cohen

"The federal law governing Indians is a mass of statutes, treaties, and judicial and administrative rulings, that includes practically all the fields of law known to textbook writers - the law of real property, contracts, corporations, torts, domestic relations, procedure, criminal law, federal jurisdiction, constitutional law, conflict of laws, and international law. And in each of these fields the fact that Indians are involved gives the basic doctrines and concepts of the field a new quirk which sometimes carries unpredictable consequences."

"To survey a field which includes, for instance, more than four thousand distinct statutory enactments, one must generalize. And generalization on the subject of Indian law is peculiarly dangerous.

"Just as the popular picture of the Indian embodies a false juxtaposition of traits, so the popular view of Indian law embodies a false juxtaposition of ideas."

Nathan R. Margold, Solicitor,
Introduction, ibid.

"It is a pity that so many Americans today think of the Indian as a romantic or comic figure in American history without contemporary significance ... Like the miner's canary, the Indian marks the shifts from fresh air to poison gas in our political atmosphere; and our treatment of Indians, even more than our treatment of other minorities, reflects the rise and fall in our democratic faith."

Felix S. Cohen: The Erosion of Indian Rights, 1950

"..When we Westerners call people 'natives,' we implicitly take the cultural color out of our perception of them. We see them as wild animals infesting the country in which we happen to come across them, as part of the local flora and fauna and not as men of like passions with ourselves. So long as we think of them as 'natives,' we may exterminate them or, as is more likely today, domesticate them and honestly (perhaps not altogether mistakenly) believe that we are improving the breed, but we do not begin to understand them."

Arnold J. Toynbee: A Study of History

"I'm certain we will continue to exist as American Indians. We are proud of our heritage, proud of our language, our dances and ceremonies."

Edison Real Bird, Crow Indian

THE WORD

Our point of departure in this discussion of "COMMON MISCONCEPTIONS ABOUT AMERICAN INDIANS" is the word "misconception" itself.

Webster gives its meaning as "an inaccurate or erroneous conception." Another step into precise meanings, and we come to the word "concept." This word was in common use as a philosophical term at one time. It is now more generally used synonymously with "conception."

Webster then gives, CONCEPT: A thought, an opinion; an idea of what a thing in general should be; a mental image of a thing formed by generalization from particulars. Considering that the prefix "mis" means: "wrong, ill, amiss, wrongly used, we derive the meaning of the word with which we are dealing in this paper, as:

MISCONCEPTION: An inaccurate or erroneous thought or opinion; an inaccurate or erroneous idea of what a thing in general should be; an inaccurate or erroneous mental image of a thing, formed by generalizations from particulars.

SOME DIE HARD

To "name" a misconception is a matter of correctly describing it, defining it, pointing it out. To clear up the particular misconception sometimes requires a simple application of logic. Certain misconceptions, however, are deeply ingrained and derive from inaccurate information, falsifications, and descriptions colored by an individual's personal beliefs, religious convictions, prejudices, or even antagonisms.

These latter misconceptions die hard, and can best be cleared away by authoritative citations, factual materials, eyewitness reports, and a face to face encounter with the truth.

In this paper, we can only indicate the citations and authorities. Too, it should be recognized that there are "authorities" who have been in error, and have themselves perpetuated misconceptions about the American Indian. Wherever possible, we will point out the origin of a specific misconception. But space does not permit an exhaustive treatment of this subject. We can only make a beginning and indicate the route. It is hoped that the reader himself will pursue this fascinating subject, with personal observation, research, and the reading of source materials recommended herein.

JEANNETTE HENRY COSTO
Editor, The Indian Historian

MISCONCEPTION ...
AND THE CORRECTION

Below are stated some of the more flagrant misconceptions concerning American Indians. Formulation of the "misconception" is numbered and in quotations. The reply is contained in the paragraph following.

1: - "Indians receive a regular check from the United States Government. They are wards of the government, which pays them money each and every month, to take care of them." -

SOME INDIANS do receive what is called "per capita" payments, usually on a quarterly or semi-annual basis. These payments (and only a limited number of Indians do receive these per capita payments) constitute certain shares of their OWN FUNDS, held in trust for them in the United States Treasury. Such funds may be in payment for the leasing of their land, the use of mineral deposits, proceeds from industrial or agricultural enterprises, or shares from a legal judgment fund, owed to the Tribe by the Federal Government.

2: - "The Indians were a warlike people. They made war on the United States, on the frontiersmen, on the pioneers, and on each other. Their ceremonies, dress, rituals, had for a principal theme, the waging of war." -

WARS were engaged in only by certain tribes, and constituted a minor part of the tribal life. California Indians did not in general make war upon each other. Nor was there ritual and ceremonial associated with war. Conflict usually occurred only in cases of trespass, adultery, rape, or stealing. As a rule, such conflict was resolved by intertribal conferences, or a mock battle in which winners were judged by impartial representatives of both tribes. Some few bands in Northern California did sporadically practice limited warfare.

THE MATTER was different, however, in the "Indian wars" between tribes and white settlers or soldiers. There is no proven evidence that Indians made unprovoked war upon the settlers, frontiersmen, gold miners, or the early colonists.

THE INDIANS attempted to protect their lands, their homes, and their persons from invasion by the whites. The breaking of Government promises and treaties led to conflict. Above all, the conflict existed between two different economies: the simple Indian economy which depended upon land-space and the natural products of the land, and the complex white economy which required grazing land, settlement land, and agricultural land. The conflict resulted in destruction of the Indian wildlife upon which they depended for food, in destruction of food-gathering sites, and even of food stores upon which the Indians depended for their winter supply.

THE INDIANS, almost universally, greeted the missionaries, Spaniards, and colonists with friendliness, and with practical help. Neither colonists, pioneers, Spaniards, nor missionaries would have long survived in the American wilderness without Indian aid.

3: - "The Indians have physical features which are peculiar to them. All Indians have high cheekbones. All Indians have reddish-brown skins. All Indians have straight black hair. All Indians have straight noses and thin lips. The cranium of the Indian is of a certain shape, thickness and type." -

SUCH GENERALIZATIONS usually fall to the ground when specific tribes, families, clans and individuals are considered. Many Indians, even fullbloods, do NOT have high cheekbones. As human beings, with a long line of developing physical characteristics, even individuals of one tribe sometimes differ physically. Such a generalization is especially dangerous today. Intermarriage has caused many changes in racial characteristics and appearance. Despite such changes, the individual is an Indian - legally, sociologically, physically, and ethnologically, if his status meets certain conditions of blood degree and acceptance by his tribe.

4: - "The Indians were an immoral people. They practiced polygamy. They were promiscuous in their sexual relationships. They had no code of moral or sexual conduct." -

NONINDIAN civilizations knew polygamy, and one need only read the Bible to be convinced. In certain stages of society this practice was general. Certain tribes did practice polygamy. But many did not. Whatever the practice, the Indians had rigid codes of moral conduct to conform to their way of life. All tribes punished rape as a capital crime. All tribes punished adultery as a major crime.

5: - "All Indians were stoical, humorless, dry. It was rare to see an Indian smile." -

THIS characterization, generalized as expressed above, is due to the overdrawn novels of certain American writers such as James Fenimore Cooper. But it is even more generally due to the stereotyped Indian drawn by television and motion picture productions. These mass-produced stereotypes are harmful and they are wrong. There are far more Indian humorists than there are stoics, today as yesterday.

6: - "All "real" Indians live on reservations, where they are forbidden to leave the place without permission from the "agent." These reservations are like prisons, where the Indians are kept in corral-like homes and compounds." -

RESERVATIONS are parcels of land set aside by the Federal Government for the use of certain Indian tribes or groups of tribes, in utterly inadequate "payment" for lands taken from the Indians.

IT IS TRUE, that at one time in the Nation's history, Indians were not permitted to leave these reserves. This has been long discontinued.

"RESERVATION INDIANS" even live elsewhere than on the reservation, while retaining their full rights and privileges on their own reservations. Not all Indian reservations have an Indian agent either. This is true only of certain reservations, upon which there is considerable valuable property such as timber, oil, or industry. In some cases there is a State Indian agency, such as there is in California at Sacramento. In other cases, there is a tribal Indian agency, or even more than one, such as the agencies among the Sioux people.

THE INDIAN people do not choose such agents, however. The government hires them and other officials who administer the affairs of the Indians in such cases.

7: - "The Indians did not actually OWN the land on this continent. They did "occupy" certain areas, but since they didn't have a deed according to our laws, they cannot be considered as having been legal owners of the land. The white man, with his more progressive laws and government, did the Indians a favor by introducing good and proper land ownership." -

IN LEGAL suit after legal suit, involving litigation over hundreds of years, it has been found that Indian "occupancy" of the United States was legally recognizable. The fact that the Federal Government went to the trouble of purchasing Indian lands, and to make treaties with the Tribes, as well as to enact legislation concerning lands owned by Indians, is evidence even according to modern law that the Indians did indeed possess and "own" their lands.

8: - "The Indians were a primitive and savage people. They lived in very poor and primitive conditions. They did not have the good things that white people brought with civilization. They had no rules of conduct, were impolite, and had no decencies of human behavior." -

THE INDIANS lived in a simple economy. Their methods of obtaining subsistence, shelter, clothing, and social organization, were far removed from European methods. They lived in a state which depended upon nature and her products. They lived WITHIN their environment, in harmony with nature, the seasons, the harvests. European civilization, however, had learned how to CHANGE environment. But such changes led to destruction of Indian economy and life, without giving them a new way of life, a new education, a new culture, and a new method of subsistence.

INDIAN LIFE was highly regulated, tightly organized, and this was necessary, if life was to be made to conform to nature.

HOWEVER, at the time of the white settlement of this continent, many Indian tribes had already progressed so far as to develop unique and progressive ways of living. This too was almost completely destroyed by the alien civilization.

THE INDIAN people were not primitive. They were highly complex human beings in a highly developed stage of human life. Their languages were complex, containing suffixes and prefixes, adjectives, nouns and verbs capable of distinguishing complex shades of meaning, many of which cannot be translated into English.

ON THE other hand, the alien white people brought diseases from their civilization, unknown to Indian life, which when the Indian was subjected to such diseases, wiped out literally tens of thousands of the native life.

SUCH decencies of human life as the sweat bath, natural foods now used by the whole world, respect for the rights of others, love for their elders, and respect for their laws - belonged to Indian life as part of their culture.

9: - "The Indians were unclean and diseased, particularly those in California." -

THE INDIANS of America were among the world's healthiest people, and this fairy tale was concocted by certain pioneers and frontiersmen.

DISEASE and filth came to Indian life with the white influx. Too, many white people wrote about Indians who were seen after the missions were disbanded. Hungry, driven from their lands and homes, not permitted to find other homes, these native people wandered homeless for years before any effort was made to afford them some small amount of relief.

THE INDIANS of that time were the result of the white man's ravages and greed, not the natural Indian of his tribe and his people.

10: - "Most Indians are uneducated. They don't like to go to school. They would rather stay at home and go fishing and hunting." -

THERE ARE many educated Indians, and their number is growing rapidly. Originally, when Indian people came under the domination of the Federal Government through the Bureau of Indian Affairs, went to third rate schools, where education was a matter of the least amount of learning and the most amount of discipline. This situation is changing too.

THE INDIAN HISTORIAN carries articles regularly giving the names and professions of educated Indians who have won high distinction in every walk of life.

11: - "The Indians are rapidly becoming extinct as a race. They are decreasing in population." -

ACCORDING to figures of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, those Indians under Federal jurisdiction alone are increasing in population. There are today nearly 600,000 Indians in this classification. Of this number, approximately 325,000 live on reservations.

IN CALIFORNIA, the enrolled Indian population, by count of 1958, was approximately 40,000. In addition, there are nearly 35,000 Indians in the state on a "relocation" program, better known as the vocational opportunity program. These are largely Indian people from outside the State of California.

California's Indians, before the white settlement, are variously estimated at between 200,000 to nearly one million. In 1852, the estimate was 18,000, many having died of disease, massacre, and hunger. Today, there are about 45,000 according to Bureau of Indian Affairs count.

12: - "The California Indians were the lowest and least developed among all American Indian groups." -

CALIFORNIA Indians lived in a different environment than did most other American Indian people. Their country was rich, lush in vegetation and foods of all kinds. They lived and prospered in this area, and did not require the agricultural development found elsewhere.

THEIR CUSTOMS, attire, ceremonies, were different from most others on the continent. While a well-ordered and nature-geared life was a necessity, they could live well on the products of the land.

13: - "Indians don't pay taxes." -

INDIANS in private life who live off the reservation and work off the reservation, pay city, state and federal taxes just like everybody else.

THE ONLY taxes that Indians do not pay are taxes on reservation land, just as other federal lands are not taxed - such as Army, Navy and other military installations. They are also not taxed on funds received as the result of litigation against the United States Government. As Indians are compelled to submit to the jurisdiction of the Federal Government so far as tribal property is concerned, through the Secretary of the Interior and the Bureau of Indian Affairs, so also do they submit to the administrative regulations of any other Federal jurisdiction.

IT MIGHT BE recalled that nonprofit corporations also receive Federal tax exemption, and with less controls and certainly less reasons than do the Indians on tribal lands.

14: - "Indians are not allowed to vote." -

INDIANS received the vote by congressional legislation in 1924. Arizona and New Mexico gave Indians the right to vote in 1948.

INEQUITIES still exist, however. In Arizona, for example, the literacy test has been invoked (1966) in certain counties, in the cases of Navajo citizens. English, for most Navajo people, is a "second" language.

15: - "It was "progress" for the white people to take Indian lands. The Indians received the benefits of civilization in return. The white people were duty bound to take away the Indian land. The Indians were not utilizing the land anyhow." -

THIS IS a favorite tenet of white supremacy. Indian economy demanded large areas of rangeland for buffalo and other wildlife. Indian economy demanded large areas where natural foods flourished. Great acres of oak trees of certain varieties were needed to produce the California acorn which was in such great demand by the Indians. White settlers actually destroyed many miles of Indian food sites, homesites, wild animal preserves. The settlers' utilization of grazing cattle muddied streams where the fish abounded, used for native life.

16: - "The Indian question is entirely a minority question, just like the problem of the Negro and Mexican-American, among others." -

THE SO-CALLED "Indian problem" is only in small part a question of a minority people. The Indian race is the only original race in America. Indian culture is the only culture indigenous to this Nation. Indian contributions to the economy of the country and the world is tremendous, when considered in terms of: the value of the gold taken from Indian lands, the value of corn and other agricultural products as food, the value of other elements of Indian life such as the snowshoe, sweat bath, canoe, medicinal herbs, etc.

INDIANS constituted a majority of the population at one time. But the problem is still the same: Broken treaties, broken promises, autocratic federal jurisdiction, lack of independence; no right to make their own decisions or develop their own leadership.

ALL OTHER minorities, and all other peoples in this land have no dominant culture other than the white culture which has been developed in America. The original culture of such people is of another land entirely, not native to this Nation.

17: - "Indians are unreliable. They are not good workers."

THEY ARE no more unreliable than any other section of the population, and just as reliable too. Employers report, time and again, that the Indian workingman learns quickly and IS reliable.

18: - "Indians like to eat exotic and unusual foods not fit for human consumption. They have indecent taste in foods." -

THIS IS AMERICAN provincialism. Grasshoppers, for instance, have always been a favorite food in areas where they could be obtained. Today they are widely known as a delicacy. Tripe, now a delicacy, was originally frowned upon by American settlers as "indecent" food.

The Spaniards who saw Indians on the coast take the sturgeon eggs and eat them raw, thought this to be an example of savagery. Today this is known as caviar.

19: - "Indians are always in conflict with one another. They never seem to be able to acquire unity. That is why they have not progressed." -

JUST LIKE other people, Indians know differences of opinion. Just like other organizations, Indian organizations have disunity and differing opinions on occasion. One need only look at the condition of the two major parties in the country to recognize that conflict is not a peculiarly Indian characteristic.

IT IS to be recognized, however, that with the small number of Indians and the great number of problems, it would be well If Indians could think alike, act together, and be just like a machine. Life is not like that.

INDIANS were divided into many and varied tribes, with languages entirely different from one another. The tribes had different customs, their own lands, their own family relationships. It is much more difficult for such an independent people to come to one point of action.

EVEN SO, the passionate dedication of the Indians who have chosen to work for and fight for their people, is unmatched among peoples of the Nation.

20: - "Indian scholars,writers, and educators would do well NOT to write about their own history, nor interpret their own culture and origins. They develop attitudes that are too subjective." -

THE WHITE race has been writing its own history for nearly a thousand years. No one has yet claimed they are prejudiced on their own behalf, nor that they are "too subjective." It is generally frowned upon, if an Indian displays emotion in fighting for his rights on an ideological level.

IT HAS long been believed in some quarters, that the interpretation of Indian history, culture, customs, and life is the special province of the anthropologist and the archaeologist. There is no valid reason why Indians cannot or should not write their own history, interpret their culture, and be as objective about it as any other scholar.

21: - "An element that proves how primitive the Indians were, is the kind of languages they speak. These languages are crude, guttural, and have no shades of meanings, nor sophistication of thought. Their languages were not written, therefore how can they be any other than a primitive people?" -

MANY INDIAN languages are highly complex, even more varied than English in shades of meaning, uses of prefixes and suffixes. The great development of linguistics research proves this.

22: - "The California Indians, specifically, had no true tribal identity. They were better classed as "tribelets" or "hearths," because they had no chief, no intricate and complex tribal relationships like other Indian tribes such as those of the East.

THIS misinterpretation was perpetrated by Dr. A.L. Kroeber, anthropologist of University of California, who until his death led the school of western anthropology.

IT SHOULD be recognized that in the field of anthropology, as in other scholarly areas, there is wide divergence of opinion on certain questions. Despite the valuable and monumental work of Dr. Kroeber, he was wrong in this concept.

CALIFORNIA Indian tribes had a loosely organized economy. There was no need for an autocratic chief. Rather, they had a leader, or teacher, who went among his people and taught them "the way and the law" of the tribe. Every Indian KNEW which tribe he belonged to. The languages of the tribes differed, even though there were many and diverse dialects within each linguistic stock. Indians of a certain clan lived in a village. A collection of villages constituted the tribe or a part of the tribe or band. The tribe as a social entity, as a force uniting the people and as a body which exercised leadership, did indeed exist in California, but in a different form than it existed in other parts of the country.

23: - "The names of certain California tribes have been improperly identified as the true names of those tribes. Such names as Luiseno, Gabrieleno, Costanoan, were names of the missions to which the Indians were brought, or names of a geographic locality with which they were identified. A group of families, tribes, or individuals who lived at a certain mission, for example, were thus designated as the Gabrielenos. There never was, nor is there now, such tribes as the Luiseno, Gabrieleno, or Costanoan. These are not tribal names." -

THIS MISINTERPRETATION and misconception derives from the efforts of the Spanish missionaries to wipe out all tribal ties, languages and entities. In certain respects, this has succeeded, for many Southern California Indians actually do not know their original tribal names or affiliations. The re-establishment of the original tribal entities, the original tribal names and designations can in many cases be effected. The Indian people themselves, have shown they wish to undertake this task.

AS ANOTHER example, the term "Mission Indians" is wrong. There is not and has never been a Mission Tribe. The term was first used by the Spanish priests, then taken over and perpetuated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

24: - "The California Indians were weak, had no courage, were cowardly. They refuse to fight for their rights even today." -

THE California Indians were and are still, a peace-loving people. They are also a proud people, well aware of the dignity of the human being. Indians are also a practical people. It is recognized that they are small in number. It is also well understood by Indians in California as elsewhere that their problem is a problem very different from that of any other group in the Nation.

ANOTHER consideration is that the Indian has not had any recourse except through the courts, for many years. Bound by rules and regulations, and preoccupied with litigation for many years, the California Indian's energies and efforts have been spent on courts and court actions.

25: - "The attitude best expressed as 'Lo! the poor Indian! Or, Pity the noble Redman!" -

THIS attitude is particularly distasteful to Indians. The Indian may be poor, but some are not. The Indian may be of a noble race, but may not be noble in himself as an individual. The Indians have their share of shirkers, drunkards and ignoramuses, just as others have. No excuses are needed for these conditions. They should be corrected, and efforts are constantly being made by the Indians to correct.

THUS, an Indian is not necessarily noble, nor is he necessarily angelic. He is a strong American individual who is to be respected for his attainments and criticized for his individual errors.

26: - "The epithets of SQUAW - BUCK - DIGGER." -

The word SQUAW, while derived from an Eastern tribal word, has become a word of derogation. It ought not to be used.

BUCK is a term given to Indians by prejudiced and ignorant white frontiersmen. It is an insult.

DIGGER is a term originating from contact between white people and Indians who used to dig for roots and corms. There is no Digger Tribe. It is an insulting term.

THESE, briefly, are the principal misconceptions about the American Indians.

AMONG the conditions tending to perpetuate such misconceptions are the poor textbooks now being used in the schools, nationwide.

THERE is a great need for more information, more factual materials, better textbooks, and new methods in the teaching of American origina as expressed in the history of the Indians of this Nation.

EVEN more, the television stereotype of the Indian-cowboy-frontiersman relationship is to be condemned.

WITH a change in these conditions, misconceptions will fade and be replaced by solid information and sound knowledge.

WITH knowledge, prejudice can be defeated.

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THIS MATERIAL WAS PREPARED BY THE

AMERICAN INDIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

in preparation for the

1966 Program of Workshops for Teachers in California.

1451 Masonic Avenue San Francisco, California (415) 626-5235

RECOMMENDED READING

CODE OF FEDERAL REGULATIONS, Title 25 (Indians)

Published by the Federal Register Division, National Archives and Records Service, General Services Administration, as a special edition of the Federal Register (Pursuant to Section 11 of the Federal Register Act as Amended.

The Code applies to Indians on reservations, reservation lands and resources, enterprises, industries and industrial leasing.

Recent sociological reports indicate findings which may prove this Code to be opposed to the guarantees of the Bill of Rights and the Constitution of the United States. Chapter headings reveal subject matter treated, i.e. --

"Determination of heirs and approval of wills; action on wills of Osage Indians; care of Indian children in contract schools; federal schools for Indians; administration of educational loans, grants and other assistance for higher education; enrollment of Indians in public schools; administration of a program of vocational training for adult Indians; enrollment appeals; preparation of rolls for the distribution of the funds awarded certain Indian tribes or bands of Oregon; Indian organizations exclusive of the Indian Reorganization Act; Alaskan native groups organized under Section 16 of the Indian Reorganization Act; sale of irrigable lands; special water contract requirements; leasing and permitting; preservation of antiquities; general forest regulations; sale of lumber and other forest products produced by Indian enterprises.

"Sale of timber products and use of forest lands for nonforest purposes; sale of forest products; general grazing regulations; rights of way over Indian lands; roads of the Bureau of Indian Affairs;leasing of tribal lands for mining; leasing of allotted lands for mining; service charges against Indians; issuance of patents in fee; certificates of competency; sale of certain Indian lands; reindeer in Alaska; regulations governing the election of officers of the Osage tribe; recognition of attorneys and agents to represent claimants; construction assessments, Crow Indian irrigation project; licensed Indian traders; procedures and practices; rules of the Bureau of Indian Affairs; appeals; list of forms."

In addition, the Federal Register regularly carries amendments, additional statutes and regulations, all of which must be added to or subtracted from the CFR as last published.

HANDBOOK OF FEDERAL INDIAN LAW, with reference tables and index. by Felix S. Cohen

Printed by the United States Department of the Interior, Office of the Solicitor, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, 1945.

This valuable resource book has long been out of print, but has recently been reprinted, brought up to date, and made available again.

Among other subjects, this book deals with the following:

"Background of Federal Indian law; the field of Indian law; the development of the Indian service; the legal force of Indian treaties; a history of Indian treaties; congressional power; administrative power; the form of tribal government; civil liberties; dependency of individual rights upon extent of tribal property; nature and forms of individual personal property; the allotment system; tribal existence; capacity to sue; tribal title derived from other sovereignties; the temporal extent of Indian titles.

"Tribal rights in improvements; tribal leases; tribal licenses; tribal right to receive funds; existing prohibitions and enforcement measures; crimes in Indian country; federal courts; court of claims; Pueblo self-government; property rights; tribes and associations.

"New York Indians; resistance by Iroquois to French; Tonawanda Band of Senecas; alienation and taxation of allotted lands of the Five Tribes; special laws governing Osage Tribe; tribal index of materials on Indian law."

Authoritative citations are utilized throughout. References cite prior litigation, historical background, legal background.

At last information, this book cost $15.

THE INDIAN IN AMERICA'S PAST, edited by Jack D. Forbes

Published by Prentice-Hall, available in paperback edition.

Contains quotations and explanations, with editorial comment on current situation. Dr. Forbes starts as far back as 1584. Quotations from Indian speakers utilized.

"Voices from Native America," chapter four, contains statements from the records, by Red Jacket, Tecumseh, Black Hawk, Black Elk, Little Warrior, Ketaguistah, and others.

INDIANS AND OTHER AMERICANS, Two Ways of Life Meet, by Harold E. Fey and D'Arcy McNichle.

Up-to-date survey of Indian life today, and brief history as to how it happened.

Published by Harper & Bros., New York.

Some quotations seem to be appropriate:

> "Indians do bear the full responsibilities of citizenship. They pay all taxes that other citizens pay, except their trust property is exempt as a condition of the protection in which it is held. Many citizens and organizations enjoy similar exemptions, e.g., owners of certain types of bonds, veterans, homesteads, co-operatives, churches, and educational institutions.
>
> "Indians are full citizens of the United States, having been made so by Congress in 1924. They are subject to its laws, except that when they are within the jurisdiction of the tribe in which they hold membership, they come within the tribe's laws, as other citizens are subject to the local ordinances of the city in which they dwell."

THE RIGHT TO BE INDIAN, by Dr. E. Schusky, published by the University of South Dakota at Vermillion, and the United Presbyterian Church.

A valuable asset in any library, it deals with the current situation of the American Indian in the context of the present struggle for civil rights.

Out of print. Available now in reprint without editorial comment, and in full. Reprinted by the American Indian Historical Society in limited edition. Price $1 plus postage. Order from Society at 1451 Masonic Avenue, San Francisco, Calif. 94117.

INDIAN PROPERTY RIGHTS, by Jack D. Forbes. Printed originally in Nevada Law Journal.

Of special interest to Indians in Nevada and certain western states including California.

Available now only through the American Indian Historical Society in reprint form. Price $.75 including postage.

HANDBOOK OF INDIANS OF CALIFORNIA, by A.L. Kroeber. Originally published by Smithsonian Institution. Available now from California Book Company, Berkeley. Price, $20.

This monumental work of Dr. Kroeber's is still the only source on the Indians of California.

HANDBOOK OF AMERICAN INDIANS, edited by Frederick Webb Hodge. Publication of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30. Two volumes, published 1911.

An authoritative work about American Indians. Includes subjects such as architecture, calumet, basketry, captives, agency system, Indian Industries League, marriage, medals, missions.

Section on "California Indians" deals with the subject in general terms. Section titled "Mission Indians" deals with certain Indian groups of Southern California.

HISTORY OF CALIFORNIA, by H.H. Bancroft. Published in the 1880's. This is the work of a number of researchers and writers, under the direction of Bancroft.

> An exhaustive treatment of the early history of this state. Index is faulty and the reader should beware. Only chapter headings should be used as a guide to subject matter.
>
> Out of print, but available in some book stores as second hand items. Usually sells for $10 a volume. Now being reprinted by University of California, at $12.50 per volume. Two volumes are now available.

THE NATIVE RACES, by H.H. Bancroft. Published in the 1880's.

> Bancroft accepted the writings and descriptions of early Spanish explorers in Mexico and South America. These, however, were generally colored by the individual's imagination and are vastly overdone, as well as incorrect in certain areas. However, treatment of the Indians of California is good. Lists tribal names and customs. An important source book but should be carefully used. Libraries only.

STUDIES OF CALIFORNIA INDIANS, by C. Hart Merriam, University of California Press, published 1962. An ethnological account of certain tribes of California. $5 per copy, and the teacher should have it before it goes out of print.

> Many photographs not seen elsewhere. Excellent descriptions of Indian ceremonies, dances, rituals.

A SCOTCH PAISANO, by Susanna Dakin, University of California Press, 1939. Available.

> The story of Hugo Reid during his 20 years in California (1832-52). Mr. Reid married an Indian woman of Southern California. Contains his correspondence, and his informative Indian essays on the Los Angeles County Indians. Published originally in the Los Angeles Star, these were widely read and discussed. Twenty-two letters were published, and have been out of print for many years. Available in full in this book.

THREE YEARS IN CALIFORNIA, William Perkins' Journal of Life at Sonora, 1849-1852. University of California Press, 1964. Available.

> These are the published journals of a young man who came to the Sonora gold country. Descriptions of gold rush, and Indians, good.

* * *

This is but a sampling of the materials available in University libraries, in such institutions as the Southwest Museum, and in bookstores. Other sources include the works of Robert Heizer, Paul Radin, and many others. In a class by itself is the Bancroft Library, one of the great depositaries of knowledge on the history of the west and the Indians of the west. At University of California, Berkeley. The American Indian Historical Society has good reason to hold affectionate sentiments towards this great institution. It was here we began our great work, which is now having such an enormous impact upon Indian scholarship all over America.

Exhibit 6

The Right To Be Indian

By
ERNEST L. SCHUSKY

"THE RIGHT TO BE INDIAN" by Dr. Ernest L. Schusky, is a reprint from a monograph published by the

INSTITUTE OF INDIAN STUDIES
UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH DAKOTA

and

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*

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INTRODUCTION

INDIANS
AND THE CURRENT STRUGGLE
FOR CIVIL RIGHTS

*

THE problem of extending full civil rights to Indians is highly intricate. Indians were made citizens by an Act of Congress but, because of a long and complicated history of Indian and Federal Government relations, they have many additional rights guaranteed by treaty.

THESE rights, unfortunately, sometimes prevent enjoyment of the rights of other Americans. In the current struggle for civil rights, Indians must be singled out for special treatment if their former rights are to be protected as much as possible while they are in the process of receiving their proper place as citizens.

IN addition to this complexity, Indians on reservations generally live in poverty. Low living standards are so striking that their emphasis may lead to a neglect of civil rights. Of course, economic conditions are closely linked with civil rights, and the problem of poverty must be solved. However, it should be remembered that economic improvement alone is far from sufficient in improving the present situation of Indians.

THE ECONOMIC PROBLEM

THE particular magnitude of Indian poverty seems to have obscured the problem of particular rights to even a man like Hubert H. Humphrey, a long-standing advocate of civil rights and an acknowledged expert in the field. In personal correspondence (May, 1964) Humphrey writes:

> "... the Civil Rights Act protects the rights of all Americans. This protection will be of benefit to any group which has suffered from discrimination, and this has too often been the lot of the American Indian. Civil Rights, of course, are inextricably linked to economic and educational opportunity."

HUMPHREY clarified his view on the importance of poverty in an address to the American Indian Capital Conference on Poverty in May, 1964.

> There is nothing new about the evils of poverty. Its destructive toll on the human spirit -- even more than its social cost in welfare and disease - has torn at our sense of justice. What is new about poverty is that it is not necessary.

> We are able to do more about poverty than we ever could before. America's resources are so developed that we have the means and the knowledge to bring peoples into an adequate sharing of our total social and economic life.
>
> Poverty is distributed among different groups and exists in separate pockets. The American Indian represents only one of various special situations. Each will require a specially developed program.
>
> The American Indian presents a special case in two important respects. First, the Federal Government is deeply involved because it has the major responsibility for Indian affairs, and is the trustee for reservations where the majority of the Indians live; and, second, Indians have special cultural problems which make it more difficult to integrate them into the economic life of a modern society with its rapid technological developments.
>
> We know that sustained poverty breeds cultural alienation. Educators, for example, now frequently refer to children of the poor in cities as culturally deprived. One could say the same about the children - coming from poor homes and going to crowded schools - on our Indian reservations.
>
> The American Indian, because his cultural problems are so difficult, provides a more critical laboratory in which to learn to deal with these problems. Indian reservations can become excellent pilot projects or models of what can be done - and how to do it - in the war on poverty.

A SIMILAR view is officially expressed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Mr. Leonard Ware, Chief of Correspondence and Reports, writes in May, 1964, that:

> We should like to point out that so far as Indians today may suffer from unfair discrimination in education, employment or public accomodations, the President's civil rights legislative program will, if enacted, definitely help them as it will all minority groups in the country. Bureau policy and all of its programs are aimed toward the goals set forth in (The Report by the Task Force on Indian Affairs).

IT IS necessary to analyze this report in some detail because it appears to be the foundation of present policy. The task force, appointed by President Kennedy, consisted of: W.W. Keeler, Phileo Nash, later appointed Commissioner of Indian Affairs, James Officer and William Zimmerman. The group conferred with many Indians, members of Congress, Bureau officials and anthropologists. The report was concluded in mid-1961.

The bulk of the report is directed at analysis of economic problems and organization of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Almost one-quarter of the report describes the administrative organization of the Bureau. The forty percent which describes economic development and community services is vital for planning, but relatively little attention is given to the need of Indians for protection of their rights. In the introduction, the task force notes: "The distinct legal status of Indians is a further hindrance to the abolishment of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the withdrawal of the Federal Government from this field. In many decisions, the United States Supreme Court has upheld Washington's responsibility for helping Indians find solutions to their problems." However, the report does little to suggest how the "distinct legal status" is to be protected in the future, although a section on Federal-State relations does point up some of the special problems which Indians face.

INDIANS PLACE "RIGHTS" FIRST

THIS position differs in emphasis from that of many Indians. They are well aware of their economic problems and stress them strongly, but a comparable emphasis is laid on rights. Indians note that if these were protected, then economic problems would not be so great. For instance, at the American Indian Chicago Conference, Indians pointed out that incomes on many reservations are threatened by disregard of treaty rights.

> GRAVE CONCERN has arisen as a result of the recent rulings of the Bureau of Internal Revenue which in substance directly violate the solemn treaty obligations made with the American Indian.
>
> In fact, within the past few years, there has been a steady trend by both the federal and state taxing departments to encroach upon the rights of the Indian in the taxing of Indian property. (Declaration of Indian Purpose. Report of the American Indian Chicago Conference, June, 1961, p. 15)

AS AN example of the arbitrary position of Internal Revenue, Indians pay income tax on profits from cattle raised on trust land. They do not have to pay taxes on alfalfa raised on the same land. Indians recognize that the Internal Revenue Service is not entirely at fault; what is needed is clarifying legislation. The report of the Chicago Conference continues: "In order to further prevent the establishment of such arbitrary rules of the Bureau of Internal Revenue, and to correct the rules already existing, we deem it necessary that legislation be enacted which will clearly spell out the intent and purposes of the existing treaties and agreements made with Indian tribes." (Ibid., p. 15)

RIGHTS linked with economic privilege were not the only concern of Indians at the Chicago Conference. A section of their report emphasized the rights provided by treaty and an expression of expectation that these rights would be respected. The far-reaching implications of these rights may be noted in just one of the paragraphs devoted to treaty rights:

> The right of self-government, a right which the Indian possess-

> ed before the coming of the white man, has never been extinguished; indeed, it has been repeatedly sustained by the courts of the United States. Our leaders made binding agreements - ceding lands as requested by the United States; keeping the peace; harboring no emenies of the nation. And the people stood with the leaders in accepting these obligations. (Ibid, p. 16)

THE REPORT also reminds the larger society of its obligations in respet to treaty rights. The Indians at Chicago noted what Chief Justice Marshall said of Indian treaties:

> Such a treaty ... is a compact between two nations or communities, having the right of self-government. Is it essential that each party shall possess the same attributes of sovereignty to give force to the treaty? This will not be pretended, for, on this ground, very few valid treaties could be formed. The only requisite is, that each of the contracting parties shall possess the right of self-government and the power to perform the stipulations of the treaty. (Ibid, p. 16)

AS INDIANS come to express their views on the Indian "problem," one sees special stress on the protection of Indian civil rights. Indians, of course, are as aware of their poverty as anyone, but they do not let economic problems obscure their quest for protection of their special rights. This position sometimes leads to contradictory stands, but emphasis on their rights is always clear. Thus, the National Congress of American Indians refrained from endorsement of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Their position was explained by Mr. Robert Burnette, Executive Director, in personal correspondence (April, 1964).

> We as the National Congress of American Indians have not taken a position on the Civil Rights Bill in Congress because there is fear among the Tribes that it will tend to hurt their treaty Rights.
>
> It is bad enough the Congress continues to break our treaties without just compensation as was done in the Crow Creek-Lower Brule case where land was taken by an Act of Congress and the Indians were paid nine years later without any consideration for interest that should have been applied when paid.
>
> My opinion of what can be done on Civil Rights violations among Indian people is very simple, for all the United States Government needs to do is to carry out the law irregardless of what the law was in integration cases. This also applies to Indian cases, but, because we lack the political strength, Indians are ignored and their rights are therefore trampled on by the very people who are being enriched by our property.
>
> The United States District Attorneys have not carried out

> their responsibilities towards Indians and the guaranteed guardianship of the United States Government has completely fallen apart since 1953.

AN organization of Indian youth took a quite different stand on the legislation, but they, too, pointed up the need for special recognition of rights. The following excerpts are from a letter prepared for Senator Humphrey. (The letter was later revised: only the original was available to the author.)

> The National Indian Youth Council is shocked and dismayed to hear that the National Congress of American Indians, at a most crucial time, has declined to take a stand on the current Civil Rights legislation ...
>
> The NIYC would like to go on record as unqualifiedly supporting and endorsing the Civil Rights Bill. Further, we feel it necessary to say at this time that the National Congress of American Indians' action does not represent the opinion of most American Indians ...
>
> Civil Rights legislation will certainly be a boon to Indians who live in those states which socially and legally discriminate against them. The vicious discrimination practiced in areas bordering Indian country must be stopped ... Legal chicanery to immobilize the Indian vote in many states is comparable to the Negro situation in Mississippi. This is only part of the vicious discrimination that the Civil Rights legislation will alleviate for Indians.

BUT a final solution, according to the NIYC, would require more than the present legislation.

> Segregation and exploitation is enough of a cross to bear, but the Indian is attacked in his own home and community. Even the educational system on reservations, over which Indians have no control, is explicitly aimed at breaking up his family and community. Further, what few rights an Indian has left to him by treaty - the last sign that he might be able to survive as a people - is being eroded away by high-handed action on the part of state governments and, unwittingly we believe, by unilateral action on the part of Congress.
>
> This system under which Indians live, which is a horrendous combination of colonialism, segregation and discrimination, has been going on for over 100 years. The result is that Indians are not only uneducated and poverty-stricken, helpless and without hope, divided among themselves, but also confused and threatened beyond belief. There must be some drastic steps in the way of legislation to accompany the present Civil Rights legislation in order to remedy this

100 years of intolerable and destructive discrimination.

THE recommendations of the NIYC give a general indication of what would be required to fully protect Indian rights:

> (1) The decision-making power in Indian communities must be put back where it belongs, in the hands of the people and the community. America cannot afford to continue a system of repressive internal colonialism which parallels the Soviet treatment of its national minorities.
>
> This does not mean that we are advocating that Indians must be thrown under state control. Indians cannot afford to pay taxes on their land; they just do not have the money, and, if they were to lose their resources, the job of economic rehabilitation will be just that much harder. At the present time, given the inexperienced state in which Indians find themselves and the climate of sentiment in states with large Indian populations, state control over Indian affairs could only mean that Indians would be shorn of their resources.
>
> (2) Indian tribes are not large and powerful politically, but we do not feel that this then gives state governments or the federal government the right to disregard and violate existent treaties ... If the United States is to be the moral force in the world which she aspires to be, the morality must begin at home. Her conscience has been awakened by the Negroe's plight. We only ask the American people to honor their word. Unilateral action by Congress or state governments in regard to Indian treaties is immoral. Indian consent, not "consultation," is needed in any drastic restructuring of the relationship, spelled out in treaties, between the federal government and Indian tribes.
>
> (3) A drastic and revolutionary economic and education program must be undertaken in Indian communities to overcome this 100 years of vicious discrimination which has resulted in the present condition of Indians. The trend must be reversed and Indians must be able to lead a decent life in their own communities. However, under the present discriminatory system, any program would only be further discrimination.

SUPPORT or non-support of civil rights legislation is only a tactical difference among Indians. Both the NCAI and the NIYC recognize that their rights differ from other minority groups and particular legislation is needed to secure these rights. In short, Indian rights are not now protected fully; Indians are in a unique position and their classification with other minority groups is to their disadvantage. The goal of many Indians is to maintain a separate culture and community, whereas they believe other minorities hope for integration and assimilation.

This view is well expressed by Sandra Johnson, ("The Indian Progress." Report of the 1964 Workshop on Indian Affairs. Quoted in: Institute of Indian Studies, News Report No. 21, November, 1964.)

> Since the public's attention is being turned toward civil rights, many people are equating the struggle of the American Indian with that of the American Negro. Actually, their situations are almost exactly opposite. The Negroes are striving to attain assimilation with the dominant white society, while the Indians are striving to resist this forced assimilation with the rest of society.
>
> The Negro at the present time, unlike the Indians, has nothing to preserve in the way of land, culture, language or traditional arts and crafts. He is an uprooted people who is concentrating his struggle in legal rights. The Indians already have full citizenship rights and so their legal struggle is to retain rather than attain ...
>
> On a different scale, one notices the apparent lack of support that the Indians have obtained both from the public and the American government. Yet if one has ever lived among Indian people or seen their dances or listened to their songs, one is aware of a great cultural richness. Everywhere, lip service has been given by churchmen and government officials alike that the great Indian heritage ought to be preserved. And everywhere, there is the same support of measures which lead to the destruction of Indian culture. All the educational relocation bills have been aimed at getting the Indian off the reservation and into the city ...
>
> Are we willing to protect and promote individual rights when they are not similar to our own? The answer seems to be "No," and the Indian tribes who are receiving this "no" may well have a right to scoff at the so-called individuality in America.

THE INDIAN stand in the current struggle for civil rights may not always be clear; but two important points do appear. First, the poverty of Indians is so overriding that it sometimes obscures the need for protection of Indian rights. Generally, the dominant society tends to emphasize the economic problems to the detriment of rights. It is easy to believe that, given economic opportunity and general civil rights legislation, the Indian "problem" will disappear. Indians, on the other hand, see the need for clarification of their rights as special citizens. Certainly, they too recognize their dire economic straits, but improvement in this area alone is not enough.

THE argument that Indians are "special" citizens and, therefore, deserve special rights may at first appear to run counter to the American value of equality. However, these rights would not make Indians unequal; they would simply allow them to be different. It must be emphasized that these rights are not due Indians because of their race or birth; the peculiar legal status of Indians is a matter of contractor consent. Felix Cohen has well summarized this argument:

> The special rights of the Indians are like the rights of the other groups that have special claims upon the Federal Government, for example, homesteaders, or veterans, or holders of Federal securities, or government employees, or government contractors.
>
> Each of these groups has special rights, because of service performed, and incidental to these special rights are certain special disabilities.
>
> A homesteader may not alienate his homestead. A government employee may not prosecute claims against the government, which is the right of any other citizen. A government contractor may not hire and fire as he pleases or work his employees more than a certain number of hours.
>
> These disabilities are not forms of discrimination against oppressed groups, but simply necessary safeguards incidental to the process of securing special benefits or payments from the Federal Government. By and large, it must be remembered, whatever we have given to Indians and whatever we give them today is not a matter of charity,but is a part of a series of real estate transactions through which about 90 percent of the land of the United States was purchased from the Indian by the Federal Government. (See Felix Cohen, "The Legal Conscience: Selected Papers of Felix S. Cohen," New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960, p. 255)

IN the "real estate transactions" a fantastically complex relationship between the Federal Government and Indians developed. On the one hand, treaties, Acts of Congress and Supreme Court decisions came to play a part in the definition of Indian, Indian Reservations, and Indian Rights. These definitions are explored in Chapter I. In addition to legislative and judicial policy, the executive branch developed plans for Indians which involved far more than acquisition of land. Various philosophies about what "should be done" for Indians have led to the present day, intricate legal status of the first Americans. Chapter I is an introduction to this history which makes Indians special citizens.

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*

I. THE BACKGROUND

I. Who is an Indian? It is important to recognize who is an Indian for two purposes. First, many Indians and whites have assumed that Indians are rapidly disappearing and that, once they are gone, there will no longer be an "Indian problem."

Of course, it could be argued that eventual disappearance does not justify any disregard for the civil rights of the present population, but it will be shown below that the idea of a "vanishing Indian" is only a myth. Second, a definition of INDIAN is needed for an understanding of the situation. Differences among definitions of who is an Indian contribute much to the legal and social problems facing Indians today.

A. Are Indians Disappearing? Initial confusion over the question of who is an Indian arose because of data collection by the U.S. Bureau of the Census and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The Bureau of the Census reports as an Indian any "person of mixed white and Indian blood ... if enrolled in an Indian agency or reservation roll, or if not so enrolled, if the proportion of Indian blood is one-fourth or more, or if the person is regarded as an Indian in the community where he lives." Actually, census takers usually determine race by inspection and may omit any specific questions about race. Therefore, a number of enrolled Indians living off the reservation or Indians of more than one-quarter blood must be inaccurately reported.

The Bureau of the Census figures for the Indian population are also misleading because of occasional special censuses. In 1910 and 1930 unusual efforts were made to enumerate Indians. As a result, persons were counted as "Indian" in 1930 who were recorded as something else in 1920. In short, the census counts cannot be relied upon to give an accurate picture of what is happening to the Indian population.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs compiles its own population figures, but these are primarily for legal purposes. Records must be kept of Indians eligible for enrollment in the tribe. These records are suitable for the purposes of the Bureau but, unfortunately, no standard definitions of "Indian" have been devised. As a result, Bureau figures are also unreliable for demographic analysis of the Indian population. In recent years the Bureau has shown a greater interest in the problem of accurate and standard reporting. Much more complete records are being compiled, and the data are being made available through the use of punch card tabulations. However, a number of problems still plague the Bureau in population analysis.

Working with the available figures, J. Nixon Hadley (1) presents the evidence which should destroy the myth of "The Vanishing American." He reports that the various, reliable estimates of the aboriginal population agree on a figure of less than a million. This population did decline rapidly until 1850, when there were only about 250,000. However, for a number of reasons, the Indian population held constant for about fifty years and then began increasing. From 1900 to 1950 the number of Indians increased to over 400,000.

Rapidly decreasing death rates account for most of the increase, but Indian birth rates are also high. Hadley assumes that death rates will continue to drop without an immediate corresponding decrease in the birth rate. Using conservative estimates, the Indian population projected to 1975 will be about 720,000 for the United States. The increase represents a growth rate of over fifty percent in comparison with an overall growth rate for the United States of less than forty percent.

It should be remembered that Hadley's estimate of future population rests largely on estimates from Census or Bureau figures. If these figures were low and his estimation on the conservative side, then the Indian population of the 1970's could well reach the million mark. A well-reasoned argument has already been made that the available figures on the Indian population are low.

A NEW ANALYSIS

In the late 1950's Sol Tax expressed dissatisfaction with the definitions and enumeration of American Indians. With two other anthropologists and a number of contributions, he began his own analysis of the Indian population. Results show the Indian population may be considerably higher than was suspected. The anthropologists counted Indians on Bureau rolls and those Indians who live in an Indian community and define themselves as Indians. (2)

Their definition was still restrictive and they point up several omissions. Their total for 1950 was an Indian population of 434,000. This figure compares with a Census count for 1950 of 343,410 and an Indian Bureau figure of 402,286. In a later revision of their figures, the anthropologists, adding some previously omitted communities, arrived at 571,784 as the Indian population for 1950.

B. How to Define "Indian." The discrepancies in estimate of population may be accounted for largely on the basis of differences in definition of who is an Indian. The differences between the Census Bureau and Bureau of Indian Affairs have been noted. Professor Tax and his associates developed a definition of "societal" Indian with a focus on individuals who lived in Indian communities and identified themselves as Indians. It follows that such people must also have some kind of Indian culture. And it is precisely cultural differences which make some civil rights problems of Indians unique. The description and analysis of this situation must come later, but the relevance of Tax's figures should be noted here. It may also be noted that Tax is not alone in his definition. Louisa Shotwell (3), after reviewing a number of definitions, concludes, "Probably the most reasonable working definition for us is this: An Indian is somebody of Indian descent who continues to think of himself as an Indian and whom the community thinks of as Indian ... "

THE CONCEPT OF WARDSHIP

Indians are often considered "wards" of the government. The concept of wardship is generally traced to a Supreme Court case, in which Chief Justice Marshall ruled that an Indian tribe was not a foreign nation, but rather a domestic, dependent nation.

He further interpreted that the position of a tribe RESEMBLES that of a ward to a guardian. Resemblance, of course, does not make a tribe a ward; certainly it does not mean that individual Indians are wards of the government. However, wardship soon became a popular word for describing the relationship between Indians and the federal government.

Many Indian agents and even Congressmen justified acts on this basis. Many violations of civil and political rights occurred because "ward" became part of the meaning of Indian. Religious practices, marriage and inheritance rules, rights to land and resources, were all trampled on the justification that the Indian was a ward of the government. Despite the fact that in the early 1900's an Act of Congress specifically made all Indians United States citizens, confusion remains. To understand why the idea of "ward" is so persistent, it is necessary to understand the nature of Indian reservations.

II. What Is An Indian Reservation? Indian reservations, on occasion, have been called "concentration camps." Such a label is generally much resented by Indians and is unfair to government officials who developed the policy of locating Indians on reservations. The "development" of a reservation "policy" is misleading. Like Topsy, the idea of reservations seems to have just "growed."

Under President Andrew Jackson the United Stated planned to move Indians in the East, west of the Mississippi. However, some states such as New York reserved areas for Indians and allowed them to remain in their home territories. Further, the present state of Oklahoma, known then as Indian Territory, came to be the locale of Indian settlement. Although Indian Territory placed territorial limits on Indians, there was little governmental influence on the tribes. With westward expansion, other Indian areas were created, especially in the Northern Plains. Treaty after treaty reduced these areas, and, as economic resources such as the buffalo disappeared, the government began to manage more and more of Indian life.

Before anyone was clearly aware of the consequences, Indians were living a segregated life on what became known as reservations. Segregation seems an appropriate generalization for reservation life because Indians were interdependent upon the larger society and yet not allowed full participation in that society. On the other hand there were strict rules about not leaving the reservation, and many Indians had no desire to do so. They clung to traditional ways as much as possible.

The idea that Indians were wards, coupled with almost complete economic dependence, made it possible for an Indian agent to assume dictatorial powers. Still, the reservation was land owned by a tribal group and supposedly under tribal jurisdiction.

THE RESERVATIONS CHANGE

The nature of the reservation changed greatly in the late 1800's, First, the former patterns of social control broke down in a number of tribes. Former Indian leaders were deprived of their power, traditional supports of the norms, such as religion, were weakened, or new conditions simply could not be met by traditional ways.

As a result, the federal government assumed jurisdiction over some crimes and informally agents took on more power. More importantly, a movement for assimilation of Indians reached a peak, and Senator Dawes introduced legislation in 1887 which would deliberately break up the reservation system. The Senator's bill, popularly known as "Allotment," has had such far-reaching consequences that it must be thoroughly understood.

The Allotment Act arose in the agrarian area. The West was being settled by homesteaders who received a quarter section of land. What could be more fair than to allot Indians a quarter section of land and train them to be farmers? The homesteading life was a kind of ideal (except, perhaps, to many of the luckless homesteaders); most Indians were subsisting on rations doled out by the government and, in view of the Protestant ethic, souls could be saved by hard work; finally, of course, federal funds could be saved if Indians became self-supporting.

In fairness, Dawes and many organized groups in the East, must be given credit for acting with the best of intentions. In the West, a number of politicians quickly joined the allotment forces because they saw the policy would open more land to settlement.

Allotment was generous in that it generally provided a quarter section of land to each Indian. Thus, an Indian family of four received a section of land, while a homesteading family of comparable size settled on a quarter section. Even so, many reservations had excess land after allotment; it was opened to homesteaders. In fact, the reservations were often checkerboarded with white settlers interspersed among Indians to set an example.

Of course, "uncivilized Indians" could not be expected to become fully assimilated in a few years. The land assigned to them was to be held IN TRUST by the U.S. Government for 25 years. In the trust period Indians could not sell their property without consent; neither did they have to pay taxes. The "trust" status of land led to numerous unforeseen consequences.

One, the states could or would not provide such services as education or law, to people they could not tax. The Bureau, therefore, continued such services. Two, who was to assume jurisdiction over such land?

The matter was solved by continuing the former practices, except where individuals ended the trust status and enjoyed full title to their property. At this point they became taxpaying citizens; their land, and jurisdiction over it, was regarded as comparable to other state citizens, such as the whites who had settled within reservation boundaries. In short, the reservation was now fragmented into: (a) white-owned tracts, (b) Indian-owned tracts with title comparable to whites, and (c) Indian-owned land in trust status. The states assumed jurisdiction over a and b; the tribe and federal government retained control over c. Finally, allotment created a fantastic problem of land ownership. Most allotments were not terminated at the end of 25 years, and the trust land began to be inherited by numerous heirs. This land, known today as "heirship land," causes an endless amount of bookkeeping. A description of the problems of heirship lands must be reserved for later discussion.

It is necessary at this point to summarize the nature of the reservation by the early 1900's. During the 1800's Indian territories had been more and more carefully delineated. They also gradually diminished in size. Initially, Indians had been totally responsible for their own affairs as long as they left whites alone. As their economic base collapsed, the federal government exerted greater control, and Congress authorized federal jurisdiction formally over major crimes.

With allotment, further land was lost, individual Indian property rights were meant to replace tribal rights, and states assumed jurisdiction over certain tracts of land within reservation boundaries. The situation was such that if a crime were committed, it might be prosecuted by the state or the tribe, depending upon which side of a road the act had occurred. It is conceivable that an act might be considered a crime on one acre but not the next; it was a matter of course that the procedure and punishment for a crime differed between state and tribe. This state of affairs was far from the American tradition, but no real attempt to solve the problem was initiated until the 1930's. Then an extensive overhaul of Indian relations was made; indeed, an entirely new policy was conceived.

Known as the Indian Reorganization Act, the new policy was largely the product of Franklin Roosevelt's Commissioner of Indian Affairs, John Collier.

THE "REORGANIZATION" ACT

The Indian Reorganization Act, or IRA, had many objectives Its primary aims were to make Indians self-governing and to improve economic conditions. Model constitutions and law codes were devised by the Bureau; the tribes adapted or modified them as they wished.

For the first time in United States history the Indians had a choice in policy. On most reservations tribal councils were organized which were to operate in a way comparable to city or county councils. In economic development, the trust status of land was officially continued. (During the 1920's, when the trust period had expired for many allotments, it was unofficially continued.) Furthermore, a revolving loan fund was established. Tribes could borrow with low interest rates for investments such as land and cattle.

Land purchased by the tribe went into trust. Many tribes spent much money consolidating lands which had been fragmented by allotment. On many of the Plains reservations ranching, rather than farming, was the only feasible operation; consolidating was essential for this type of development.

During the 1930's some reservations actually saw economic gains while the country as a whole was experiencing a depression, but these "gains," were from the poverty of the 1920's. However, the important part of IRA, for understanding Indian civil rights, is that some reservation lands reverted to TRIBAL ownership and this ownership was IN TRUST. Again, the trust status was enacted for the best interests of the Indians, and Indians were glad to enjoy the privileges. Not only was tax relief provided by the measure, but further federal aid and protection were built into the system.

Yet, no one fully understood that the trust status of tribal lands would prohibit true self-government. The major part of tribal business, carried on by democratically elected councils, was concerned with tribal property. (In addition to land, other investments such as cattle, sometimes "enjoyed" trust protection.) Property in the trust status was ultimately the responsibility of the Secretary of the Interior, or, in fact, the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Decisions on expenditures of funds were made by tribal councils but, where such decisions seemed "unwise," they were subject to veto by the Bureau. The Bureau found itself in the unenviable position of attempting to delegate AUTHORITY to tribal councils while it remained RESPONSIBLE for most tribal affairs. The dilemma may be illustrated by actual example. Bureau officials on the Menomini Reservation allowed the tribe to manage its own forest with a minimum of supervision. During a period of mismanagement the tribe lost a considerable sum of money. The tribe then successfully sued the Bureau of Indian Affairs for allowing the mismanagement.

It is obvious that no bureaucrat, regardless of his intentions, can allow a tribal council to make plans which he deems unwise. In short, the tribal governments do not have final responsibility, and most Indians have become fully aware of this fact. As a result, Indians are apathetic about their local government, and tribal council officers are frequently without influence in their communities. Indeed, given the situation, it is surprising so many energetic and forceful leaders do serve on tribal councils. Under the circumstances, these leaders often appear to turn elsewhere to express their leadership. Unfortunately, there are not sufficient data to support the obvious conclusion: when forceful leaders are frustrated as tribal chairmen, they find new ways to express their talents.

Another aspect of the IRA was cultural pluralism. Indians were expected to develop their own talents and to govern themselves as much as possible in their own ways. Not only were Indians expected to profit, but American society would be richer with a diversity of ways. The value of heterogeneity vs. homogeneity or cultural pluralism vs. assimilation has been much debated in America. It appears that there are highly ambivalent feelings toward the issue.

INDIAN POLICY CHANGES AGAIN

It is not surprising, then, that Indian policy changed once again. In 1948 the direction of the IRA came to an end. (It should be noted that during the Second World War the Indian Bureau suffered from lack of funds and personnel; it did not pursue its policy vigorously from 1941 to 1945.) President Truman appointed a Commissioner of Indian Affairs who was expected to end the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Later, Congress passed a resolution which emphasized that the full rights of citizenship should be brought home to Indians; however, the resolution also set the scene for legislation which would end the federal relationship with Indians. Soon, some reservations were scheduled to have their status as RESERVATIONS terminated. Also, some obligations of the Bureau were transferred to other agencies. For instance, the Public Health Service took over the health facilities formerly provided by the Bureau, and the states were encouraged to assume more responsibility for education.

Much opposition to the new policy quickly developed. Termination was seen by many Indians as threatening, and opposition to it united them within and between reservations. Indian lobbying groups, such as the National Congress of American Indians, assumed new significance, and the value of a distinct way of life on reservations became more amd more conscious to Indians themselves. In short, the nature of the reservation under termination policy was changed on minor technical points such as the introduction of the Public Health Service as a new agency. It was changed to a much greater degree because an Indian way of life was greatly threatened, and Indians became much more aware of the values represented by the reservation.

In 1960, termination policy came to a standstill. President Kennedy appointed a special task force to study the Indian problem. He probably foresaw the development of a comprehensive plan which would give Indians the benefit of full citizenship yet allow an Indian way of life.

This aim would probably be approved by most people, but the means for reaching this end are not at all clear. The task force, one of whose members was Phileo Nash, an anthropologist, spent much time in investigation. Nash was later appointed Commissioner of Indian Affairs. He has not yet introduced any comprehensive legislation to Congress which might indicate the goals of the present administration. He has worked hard to improve economic conditions on reservations, the most immediate and pressing problem of Indians.

Improvements can be seen, but it should be noted that even termination policy called for economic development of the reservations. The poverty of Indians is so great it could not be ignored under any kind of policy; it would be unworthy of American tradition, however, if economic problems were to obscure the numerous other problems of Indians, especially of civil rights.

III. Summary: Indians and Civil Rights. The definition of "Indian" is closely linked with the nature of reservations, and the meaning of "Indian" is tied to civil rights. Although an Act of Congress gave full citizenship to Indians, most Indian property is in a special relation to the federal government, and the trust status actually makes the Indian a special kind of citizen. Probably the greatest restriction on this special citizen is his lack of meaningful participation or voice in local government. It is precisely at this level that some self-control is essential because of the strong desire to insure and perpetuate a distinct way of life. The matter is so important that a later chapter will be devoted to it.

In addition to the restrictions on self-government, reservation life also creates some unique situations. On the one hand, a school operated by the Bureau prohibits any local control. All school employees are civil servants and responsible to the Bureau. Indians have no formal control, whatsoever, over the education of their children.

On the other hand, as citizens, they enjoy the franchise in every state and can vote for state as well as national officials. This privilege means that Indians can participate in the election of officials, from the county sheriff to the governor, who may have no jurisdiction over them. The situation has been described jokingly as "representation without taxation."

The matter, of course, is far from a joke. The situation often creates hard feelings between Indians and whites and is only one of numerous problems which make difficulties for the "special" citizen. Before analyzing these problems further, it will be necessary to review further some historical developments in regard to Indians.

The definition of Indian, and the nature of the reservation underlie and are further complicated by treaty rights, Supreme Court decisions, and the understandings or misunderstandings which have developed between Indians and other citizens.

II. WHY INDIANS ARE SPECIAL CITIZENS

The preceding chapter introduced the thesis that Indians are a special kind of citizen and as such will require legislation and aid beyond that of other minority groups. The idea is further documented in this chapter, and other aspects of Indian history are explored in order to show the peculiar nature of Indians as citizens.

The status of Indians, AS DIFFERENT, often becomes painfully clear in Congressional hearings. Not only is it obvious that communication between whites and Indians is exceedingly difficult but, also, a further barrier is the complexity of the Indian situation which is often almost beyond comprehension. Testimony gathered before a Senate subcommittee illustrates the point. An Indian, Mr. Cequala, is complaining of treatment he has received from the Indian agent, Mr. Jermark.

William Cequala, sworn to testify to the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, testified as follows: Mr. Dillon acted as interpreter:

> Mr. Cequala: I want to ask first, when you came here, did Mr. Jermark go to meet you?
>
> Senator Frazier: No; we went to the agency when we came here.
>
> Mr. Cequala: And he did not go to meet you?
>
> Senator Frazier: No.
>
> By Senator Frazier:-
>
> Q. Have you had any trouble with the agent - what happened on October 26, 1926?
>
> A. I was insulted in the agent's office. Mr. Jermark's office. He came out, and I said hello to him and went inside the office, and he said you come here and you are mad, and I said yes;and he said I have got this, and he pulled out a great big drawer and show me a gun there and a billy. I want to tell that man that you come here to investigate things like this so you never

> do any good and I am afraid of you as I listen you was going to put this through, and, my friend, you ought to take your agent home; if he was here I would say so; if he was here I would have taken him, or would you leave him and go on home. Now he is here, and when I tell it I see he is gone. That gun was about that long, and he show it to me and a billy. I am not drunk, but I was going to put him out. They made a law that whoever agent he was here he would not have a gun.
>
> By Senator Wheeler:-
>
> Q. You are wrong about that?
>
> A. That meant to that from 1868 they were not to have even pocket-knife.
>
> Q. You were wrong about that?
>
> A. And if they are going to have gun and keep on killing us, that is pretty bad. (4)

This situation, even for 1929, was indeed "pretty bad." To many Indians the local Indian agent was seen as a powerful tyrant holding life and death powers. Agents, of course, were not that powerful, and it is doubtful that many of them assumed the authority that could have been theirs given the Indian view of them.

However, the agent, through the B.I.A., did have extraordinary power over U.S. citizens - who happened to be Indians. The structure, which had grown piecemeal, made it impossible for Indians to enjoy fully the civil rights which they were supposed to have as citizens. It is ironical, but the events which led to deprivation of rights often involved people who thought well of Indians and attempted to see that they were given full justice.

I. Supreme Court Decisions. For example, one of the earliest Supreme Court cases involving Indians led to the notion that Indians were wards of the government. This case is worth examining in detail because it also emphasizes the special needs of Indian citizens.

The case derives from an Act of Georgia in the 1830's when the state arbitrarily extended its jurisdiction over the Cherokee Nation. Most of the Cherokee lived within the Georgia boundaries, and they suddenly found themselves under state law. They argued that their treaties with the federal government allowed them full self-government. Moreover, state law would annihilate the Cherokee as a political society. The dispute became known as "The Case of the Cherokee Nation vs. the State of Georgia." The opinion of the Court, delivered by Chief Justice John Marshall, became a hallmark in defining the status of Indian tribes.

Marshall first examined the evidence for the Court's jurisdiction. The Cherokees had sued on the basis of being a foreign state, and Marshall concluded:

> So much of the argument as was intended to prove the Cherokees as a state, as a distinct political society, separated from others, capable of managing its own affairs and governing itself, has, in the opinion of a majority of the judges, been completely successful. They have been uniformly treated as a state from the settlement of our country.

However, Marshall could not agree with an argument of the plaintiff that the Cherokee constituted a foreign state in the sense of the Constitution. He admitted to an imposing argument for being foreign, but qualified the status of the Indian nations in this way:

> The condition of the Indians in relation to the United States is perhaps unlike that of any other two people in existence. In the general, nations not owning a common allegiance are foreign to each other. The term foreign nation is, with strict propriety, applicable by either to the other, but the relation of the Indians to the United States is marked by peculiar and cardinal distinctions which exist nowhere else.

It is unfortunate that this aspect of the case has not received widespread attention. It points up the unique position in which Indians find themselves. The part of the case which did become so important soon followed.

> Though the Indians are acknowledged to have an unquestionable, and, heretofore, unquestioned right to the lands they occupy, until that right be extinguished by a voluntary cession to our government; yet it may well be doubted whether those tribes which reside within the acknowledged boundaries of the United States can, with strict accuracy, be denominated foreign nations. They occupy a territory to which we assent a title independent of their will, which must take effect in point of possession when their right of possession ceases. Meanwhile, they are in a state of pupilage. Their relation to the United States resembles that of a ward to his guardian.

The Cherokee vs. Georgia case is only one of the Supreme Court decisions which have placed Indians in a peculiar position as citizens. This case is of particular importance because of its reference to the relationship between the government and the tribes. Other Supreme Court decisions must also be considered in determining the rights to which Indians are entitled. Many of the Supreme Court cases are, of course, interpretations of rights granted by treaties or Acts of Congress.

II. Treaties and Acts of Congress. The thousands of agreements made between Indians and the Federal Government have not yet been sufficiently analyzed in detail. Here, only a brief description of this phase of Indian rights can be treated and some examples given to illustrate the special status of Indians.

In Revolutionary times, some Indian tribes were in such an important position that they could determine the course of U.S. history. The Iroquois NATION (a term applied by non-Indians) could have played a decisive role in 1776; a good argument could be made that if the Iroquois had sided with the British the colonies could not have won independence when they did.

The Iroquois had been a most important factor in the French and Indian War, and the incipient Americans readily recognized the importance of allying or neutralizing the Iroquois. That the Iroquois remained neutral, for the most part, was most appreciated, and the early treaties with them are clearly comparable to those made with other foreign powers. Similar treaties were made with the Southeastern Indians in the War of 1812. Again, Indians were decisive in the outcome of that war.

Rights granted in those treaties, as well as later ones, still must be recognized by the U.S. government. (And today some Iroquois still receive several yards of calico each year because it was promised them in an early treaty. The Iroquois demand payment in calico to emphasize the continuing validity of the treaty.) Of course, the government can break a treaty as well as make one; again, among the Iroquois the government was forced to do just this when it recently took land to build a dam. Yet, until the government admits to breaking a treaty, such rights belong to Indians.

THE QUESTION OF INDIAN TREATIES

Treaties continued to be made with Indian tribes until after the Civil War, although Marshall's decision that the tribes were a special kind of nation changed the nature of these treaties. Furthermore, in the latter part of the 19th Century negotiations with the tribes became important political matters. The House of Representatives, particularly, was concerned about their lack of participation since only the Senate must be consulted in ratification of a treaty.

Therefore, Congress passed legislation which specified that agreements with Indians would no longer be by treaty but by Acts of Congress. It would be difficult to determine if there were more or less chicanery in the Acts or treaties, but the point is unimportant here. The change in dealing with Indians still keeps them in a special relationship with the federal government. Rights provided by Acts of Congress are just as valid as treaty rights.

At this point, morality as well as legality could be questioned. Technically, an Act of Congress supersedes and is different from a treaty. Therefore, the following case may be legal but is obviously of doubtful morality. In a TREATY with the Sioux it was stipulated that any further treaty would have to be approved by three-quarters of the adult males of the tribe. It is easy to imagine that some wise chief or leaders conceived of this stipulation in order to end any further treaty-making. Given the conditions, obtaining of a three-quarters of the adult males' consent to anything was most unlikely. It is hard to understand how the government representatives ever allowed such a proposition if they had any hope for future negotiations.

Soon afterward, gold was discovered in the Black Hills, and the government sought to secure this land which belonged to the Sioux BY TREATY RIGHTS. Clearly, it would have been impossible to obtain the necessary consent, but the government no longer made treaties with the Indians.

Acts of Congress were now the means of negotiation, and nothing stipulated that three-quarters of the adult males would have to consent to an Act of Congress. The Black Hills were secured with a few Indian signatures agreeing to an ACT OF CONGRESS. Some Sioux still cling to the hope of compensation for this injustice, but the value of the Black Hills is probably worth more than the national conscience.

Another interesting example of how Indian rights must be regarded may be found in a 1924 Act which confirmed citizenship on all Indians. Since the question, "Are Indians citizens?" is still common, the provision of this Act must be spelled out. The Act provided: "That all noncitizen Indians born within the territorial limits of the United States be, and are hereby, declared to be citizens of the United States, that the granting of such citizenship shall not in any manner impair or otherwise affect the right of an Indian to tribal or other property." This Act, like much government policy, was unilateral. Many Indians did want citizenship, of course, but others did not. Again, an important moral question is raised. By what right was citizenship imposed? Even today, a number of Indians refuse to recognize that they are U.S. citizens, which leads to comic-tragedy events such as the Iroquois debating whether they would declare war on Germany in 1941. The matter was settled when they decided it would be unnecessary because they had never concluded the war they had declared in 1917. (5)

III. Indian Policy and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Perhaps the government's Indian policy is the best indication of why Indians are a particular kind of citizen. Some discussion of this policy was necessary in the preceding chapter; here only a general outline will be given to support the hypothesis that Indians have unique rights.

In the colonial period no overall policy toward Indians existed, and treatment of Indians varied widely. Some tribes were treated with kindness and justice. William Penn's dealings with Indians is a notable example. On the other hand, some tribes were wiped out mercilessly. Modern Indians have a telling joke. "The

Puritans landed and fell on their knees to give thanks. Then they fell on the Indians."

In writing the Constitution, the founding fathers established a vague foundation for treatment of Indians. "The Congress shall have the power ... to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states, and with the Indian Tribes." As shown previously, a policy of treaty-making and a concept of Indians as a foreign nation followed through the early 1800's.

Under President Andrew Jackson the Indian "problem" became most involved. Settlement in the Southeast was expanding, and lands of the Five Civilized Tribes were coveted. Jackson developed what became known as "Removal Policy." Indian land east of the Mississippi was to be exchanged for land in the West. Indian rights in the period developed out of Presidential actions and influence as well as Supreme Court decisions.

One of the first events was the murder of a white man by an Indian on Indian land. Georgia sentenced the Indian to death; the Supreme Court ruled that Georgia lacked jurisdiction; Georgia executed the Indian anyway. There is strong indication that the execution had the tacit approval of Jackson. John Quincy Adams, in criticizing Jackson's behavior in the case, charged, "The Constitution (is) prostrate in the State of Georgia ... because the Executive of the United States is in league with the State of Georgia."

JACKSON'S REMOVAL POLICY

The grounds for this charge soon became even more evident. Jackson appointed a Mr. Worcester as postmaster in Cherokee country. (Worcester was also a missionary.) Worcester refused to recognize Georgia's jurisdiction by refusing to take a state license or oath as required by state law. In an appeal to the Supreme Court, Worcester vs. Georgia, John Marshall ruled the Georgia statutes as unconstitutional. He said, "treaties and laws of the U.S. contemplate the Indian territory as completely separate from that of the states." However, Jackson refused to enforce the Supreme Court decision, and his remark, although not documented, became famous: "John Marshall has made his decision - now let him enforce it."

These events are explained more fully by Richard Longaker. (6) His analysis of Jackson's position is most revealing. He notes that Jackson held that the Constitution did not prevent states extending authority over Indians whenever they extended their boundaries. Longaker sees this as a "feeble rationalization;" Jackson's stand was in reality based on a distaste for Marshall, a commitment to Removal Policy and a lack of sympathy for Indians.

Longaker concludes that Jackson "had respect for Indian rights so long as they were exercised on the western bank of the Mississippi." It may be distasteful for Americans to realize that

Indian rights were so often at the discretion of the President; yet that fact is not only obvious in Jackson's administration but in many succeeding ones.

The seeds of reservation policy were contained in Removal. After Jackson, one can see the idea of delimited Indian areas growing. During the Civil War Indians were ignored except where they could be used in the struggle. But shortly after 1865 the notion of a continent filling with states was seen. That there was little concern for Indian rights during this period may be partially excused because of a strong belief that Indians would soon disappear. Indeed, their population had increased at a rapid rate as noted before. It may also be recalled that during this period the rights of Indians frequently came completely under the jurisdiction of a local agent, generally a patronage appointment and far too often a man susceptible to easy graft. It would be difficult for Indians to claim any special rights granted during this period; there were none.

ALLOTMENT: Failure

However, the national conscience became stirred late in the 19th Century and the Indian "question" again became a lively issue. Easterners for the most part saw Indians as worthy of citizenship, at least, once they learned to "earn a living by the sweat of their brows."

Senator Dawes felt Indians could achieve this Protestant virtue and introduced legislation for this end. Dawes believed that individual ownership of land, combined with a little guidance, would lead Indians quickly to civilization and preparation for citizenship. Thus, an Indian was to own a quarter section in trust for twenty-five years; then he could be given equal treatment and enjoy the liberties and responsibilities of other Americans.

There is no need to reiterate the failure of allotment, but it must be noted that the trust status of property was conceived and exists today to give Indians a special right. Moreover, the policy firmly planted the ideal that Indians should become citizens. As the aims of allotment melted away in the early 1900's (again, a war brought Indian policy to a standstill), the conception of Indians AS CITIZENS remained. As noted, the idea crystallized in the 1924 "Citizenship Act" which declared Indians henceforth as citizens. The Act, though, specifically did not make them strictly comparable with other Americans. Citizenship did "not in any manner impair or otherwise affect the right of an Indian to tribal or other property."

Under the Indian Reorganization Act not only were these rights recognized but the trust status of property was extended to the tribe. Allotment policy was a deliberate attempt to destroy tribal organization; the I.R.A. not only recognized the tribe but encouraged it. Tribes received charters to become incorporated for business purposes; councils were elected to represent the tribe AS A GROUP; and constitutions spelled out jurisdiction rights.

The I.R.A. was certainly a most humane attempt to protect former Indian rights while at the same time extending the rights of other American citizens. Although it improved economic conditions and added civil rights to Indians, the Act further complicated the nature of Indian citizenship.

Given tribal jurisdiction, Indians frequently suffer injustices from which they should be protected by "due process" of law. Jurisdictional problems between tribe and state also contribute to infringement of rights. The trust status of property and treaty rights make land problems phantasmagoric and lead to major misunderstandings between Indians and whites. In the confusion, Indian rights often suffer. Finally, the special treatment accorded Indians because of cultural differences (and cultural differences were encouraged under the I.R.A.) creates special problems in the fields of education and religion. Separate analysis of each of these areas is the province of the next chapter.

Felix Cohen provides a summary of Indian special rights in a discussion of why Indians are still often considered non-citizens. (7)

> I suppose that this very widespread misimpression is a natural product of the fact that Indians are frequently not permitted to spend their own money as they please, that they frequently hold lands which are exempt from state property taxes, that on their own reservations they are generally subject to tribal customs and ordinances rather than to state criminal laws, and that they receive various services from the Federal Government ... Now the fact is that all these legal peculiarities which we are so prone to consider marks of inferiority are either special rights which Indians have secured for themselves by contract, treaty or statute or are incidental appendages to such special rights.

Another important aspect of these rights is made by Cohen: (8)

> The important point seems to me to be that all the peculiar legal relationships that seem to encumber the Indian are in the final analysis really obligations of the Federal Government to the Indian which only the Indian can waive. To the great majority of Indians today these special rights and privileges are of high value.

Briefly, it is possible to see some progress in the past few decades in the field of Indian civil rights. Few Indians today would think it "pretty bad" if their local Bureau superintendent could threaten them with a gun; they would not tolerate such an event. But the complexity of the situation, the misunderstanding which still exists and the inadequacy of full protection of citizenship can still be seen in testimony before Congressional committees. The following statement was made by the vice-chairman of the Lower Brule Sioux appearing before a subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee in 1962. (9)

> The particular portion of my time with you here this afternoon will be spent in lieu of the fact that I have my master's degree in sociology, and I have been granted, given or instructed by the tribe to appear here before you. Of course, before I enter into what I am going to say, I should perhaps say that talking about a problem of any kind is good, like we have been doing this morning, and perhaps no doubt that you have been doing all this time, but, to me, it's only half good; the other half of this intention to do good starts from a proposition; the proposition then should lead to action. Unfortunately, many good intentions die in the talking stage; therefore, unless that which is discussed is proposed and acted upon, any amount of talking is a waste, for all practical purposes.
>
> My statement then will deal with an attack on the problem of what is either termed "constitutional rights or constitutional protection," and not particularly aimed at belaboring the discussion of any specific incidents which have been going on this morning. I, therefore, hope my presentation at this time isn't going to be out of context.
>
> The title of my statement, which I have written for this subcommittee to take when I get through stammering over it, is "The Need for a Legal Counselor." My statement shall be to make public a proposal which is in response to an apparently unrecognized condition which is existing for reservation Indians and nonreservation Indians. That condition is this: That they do not enjoy the same constitutional rights and constitutional protection afforded other American citizens.

The testimony of 1929 which introduced this chapter had a comic-tragedy ring to it; the statement of this witness in 1962 is simply shocking. It points up the fact that in most Indian courts legal counsel is not only UNAVAILABLE but in many instances is not even ALLOWED. A right which is practically taken for granted by most citizens is almost unknown to Indian citizens. The next chapter analyzes some of the areas in which Indians lack the civil rights of other Americans.

III. PROBLEMS IN THE CIVIL RIGHTS OF AMERICA'S "SPECIAL" CITIZENS

The preceding chapters were meant to give some understanding why Indians possess certain rights not due other American citizens. Because of the events which led to this unique position, Indians have found themselves often failing to secure the rights guaranteed U. S. citizens. In some cases it may be that Indians will simply have to forego former privileges if they are to secure full constitutional protections.

For the most part, however, compromise and clarifying legislation can guarantee both their "special" rights and standard civil rights. Solutions will not be simple. The complexity of the problems can be seen in these most important areas: due process, jurisdictional disputes, land rights, education and religion.

I. Due Process. As noted in the last chapter, Indians may be tried in a court where legal counsel is not only unavailable but prohibited. This practice is only one of many which makes an Indian court unique. There are three types of courts in Indian communities. In the United States there are fifty-three tribal courts established by constitutions or ordinances under the I.R.A.; twelve courts of Indian offenses established by the administrative authority of the Secretary of the Interior; and nineteen traditional courts among the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico. These traditional courts are governed by custom; since they are limited to the Pueblos, they will not be discussed here.

The tribal courts have been modeled after the courts of Indian offenses. The Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights found little resemblance between these courts and those of the State or Federal government. (10) The Subcommittee noted that a trial by jury was possible only if a trial judge found a substantial question of fact involved. Then, only six serve on the jury; only three of the jurors picked from the venire may be challenged. The verdict may be by majority vote.

No provision is made for a grand jury. Furthermore, on most reservations there was no right to appeal. Trial judges sit together when and where they decide to hear appeals; the court is given the right to decide the manner of appeal. Since few reservations have more than one trial judge, the judge of the appeals court is usually the same individual who heard the original case. Until recently, attorneys were not allowed even in the courts of Indian offenses, but a U.S. district court has ruled this practice unconstitutional. However, rules prohibiting attorneys are still contained in most tribal constitutions or bylaws; therefore, the individual Indian's right to counsel and due process, as a U.S. citizen, may still be violated.

The Subcommittee concluded in its examination of Indian courts that: (11)

> It would seem, therefore, that if the Indian is to be educated in the rights and obligations with which other citizens are so familiar, he must be free to exercise these on the reservations as well as off them. Since the courts have indicated that it is unclear to what extent the Indian's constitutional rights are protected from arbitrary tribal authority, clarifying legislation may be necessary,

What this legislation may be, however, is far from clear. At first glance, such practices as lack of counsel and adequate appeal procedure seem incongruous with American citizenship. Yet, the Indians' tribal courts do have advantages. Indians are not wholly dissatisfied with them. The argument for the tribal courts was ably presented by tribal attorney Owen Panner, before the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights. Mr. Panner was defending the court system of the Warm Springs Indians specifically, but his testimony applies generally. (12)

> The Warm Springs Tribe has its own tribally supported law and order program, and my remarks will be limited to Indians' rights in the tribal courts. We have a law and order code which was adopted in 1947 pursuant to the tribe's constitution and bylaws.
>
> Under this code there is a chief judge and three associate judges who are appointed by the tribal council for terms of 4 years, which is in turn elected by the people every three years. None of these judges are attorneys, and in fact, there are no members of the tribe who have had any legal education. Nonetheless, all are represented, and tribal members are unanimous in their wish to carry on the tribal law and order program, as it now exists.
>
> The maximum penalty permissible is 6 months in jail and a fine of $360. Without question, some defendants have disagreed with the decisions of the court, but I have never known one who disagreed with the system, or with

> the continuation of law and order in the law and order provisions made for a jury trial.
>
> Provision for a jury trial is made in any case on request of the defendant. If the defendant wishes assistance in the defense of the charges, he obtains a spokesman to present him or her case. Such spokesmen are not professional attorneys, but they are familiar with the Indian tongue, the court procedures, the Indian customs, and the law and order code.
>
> No attorney prosecutes the case against the defendant. The judge simply calls witnesses for each side. After the witnesses have told their story, the defendant or his spokesman has the opportunity to argue his case to the jury.
>
> Keeping in mind that the jurisdiction of the court is limited to cases which would in effect be misdemeanors, it is my firm conviction that justice prevails substantially more often than in misdemeanor trials in the State Courts.
>
> The imposition upon the tribal courts of all the requirements of due process as we non Indians know them, would mean the end of our tribal courts. If the defendant were represented by a professional attorney, the tribe would be required to employ a professional attorney to prosecute. All of us who have seen attorneys on opposite sides in the State Courts where the justice of the peace was a layman realize that this is a hopeless situation.
>
> If attorneys are on each side, it is imperative that there be an attorney to act as judge. On the modest budget available to the Warm Springs Tribe this becomes an impossibility, and I suspect this financial limitation would be insurmountable by the great majority of the tribes.

Mr. Panner's testimony makes it clear that the problem of protecting the Indian's right of due process is no simple matter. That is, injustice could be done if tribal courts were suddenly modeled after state courts. However, Mr. Panner's intimation that Indians are satisfied with the STATUS QUO is misleading. Many Indians are dissatisfied with proceedings in the tribal courts, and many are demanding the rights afforded U.S. citizens.

Some change is essential, but appropriate compromises are yet to be found.

II. Jurisdictional Problems. One attempt to improve the judicial process on reservations is to transfer legal jurisdiction from the tribes to the states. This step would introduce such rights as trial by jury, but the major reason for transfer is believed to be improved law enforcement at the police level. Tribal police are often poorly trained, subject to many informal sanctions and generally held in low regard.

Indian crime rates are notoriously high (one-third of the inmates in South Dakota state penitentiaries are Indians; Indians are only 5% of the population). One easy answer is poor law enforcement. Obviously, the problem is far more complex; it has been well explored for one state. (13) Because of the high crime rate and other reasons, the transfer of law and order processes from the tribes to the states has been given much consideration. Congress has passed enabling legislation; but states have been slow to assume the responsibility. Partly, the hesitancy is a fear of the costs involved, but the states have also met with Indian opposition.

STATE VS. TRIBAL JURISDICTION

At the American Indian Chicago Conference, Indians expressed much concern about transfer of jurisdiction. In their report they stated: "In view of the termination policy and particularly Public Law 280 (which would allow states to assume jurisdiction), many Indian people have been vitally concerned and fearful that their law and order systems will be supplanted, without their consent, by state law enforcement agencies which, perhaps, might be hostile toward them. (14)

This statement seems fairly typical. Much of the Indian fear is that they will receive unfair treatment because of prejudicial law officers. The extent of discrimination against Indians in one state has been documented. (15) What is most interesting is that in opposition to transfer of jurisdiction, Indians give secondary importance to the problem of cultural differences. They seem quite willing to change some of their legal procedures provided they are guaranteed their rights as U.S. citizens.

Emphasis upon these rights, however, could easily destroy many of the advantages which occur in the tribal courts. In a publication of the Fund for the Republic such a position seems to have developed. For instance, the report criticizes the power of the tribe in this way: (16)

> Neither Congress nor the States may infringe upon the basic civil rights of Indians, for they enjoy the same protection in respect to these governments as all other American citizens. But the Federal judiciary has determined that the guarantees of freedom of worship, speech, and the press, the right to assemble and petition the Government and due process do not restrict tribal action. Thus, a U.S. court has held that the Navajo could enforce tribal legislation prohibiting the possession or use of peyote on the reservation, even though the ban interfered with the observance of a religion (Native American Church v. The Navajo Tribal Council, 1960); nor can a deprivation of religious liberty be redressed under the Civil Liberties Act (Toledo v. Pueblo of Jemez, 1954). Similarly, the amendments which forbid the United States and the States to deprive any person

> of life, liberty, or property without due process of law do not apply to a tribe's conduct of criminal trials (Talton v. Mayes, 1896) * * *
>
> No government of whatever kind should have the authority to infringe upon fundamental civil liberties; government itself must ever be subject to law. Freedom of religion, utterance, and assembly, the right to be protected in one's life, liberty, and property against arbitrary government action and to be immune from double jeopardy and bills of attainder, and the guarantee of a fair trial are not privileges; they are minimum conditions which all Americans should enjoy. For any tribe to override any of them violates the very assumptions on which our free society was established.

The complexity of the problem and the different viewpoints on solutions were examined in detail by the Task Force on Indian Affairs. Since the report is likely to be the basis of future policy, it should be examined in detail. The report notes that tribal law forces vary widely in their effectiveness, many of them being inadequate. Courts of Indian Offenses as well as tribal courts were criticized for poorly prepared judges, absence of attorneys, non-use of courts in civil actions, inadequate appellate provisions, denial of civil rights and favoritism.

However, the task force noted that the majority of Indians appearing before them believed civil and criminal jurisdiction should remain in the Federal government; no transfer to the states should occur without the CONSENT of the Indians concerned; when transfer had occurred many of the involved Indians felt disappointment in the deterioration of legal protection. The report noted that some states which sought jurisdiction were unable to spend additional money for law enforcement while the Federal government, in attempting to integrate Indians into the larger society, had curtailed law and order services. Task force members criticized the effect: "The result, in the opinion of the Task Force, has often been inferior protection of life and property, denial of civil rights, and toleration of lawlessness. (17)

In conclusion, the tribal courts and courts of Indian offenses were seen as transitional and the system of divided jurisdiction as unsatisfactory. To improve the situation the Task Force made the following recommendations:

> 1. That Public Law 83-280 be amended to provide for the transfer of jurisdiction to the states only on the basis of negotiated agreement between the Federal Government, the appropriate state governments, and the tribal governments affected. We feel this is an essential principle of the American way and a step which is necessary to remove Indian fears of unilateral termination.
>
> 2. That the Branch of Law and Order of the Bureau of Indian Affairs be directed to develop programs with the tribes and the

state governments looking toward a revision of the tribal codes and the organization of tribal courts bring themselves as nearly as possible into accord with the civil and criminal codes of the states in which they are located.

3. That immediate steps be taken by the Bureau of Indian Affairs in cooperation with appropriate state governments, tribal governments, and Congressional committees to prepare step-by step transfers of jurisdiction to the states in selected causes of civil and criminal action.

4. That the Secretary of the Interior insist that Constitutional guarantees of civil rights be observed in the Courts of Indian Offenses which are bound by his own regulations. We further think that it is incumbent upon the tribal governments which have created tribal courts under the I.R.A. to provide for protection of these rights by their own ordinances.

The recommendations of the Task Force take into account the advantages and disadvantages of both tribal and state jurisdictions. If the recommended goals can be achieved, they will likely satisfy most Indians and others concerned with civil rights. Unfortunately, the recommendations are quite general; the particular steps and the detailed legislation are still forthcoming. Protection of former rights and constitutional rights will not be a simple matter.

III. Indian Lands. An equally complex problem involving Indian rights is the matter of land. On the one hand a fantastically complex technical problem has grown out of inherited trust land. Multiple heirs hold an undivided interest in much land, and compensation for use on purchase of the land is difficult.

For instance, when one 116-acre tract of land was condemned on the Crow Creek Reservation for the Fort Randall Dam, 99 heirs had some claim in the tract. Two received $535.67; five others received thirty-seven cents. To compute the final settlement the B.I.A. had to use a fraction whose denominator was 54,268,714,886,400. The major shareholder's interest in the 116 acres was figured at

$$\frac{4,199,364,842,400}{54,268,714,886,400}.$$

THE INDIAN IDENTITY

On the other hand, land in trust status is a symbol of the Indian's special tie to the government. To many Indians, trust lands represent the Federal Government's obligation to provide such services as education and health care. Furthermore, reservation lands symbolize something that can only be termed "Indianess."

Many Indians feel strongly that their culture and identity can only be preserved as long as there is a reservation. Therefore, the reservation is more than a home; it is a vital part of the community's identity AS INDIAN.

The importance of special rights in reservation real estateis illustrated by a closely connected right. Recently, Indians have argued strongly for their exclusion from state game rules. On the reservation Indians feel they are not bound by state hunting or fishing regulations. Only rarely is game of any importance in reservation economies. Recent protests have clearly been demonstrations to show the possession of special rights; the hunting or fishing in themselves were unimportant. Exclusion from state rules is, like land, symbolic of a community being Indian.

Unlike game rights, however, special ownership of land creates a paradox for Indians. Although the Supreme Court has ruled that the trust nature of property is compatible with U.S. citizenship, the special status clearly sets limits on citizens' rights. The peculiar ownership of land has meant the need for tribal courts which have not followed due process, etc. The Federal Government's provision of other services has likewise affected civil rights. Although basic problems are created by trust provisions, ending trusteeship is no solution. Much Indian land would be lost and state governments would replace the Federal Government. Both events are seen by Indians as a serious threat because of all that land symbolizes for them.

It seems likely that the problem of trusteeship will be tackled piecemeal. In the report of the Task Force, land problems are closely connected with economic development, or the trust status is linked with problems of jurisdiction or self-government.

It may be that a major mistake will be made if this direction is followed. Trusteeship underlies most Indian "problems" in one subtle fashion or another. For instance, it makes local self-government impossible - an issue to be examined in Chapter 6. The trust status also has set severe limits on the education services provided by the Federal Government, and education, of course, is basic to a minority's acquisition of its civil rights.

IV. Education. The Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights recognized lack of education as basic to most Indian problems. They noted in particular that inadequate education resulted in a denial or violation of rights. They illustrated this point by testimony of an Indian attorney.

> I think the judge honestly believes the Indian understands what he is saying because he spells it out for him ...You say to an Indian with little or no education, "You are entitled to be confronted by the witness against you. You are entitled to cross-examine them." Why, you might as well be speaking German to him because he doesn't know what you are talking about. (18)

Another aspect of education involves the question of integrated classrooms. Indians have not pressed for integrated schools; in fact, they appear to prefer segregation. However, it should be remembered that the "segregated" school is symbolic of the government's special tie with Indians; termination of the schools appears to Indians as simply one more step toward ending Federal obligations.

THE SCHOOLS & PREJUDICE

Moreover, the federal schools are often superior to rural state schools Indians would attend. Also, neighboring schools are frequently reluctant to accept Indians because of still existing prejudice. Only when the Federal Government's contribution - in the form of tuition for Indian pupils - more than covers the cost of education, do local schools seem quite willing to accept Indian children. In too many cases, Indian parents rightfully fear that their children will be the victims of prejudice.

Another problem involving integration is the isolation of most reservations. Indian communities are generally units unto themselves, and the schools in these communities are naturally segregated. In this respect the Task Force on Indian Affairs concluded:

> ... The Task Force favors the location of schools as close as possible to the Indian people. While it admits the desirability of integrating Indian youngsters into the public school system, it does not believe small children should be transported long distances by bus, housed in off-reservation dormitories, or placed in public schools which do not meet the standards of those maintained by the Bureau. (19)

If this recommendation be made policy, it will still be some time before school integration is accomplished.

Perhaps the most important matter in regard to education is the lack of control and involvement on the part of Indians. The schools on reservations are a part of the Bureau hierarchy. All school personnel are subject to the bureaucracy, not to the local community being served. As a result, Indians take little part and seldom show concern over what goes on in the schools, although they place a great value on education and have much pride in their children's graduation. This problem has been analyzed in depth by Wax and Wax (20)

They show how little comprehension Indian parents have of their children's education and how lack of involvement in the system negates many of the aims of education.

The Task Force clearly recognized this problem and called for its solution.

In connection with the establishment of school districts

> on Indian reservations, the Bureau must make a greater effort to involve Indian parents in school planning. The Task Force is not satisfied that simply encouraging tribes to form educational committees is sufficient. The parents of youngsters attending schools must be allowed to participate in the formulation of school programs. Wherever parent-teacher groups have not been formed, they should be established as rapidly as possible. When parents understand what the schools are trying to accomplish, they are more likely to give their support to the educational effort than when they do not. If our goal is the ultimate transfer of educational responsibility to local school districts, then the Bureau must do everything it can now to help Indian parents learn of their rights and duties with respect to schools. The time to begin providing them with such assistance is not after the transfer, but before. (21)

Again, the goals of the Task Force are laudable, but the particulars in the solution are yet to be determined. Responsibility for the school programs must be transferred, at least in part, to the community while economic support comes from the Federal Government. To divorce financial responsibility from other responsibilities is always difficult.

V. Religion. Mission churches on reservations parallel schools in problems of responsibility. A board of missions or other national body which finances an Indian church finds it difficult to allow the local control which a non-mission church may have. Likewise, participation and involvement in the Indian church suffers just as schools suffer. In this regard, missions resemble the Bureau of Indian Affairs. (22) This problem, of course, is not one of civil rights, but Indians could be learning more responsibility in their churches as preparation for assuming control over other areas of their life. Furthermore, if missions found some way of delegating major responsibility to local churches while still providing necessary monetary support, a model for the Federal Government, faced with a similar problem, might be provided.

However, the major civil rights problem in regard to religion is the use of peyote by the Native American Church. In the 19th Century many "pagan" practices were prohibited arbitrarily by the Bureau since the 1930's, however, there has been little interference with Indian faiths except for the Native American Church. Opposition to the church is overtly based on the fact that peyote, which produces unusual biological effects, is used as a sacrament. One may wonder, however, if there may not be some covert opposition because of the strength and popularity of the Church among Indians.

Whatever the basis of the opposition, an important question of civil liberty is involved. Many states do or had outlawed use of possession of peyote (Federal laws do not label peyote as a narcotic; it can be sent through the U.S. mails.) Even if it were a narcotic, the question remains: Can a religious practice be prohibited by the state? The California State Supreme Court has held that religious PRACTICES, but not beliefs, can be abridged under the First Amendment. This matter has yet to be decided by the Supreme Court.

However, at the state level the trend has been for the courts to interpret the prohibiting of peyote within the church as unconstitutional. Thus, the California court's most recent ruling is that the California legislature did not have the right to ban the use of peyote as a sacrament. The court pointed out that the state had no right to make Indians conform to mass society.

In Arizona a similar judgment was rendered by the Superior Court of Coconino County. In the decision it was pointed out that, "..... the practical effect of the statute outlawing (peyote's) use is to prevent worship by members of the Native American Church... The manner in which peyote is used by the Indian worshipper is not inconsistent with the public health, morals, or welfare. (23)

Although it appears likely that the threat to religious freedom from state governments is on the wane, no relief is seen from tribal ordinances which may violate rights of citizens. This danger was well expressed by the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights.

> Of no less importance than the alleged denial of religious freedom resulting from the Navajo tribal ordinance is the question of a tribe's authority to restrict the liberties guaranteed citizens under the Federal Constitution. Thus, the Secretary of the Interior in approving various tribal ordinances and resolutions, may be sanctioning denials of individual rights guaranteed Indians under the U.S. Constitution.
>
> The extent to which a tribe may abrogate a federally protected constitutional right and the limits upon the Federal government's authority to intervene in tribal affairs have been tested recently in two suits brought in the Federal courts concerning the prohibition of the Navajo tribal ordinance against the use of peyote. The question is of major consequence because of its relationship to the Constitution, as construed by the Supreme Court which - "acknowledges the paramount authority of the United States with regard to Indian tribes but recognizes the existence of Indian tribes as quasi sovereign possessing all the inherent rights of sovereignty excepting where restrictions have been placed thereon by the United States itself." (from Crow vs. Oglala Sioux Tribe of Pine Ridge Reservation, 231 F. 2d. 89,92, 1955.)
>
> In reaching this decision, the courts hold that they possess no jurisdiction over the ordinances of the Navajo Tribal Council. These decisions do not, however, resolve the fundamental and increasingly important question of how an

> individual Indian, as a citizen, can protect himself against a tribal government whose actions allegedly violate the Federal Constitution. These decisions indicate that the question of tribal regulations of constitutional rights can only be solved through the enactment of legislation.

Thus, problems of even religious freedom are closely linked with Executive policy and Supreme Court decisions which defined the status of Indian tribes. The historical background of Indian and Federal government relations is vital for understanding all present civil rights conflicts. However, much more is involved than the chronology of events. The nature of the modern Indian community, the structure of Bureau-Indian relations and culture differences are also important factors which must be examined in order to evaluate what might be done to protect Indian civil rights. In the following chapters these factors and their relationship with civil rights are examined.

IV. CIVIL RIGHTS IN THE SMALL COMMUNITY

Although many of our civil rights and liberties were defined by men who could not be described as urban, conditions were such that rights were defined for life in an impersonal world. Ideas such as "Justice is Blind," "All Men are Equal," and so on, were the basis for the Bill of Rights.

The civil rights that sprang from these sources relied heavily upon formal forces of control such as the courts and police. As our nation became more and more urban and impersonal, reliance upon these forces was greater, and the civil rights which we prize now became more and more adapted to impersonality.

To lift these rights from their urban or national context and place them wholesale in the small community will not only wreck traditional forms of social control but may also bring injustice. Tribal peoples, in particular, are likely to suffer because of manipulation of the larger society's rule on the part of a few individuals. Even in the small, personal Anglo community "due process" may not be as "just" and certainly not as effective as sanctions such as gossip, ridicule or reminders of kinship obligations.

In regard to Indian communities some American civil rights may not only be lacking but even inapplicable. For instance, on the Lower Brule reservation the tribal policeman believed that he had authority over Lower Brule members alone. If an Anglo were to commit an offense on the reservation, the county sheriff could be summoned, but if an Indian from another reservation violated the law, there was no one to assume jurisdiction. The tribal policeman said he resolved the problem by putting such an offender in his car, claiming he was taking him to the county jail. When he had driven far enough from the reservation boundary that the "arrested" Indian could not return, the policeman released him with a threat not to return. (24)

This procedure is a far cry from due process, yet it was the only alternative available to the policeman. Actually, the policeman did have proper jurisdiction in such a case under a ruling of the Bureau. However, being unaware of the ruling, the officer had no other recourse. Moreover, there is some question as to whether the Bureau had proper authority to make such a ruling. The Bureau has provided regulations governing the behavior of Indians on reservations other than that of the Lower Brule, but the authority for this jurisdiction is unclear.

More important than formal sources of power, is the question of what is justice in the highly personal world of the small community. Numerous cases have pointed up the great injustices people have suffered through gossip and scandal. Notably, school teachers have been persecuted in small towns without redress to the law. On the other hand, the little community may often enforce justice by informal sanctions more effectively than could the law. At any rate, the use of non-legal means to accomplish what the community thinks is "right," is certainly not confined to Indian reservations.

NON-LEGAL JUSTICE TODAY

James West describes how a small, Midwest town once dealt with certain problems. (25)

> Few people now condemn the laws dealing with murder, but a generation ago many upheld "feud law." A retired preacher recounted tales of a dozen murders that had occurred within his memory. He and many other people knew the motives and details of each murder, but when officers came into the community to investigate, practically everybody questioned withheld all important information. Part of this unwillingness to cooperate came from fear of reprisals by kinsmen of the guilty, but part of it came from the feeling that men should be allowed to settle disputes in their own way. Some cases finally reached trial, but few men were convicted, and no convicted man spent over four years in the penitentiary. If a murder occurred today, people would still try to avoid telling what they knew about it.

The reluctance to become involved in the courtroom is common to most Americans, but what is of importance here is the feeling that formal, legal sanctions are inappropriate. Members of the small community fail to see the law as significant in most aspects of their life. West points out that, "The role of actual legal organization among all other mechanisms which force Plainvillers' to conform to their society's established patterns of behavior is really very slight. More important mechanism, both preventive and punitive, for social control are gossip, ridicule, and, in the widest sense of the term, folklore."

The lack of formal, legal means of control is documented also for a small Anglo community of New Mexico. (26) Vogt tells that

Homestead (pseudonym for the town) had a deputy sheriff and Justice of the Peace in the late 1930's, but both were ineffective and participated in feuds. He reports this case:

> "One time the Justice of the Peace got drunk and chased the preacher around the Community Church with a knife. I and two others got together and went down to see him after this happened and told him he's have to pay a fine. The deputy refused to arrest him and take him to court, so I went down to get him myself and took him over to Tapala (the Spanish-American village) but they didn't have any Justice of the Peace there then. So then we took him down to the Justice of Peace at Ventana. A number of cars of people from Homestead went along. A bunch of the women piled up enough charges agin' our Justice to hang him. When they rattled off all these charges, the Justice at Ventana said they would be too much for him to handle, and they'd have to take him to the county seat. But no one wanted to take him all the way to Los Lunas, so the women withdrew most of their charges and jest charged him with disturbin' the peace. So the Justice fined him $5 and everybody went home. Then, after they left, the Justice filled up my pickup with gas and gave our Justice the $5 back!"

When the deputy and Justice moved from Homestead their positions went unfilled for several years. Once a deputy was appointed, he made no arrests. On one occasion, when he attempted to stop a fight, the participants all turned on him. Another time the deputy appeared when a Homesteader "went crazy." He was told to go home and "mind his own business." The insane man was cared for by a group of informal leaders who took the man to the state hospital.

Informal punitive action in Homestead consists, in mild cases, of perennial gossip. This gossip not only punishes offenders but stresses important values and reinforces the social system. Where gossip is ineffective, resort may be made to fist fighting. Vogt stresses that this violence is not uncontrolled force but follows clear-cut rules for settlement of disputes. Finally, where violations of the values are serious, informal leaders will gather the disputants for a long talk and if no solution is found, resort is finally made to the Justice of the Peace in a nearby community. State police or the county sheriff are never called.

This situation cannot be seen as totally unjust simply because an individual is denied his rights under the due process clause of the constitution. Homestead is certainly not a "lawless" or un-American community. Vogt points out that, "The rejection of the law represented by outside authorities does not mean that the Homesteader is "lawless;" indeed, he feels that he is a moral and law-abiding person. Rather, it means that the Homesteader's definition of what constitutes "crime" varies at many points with the county and state legal definitions. Further, it indicates that the controls for deviant and "lawless" behavior are present within the community. (27)

If civil rights are so often violated in Anglo communities where individuals are generally aware of their "rights," it should be no surprise that civil rights problems are even more complex in the modern Indian community. Not only is there frequent ignorance of rights, but there are frequent contradictions of what is considered "right." Former Indian values may be incompatible with Anglo values. Not only do different groups of Indians come into conflict because one faction holds to the former while others adapt the new, but also an individual may accept Anglo values in one social context while adhering to aboriginal values in another context.

The interpretation of Anglo and Indian values, the confusion over legal process and problems of proper jurisdiction may all be seen in the following case. It also illustrates the irony of people in a highly personal world accepting processes which are best adapted for an impersonal, urban world.

In 1960, at Lower Brule the Bureau of Indian Affairs had appointed a judge who was convinced that the state of South Dakota was going to assume jurisdiction over the reservation. He believed it his duty to introduce some of the procedures he thought were followed in state courts. He was most critical of the former judge who simply heard both sides of a case, was already well familiar with the dispute, and whose judgments were often based on old Indian values. The new judge explained how he had handled one of his first cases.

> You know that X family. They had neglected their children for years. I finally told the policeman he better bring them in. I set their bail at $10. They paid it and went home. When it came time for the trial, they never showed up. So I took their bail money and sent the policeman over after them. (The home of X is within sight from where court is held.) They thought that bail money was their fine, but they'll just have to learn. Then I asked them if they had counsel. They said, "No, we don't like any of those people on the (tribal) council." I tried to explain about a lawyer. Since they didn't have one, I told them I would act as their counsel. Of course, we don't have a prosecuting attorney either so I had to prosecute the case. It was our first jury trial. I only had six people instead of twelve. It was hard to find people who weren't related to the X's and who would be fair. My mother was on the jury. I suppose that might not be right since I was the judge. But she's a fair woman and she's known the X's all their life. (28)

This judge was a fairly well educated man for his community. He had served overseas in the Second World War, had made many friends among whites and had lived off the reservation on occasion. Still, most of his knowledge of courtroom procedure probably is derived from TV shows, such as "Perry Mason." Even if he had some special training as a judge, the problems of a small, rural kinship-knit community would remain.

No lawyers are readily available; the "facts" of a case are quickly spread by rumor and issues are largely "solved" by gossip. A judge, and certainly jury members, are going to be related to the defendant and plaintiff in some way; the Lower Brule have an expression, "We are all relatives here." To ask for a change of venue is impossible. It is only the tribe which has jurisdiction.

It is indeed difficult to see how civil rights such as due process are going to be introduced into many Indian communities. Social control in the small community simply makes impractical some constitutional guarantees. The problem is compounded in the Indian tribe where the rights are misunderstood, where cultural values of right and wrong may differ sharply and where confusion over federal, the state, and tribal authority is rampant.

Furthermore, the reluctance of Indians to accept the justice and legal process of the surrounding society is heightened by their treatment in the outside world. Oliver LaFarge has noted a number of shocking cases of injustice done to Indians in state courts. (29) Only a few of his instances are necessary to point up the Indians' fear of treatment in courts where civil rights are supposedly guaranteed.

> North Dakota takes its name from one of the Great Plains Indian tribes. There not long ago ... an Indian named William Demerce was drinking with two non-Indians, Nicholas Ramos and Alcario Garcia. They got into a fight in the course of which Demerce was stabbed to death. His companions got NINETY DAYS APIECE FOR DISORDERLY CONDUCT.
>
> In one South Dakota town, an Indian failed to stop one night when a policeman challenged him. The policeman shot him; then, as he lay in the gutter, wounded, ran up and finished him off with two more shots. So far as we can learn, no action was taken against the officer. The Indian Service investigated but was powerless to get anything done.
>
> Incidents occur, such as the recent killing of a Sioux named Broken Rope by a local chief of police, in which a clear legal case cannot be made, but one who reads the account is forced to conclude that, had the subjects been white men, they would not have been so used.
>
> More clear-cut is an incident involving a Mr. Fred Stotts. Mr. Stotts was in his home when he seized a baseball bat, ran out and across the street, and bashed a Sioux named George Left Hand Bull over the head so hard he

> crushed his skull. We may assume that Mr. Stotts disliked Mr. Left Hand Bull, but the available record does not tell why. Mr. Stotts had the Sioux tossed in the clink where, without medical attention, he died the next day. The white man was arrested and charged with manslaughter for which, in due course, having pleaded guilty, he received a TWO-YEAR SUSPENDED SENTENCE.

The only thing that can be said for insuring civil rights of Indians in courts is that the matter is far off, and no simple solution is possible. Legal procedure in any small community is going to give way, at least in part, to sanctions such as gossip, ridicule, ostracism and back-biting. For some time, even witchcraft will serve in some Indian communities. Certainly, the transfer of jurisdiction from the tribe to the state will not immediately solve the problem, and, if hastily done, will likely bring more injustice.

Not only are Indians largely unaware of their rights in state courts, but a fear of the white man's world would make them helpless in such a situation. Moreover, Indians would undoubtedly suffer from still existing, strong prejudices among local law enforcement officers, jury members and even court officials. The situation requires not only thoughtful and well-planned legislation but also careful study and research. Development of the field will be linked with whatever happens to self-government in Indian communities, which is the subject of the next chapter.

V. RIGHTS TO SELF-GOVERNMENT IN INDIAN COMMUNITIES

Although self-government usually is not a part of present civil rights discussions, it must be considered in the case of the Indian reservations. Other minorities, especially the Negro, are refused the right to vote; Indians experience little difficulty, but the officials they elect have little or no power. (Full participation in state and national elections was not always possible for Indians even after they were made citizens, but all states now grant them the franchise. There have been few complaints of discrimination at the polls.)

The major handicap is that decisions in an Indian community are made by outsiders. The representatives or tribal council members act almost solely as consulting or advisory bodies. Real control remains in the Bureau of Indian Affairs. About the only way Indians can bring pressure to bear on Bureau representatives is through their Congressmen. Although some Indians have become unusually adroit at this method, it is a most cumbersome and lengthy process. Needless to say, it is also far from democratic.

The events leading to this lack of self-government have been briefly described in the preceding chapters. As noted, much jurisdiction remains in Indian hands and theoretically, under tribal constitutions, governing bodies should have much control over community actions. Actually, however, the Bureau of Indian Affairs makes most decisions for Indian communities because of the trust status of Indian property. The Bureau acts much as an executor would over property inherited by a minor; it is responsible for the use of trust land or income derived from that land. Furthermore, because this land is tax exempt, the federal government must provide services usually assumed by the county and state. States are reluctant to assume responsibility for trust lands because reservations are generally overpopulated and underdeveloped. Taxes on such land would be insufficient to furnish the services Indians now receive.

As a result, the Bureau of Indian Affairs retains its responsibilities, and tribal councils, or other governing bodies of Indians, never can be fully self-governing. The federal government is responsible ultimately for almost all expenditures and decisions that Indian governing bodies make; therefore, it must retain ultimate control. The short phrase "subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Interior," appears innocuous enough in tribal constitutuons, but it appears in such places that it renders true self-government impossible.

A case study of one Indian community's politics will illustrate the weakness of self-government under Indian Reorganization Act provisions. This case is provided by Robert Thomas, an anthropologist who studied the Pine Ridge Reservation at length. His analysis of Sioux government was presented in 1964 to the American Anthropological Association as a paper entitled "Powerless Politics." Mr. Thomas, who also served as a consultant for this report, has described the political structure of an Indian community so well that his results are worth quoting at length.

"Nearly all former (Pine Ridge Sioux) institutions on the local level have disappeared. The small Sioux community is hardly even a community. It is a kin group without the aboriginal institutions which once related them to their environment, and no substitute institutions have developed in their place. New institutions have been preempted by outsiders. The old Chief's Council is non-functional. The warriors' societies have long since disappeared and the local police force is seen as a foreign and illegitimate coercive force.

"Thus, few (practically no) means of social control are left to the Sioux community. There are no local school boards - the schools are run by the federal government. Their churches are controlled by an outside religious hierarchy. Economic institutions are virtually non-existent. The only really functional institutions are the old native religious groups which have carried over from aboriginal times. It is in this context that Sioux opinion leaders are developed.

"A major institution, which has been in recent years introduced into the community by the federal government, is the tribal government. From the viewpoint of the country Sioux, this new institution is "The Tribe." In many ways they look at it in the same way that many urban working class people look at the police force and city government. They see it as a foreign coercive feature in their daily lives.

To the older Sioux, the tribal government gets in the way of their personal approach to the powerful and benevolent federal government. The country Sioux certainly do not see the tribal council as representing them nor as making decisions for them. Tribal councilmen are elected to 'get something' from the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The country Sioux are poor people, and being in tribal government pays well so there are always volunteers for these offices. The criterion for selection of tribal councilmen by those few Sioux who do vote in an election is not that the tribal councilman can represent them or their opinion, but because they feel that a particular person knows how to handle whites and can 'get something' for the Sioux. A tribal councilman thus may be tremendously competent or incompetent, socially responsible or irresponsible. Invariably, they are very marginal to the community and sometimes even personally disliked. No sooner does the new tribal administration go into office than charges of dishonesty and 'half-breeds' are hurled at them by the country Sioux, and in the next election they usually 'turn the rascals out.'

"But let us take a look at this institution from an outside viewpoint. In form, this is an urban American institution. Such procedures as majority rule, representative government, and voting are evidence of this. Many of these forms and procedures are very foreign to Sioux life. Even the voting districts which have been laid off do not correspond to any meaningful social units. This, of course, is not an overwhelming handicap since many tribal peoples all over the world today are learning to operate and function in institutions which are urban in form. The tribal government is, however, called upon to make more decisions in the economic sphere than is usual in urban America.

"But the main difference between Sioux tribal government and government in other American communities is that the Sioux tribal government is, in effect, without power. Most of the day to day decisions about Sioux life, about roads, schools, relief, are made by Bureau personnel. And information about such decisions are in Bureau files. Further, what decision the tribal council makes is subject to approval by the Secretary of the Interior.

"Local whites are very well aware of who holds the power and the purse strings on the Pine Ridge Reservation. And when local whites come to Pine Ridge on business they first go to see the local superintendent. A white banker or a mayor of a small town literally has no way to relate to the tribal council and usually no real reason to enter into a relationship. Ranchers and cowboys no longer set the tone for white society in this area. It is now the judgments of the small town middle class that the Sioux must face. It is hard for these people to see the Sioux as anything but incompetent. They see Sioux affairs being run for them by a federal bureaucracy; and they perceive the Sioux leaders as perpetually haranguing and "wheedling' the government for special privileges.

"In a larger sense, the tribal government is an arm of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The local police chief, when I was on Pine Ridge Reservation, was a member of another tribe and a federal employee, not responsible either to the tribal government nor to his constituency. One only has to look at the layout of the town of Pine Ridge to see how much the tribal government is an adjunct of the local Bureau. The town of Pine Ridge is divided into two sections. The east side of town in 1957 was an area of tumble-down shacks in which the Sioux lived. The west side of town was the Bureau 'compound.' It was in this area along with other Bureau facilities that the tribal buildings were located.

"Let us now look at the dynamics of this institution of tribal government. As I mentioned above, from the point of view of the country Sioux, the tribal council is there not to make decisions for the Sioux, rather to get something from powerful whites. But in urban America, we have a tendency to name something; to accept a definition which goes along with the very word itself; and to act on that premise. To the local Bureau employees, the tribal government is a decision-making body, and they approach it with suggestions about programs which would be beneficial to the Sioux. The tribal councilman may indeed share with the representatives of the federal government the assumption that he is a decision maker; or he may very well know that this is not the way his constituents perceive him. Even if it is the latter, he will listen very intently to the 'suggestions' of the people who hold the power and the purse strings because he must establish his credit with them as a responsible leader in order to 'get something for the Sioux.'

"In any case, these suggestions are listened to very closely because everyone knows very well that the final decision of a tribal council's action is approved or disapproved by the Secretary of the Interior. Most of the programs suggested to the tribal council are unfamiliar to them and are usually couched in terms which, from the viewpoint of an anthropologist, seem very well fitted for a middle class American community but at wide variance with the Sioux. Enough has been said about these kinds of programs in other parts of the world; and the lack of 'fit' they have to another culture. These programs naturally fail to reach their desired ends and this adds to the Sioux feelings of incompetence and impotence.

"Now let us take a look at the reaction from the other end - the country Sioux. Very few governmental actions are initiated by the country Sioux community. One could say that, so far as decision-making is concerned, except in the religious sphere, the Sioux community lies inert. When a decision of the tribal council such as setting up a tribal program for cattle raising begins to be heard of in the local community, the Sioux react. Since the program is unfamiliar, and basically one which is fitted for a white community, the Sioux see it as un-Sioux, as dishonest; and one hears a cry raised by a majority of the people against the 'half-breeds' on the tribal council who are frittering away Sioux money and lining their own pockets.

"The marginal people in the community who share many things with whites, of course, see the program as beneficial and respond to it. Also, they are the ones who are in the position to benefit most from a basically American white program which is unfamiliar to the majority of the Sioux. This is the basis for factionalism among the Pine Ridge Sioux -- how one responds, as a Sioux, to action initiated from outside the community."

Mr. Thomas notes that the picture he draws is bleak. He believes that the situation may improve somewhat with education and experience. A few master politicians are appearing and, as Sioux become experienced in the general society, the situation may ease.

Evidence for such a trend has been provided by Basehart and Sasaki. They found that in recent years the Jicarilla Apache Tribal Council has taken the course indicated by Thomas. "In the past few years tribal autonomy has been fostered." (30)

However, a paradox is clearly pointed up which no amount of education or experience can solve:

> One of the most significant features of agency activities has been the education of the Jicarilla into Western ways through innovations of the type discussed in an earlier section. In carrying out this tutorial role, the agency has furthered the development of tribal authority and responsibility. As a result, at the present time, areas of overlapping authority and responsibility exist which lead to misunderstanding and tension between officers of the two units. The agency can resolve conflicts by the exercise of power, but action of this kind tends to undermine tribal political independence and thus the agency's own aims. Further, since the agency itself is not the sole locus of power, tribal officers may be tempted to bypass the chain of command in an effort to maintain independence of action. One might say that in this learning process, the pupil has outpaced the teacher, and that is precisely what is desired. Such statements may rationalize but do not minimize the strains that develop in situations of this kind.
>
> The problems presented by an imbalance in power, authority, and responsibility can be examined from another point of view through consideration of the role of the agency superintendent. As the tribe begins to engage more actively in the political process and achieves sophistication in the exercise of authority and responsibility, the EFFECTIVE authority of the superintendent is apt to decrease. At the same time, his responsibility does not diminish. The bonded superintendent is not merely regarded by his superiors as responsible; he is LEGALLY responsible for the performance of his trust obligations and is subject to legal suit as the accountable agent.
>
> Of course, the superintendent retains ultimate power; action initiated by the tribe in a number of areas can

> become effective only after his approval. Nonetheless, the degree of direct control by the superintendent declines, while his responsibility remains constant. If these two trends were to continue over time, a superintendent would find himself in the wholly untenable position of lacking any effective authority or power while continuing to have responsibility. (31)

If this paradox is to be solved and if Indians are to be made self-governing, new legislation must be passed by Congress, and details will be in the hands of lawmakers. However, it is essential that the legislation provide funds without ultimate responsibility (and therefore authority) over them. Such a step should not be construed as merely a handout to Indians. Budgeting, accounting, and other planning would have to be provided for, but Indian political units, not the Bureau of Indian Affairs would be the responsible bodies.

Many Anglo Americans appear reluctant to entrust Indians with monetary responsibility. Implicit in their view is an argument that anyone who is not financially independent is irresponsible. However, it should be remembered that Indians either chose or were forced onto land which cannot support them. Today's reservations are notably poor agricultural lands with little chance for any industrial development. More than fifty percent of the working force on most Dakota reservations is unemployed; average family income among Indians is less than $2,000. There appears little chance for major change in this situation, although the "war on poverty" does hold some promise.

The important point to remember is that historical circumstance is a major factor in the poverty of Indians. It does not follow that Indians are irresponsible simply because they are poor. Yet they are denied full self-government largely because of their poverty. It is almost as if we retracted citizenship rights of West Virginia coal miners simply because they are no longer self-supporting. Further details and full analysis of the federal relationship with Indians have been provided by Tax. (32) This brief analysis is simply to emphasize that voting privileges for Indians are not enough. The representatives they elect must have the power to make decisions comparable in importance to those made in other American communities.

VI. SELF-DETERMINATION IN INDIAN COMMUNITIES

The lack of true self-government in Indian communities means, of course, a lack of self-determination. If self-government is eventually achieved, some major problems of self-determination will remain. Problems of primary importance concern education and religion. Both of these areas have long been central in civil rights issues;however, among Indians the problems differ in detail.

Much has been written about the education of American Indians. Under John Collier several tribes were studied intensively, and extensive reports are available on the results. (33) Concise surveys of a number of general problems have been provided by Thompson (34) and Havinghurst. (35) These reports have been most useful for teachers of Indians and school administrators with the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

However, most of these studies have not touched on some aspects of education which relate to civil rights. One immediate principle which is raised in regard to Indian schools is integration.Primarily because the ill effects of segregation upon Negro children have received much attention, questions have been asked about the desirability of maintaining separate school systems for Indians.

It should be noted emphatically that, in contrast with Negro education, the evidence does not indicate that Indian children suffer in the same way from having their own schools. Certainly, Indians have not demanded integrated classrooms as have Negroes.Satisfaction with the present system derives from several sources.Before examining these, however, it is necessary to describe the present educational system.

The first schools among Indians were established by missionaries. In the early 19th Century the federal government appropriated money for their support. Toward the end of the century the issue of church and state separation brought an end to the government participation. The first federal school for Indians was established in 1860. From that date federal schools grew rapidly in number, although never fast enough.

Opponents of federal involvement believed Indians incapable of acquiring an education, but sufficient friends of Indians saw that Congress appropriated money each year for the schools. This first education was by boarding school. The method deliberately attempted to remove children as far as possible from the influence of parents and Indian culture. Schools were operated much like a military academy, and discipline was strict. Older Indians frequently recall how severely they were whipped if they ever lapsed into their Indian language.

In the late 1920's opposition to the boarding schools developed largely because of the Meriam report. (36) Not only had the failure of the old system become apparent, but also advances in the social sciences pointed up the importance of family security in the development of youth. A day school program was begun which was to receive further impetus under the Indian Reorganization Act.

EDUCATION AND INDIANS

Although education on the reservation soon became the general pattern, the desirability of including Indians in the public schools was also being recognized. (Some Indians attended public schools much earlier, but these were exceptional cases.) In 1934, the Johnson-O'Malley Act provided authority for the government to assist public schools on the basis of financial hardship because of the tax-free nature of Indian land. Public Laws 815 and 874 have supplemented the Johnson-O'Malley Act, increasing the ease of state responsibility for Indian education.

This legislation led to the elimination of almost all federal Indian schools in Florida, Oregon, California, Michigan, Washington, Minnesota, Idaho, Nebraska and Wyoming. According to Thompson, "...any resistance on the part of state authorities and educational agencies toward acceptance of responsibility for the education of Indian children stems primarily from financial reasons and not from racial discrimination. The isolated individual resistance to Indians in the public schools is the exception, not the general attitude." (37)

Although Thompson may be correct in her assessment of the white attitude toward Indians, she has ignored the crucial factor of how Indians feel about state control over education. First, the schools have long been symbols of the federal government's obligations to Indians. Indian lands were often given up for the promise of schools; to eliminate these schools is often seen as revoking treaty rights and a step toward ending all treaty privileges.

Thus, the transfer of education to the states is often interpreted by Indians as a threat to their status AS INDIANS. Second, in many areas the federal schools are much better financed than state schools.

Federal employees are in Civil Service positions commanding higher salaries than rural state teachers; the federal schools are generally much better constructed. In a number of areas, if Indian children were put into state schools, they would go from modern classrooms with well-paid teachers to one-room schools. The Task Force on Indian Affairs recognized this problem and recommended no transfer under such conditions. Finally, the Indian attitude toward integrated schools is far different from the Negro.

Partly, Indians are not faced with far inferior schools for their children, but it must also be remembered that reservation people have chosen to keep a distinct and separate way of life. Their own school in their own community is seen as one way of preserving an Indian way of life. The schools are symbolic, then, not only of special government recognition but also of a separate community life which holds a strong value. As Indians develop a greater pride and sense of being INDIAN, their separate schools become even more valuable. To call these schools "segregated" is misleading. There is a strong positive value within the community to preserve the Indian school, and if Indians are to be allowed self-determination, then their attitudes toward the schools must be considered.

RESPONSIBILITY AND CONTROLS

However, to allow full self-determination requires much more than preservation of the present system. If Indians are to determine what education is to mean to them, then they must be given far more control and responsibility over their school systems. Today, an Indian school is directed solely by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Even bus drivers, cook's helpers and janitors are federal employees responsible directly to the Bureau. The local Indian community has no control over school personnel, curriculum or other planning. Although Indians take much pride in the education of their children and see the schools as "theirs" by treaty rights, they think of the schools only as an outside institution operated FOR them, not BY them. As a result, Indians show little interest in what goes on in the classroom; their comprehension of what education IS, is minimal. Their major interest is solely in the end product - graduation, which means a chance for the employment of their children.

Under present regulations a local Board of Education would be in the same position vis a vis the superintendent as the tribal council described in the last chapter. As authority was gradually transferred to a representative Indian body, responsibility of the agency superintendent should also decline. However, even nominal Boards of Education do not exist today on Indian reservations. What learning and assumption of authority is possible in tribal councils is non-existent for education.

On some reservations Parent-Teacher Associations have been formed, but even in the white community this organization allows only indirect control.

If Indian education is to be made a vital part of community life and if Indian parents are to comprehend and take interest in their schools, then they must be given some authority and responsibility over education. The major problem is not a question of segregated classrooms. The Indian is denied an "equal education" because community members are powerless in determining any matters in their schools. They are not taxed at the polls or given discriminatory registration tests, but they are denied the opportunity to vote on the people or the policies which determine the education of their children.

This problem has been examined at length by Wax and Wax. (38) This brief analysis can only show the uniqueness of some problems in civil rights so far as the Indian is concerned. Questions such as the "segregated" classroom cannot be resolved for Indians in the same way, as they may be resolved, hopefully, for other minorities.

Another unique civil rights problem is found in religion. Although the issue is judged on state-church grounds, the basic question is how far Indians may go in determining for themselves their own religion. The major issue has been over the use of peyote, a species of cactus. It is claimed that peyote is a drug and therefore subject to state control. However, it may be questioned whether concern is strictly on health grounds. It may be that the religion which uses peyote is so different from other American religions that it will not be tolerated.

Certainly, the evidence for peyote being a drug is insubstantial. Several attempts early in the century failed in obtaining Congressional action banning the use of peyote. However, a number of states did outlaw its use. Most medical discussions of peyote have centered on mescaline, an ingredient of the plant.

Mescaline causes sweating, increased reflexes, nausea and tremors. Delusions and hallucinations, especially bright color patterns, or a feeling of increased sensory perception are commonly reported. These latter symptoms are most often described by participants in the religious ceremony. It must be noted that most experiments have been confined to mescaline alone. Other properties of peyote could conceivably alter or balance the effects of mescaline.

J. Slotkin, an anthropologist who spent much of his life studying the Native American Church which uses peyote, concluded that:

> There is no valid scientific evidence that peyote is harmful, either mentally or physically, as there is for the injurious effects of alcohol, coffee, or tobacco, commonly used by whites. Consequently, the fact that opponents of peyote are anxious to prohibit its use, but not the pop-

> ular white drugs, shows that their prejudice is entirely ethnocentric. (39)

Slotkin has been joined by other prominent anthropologists in the view that peyote cannot be considered a narcotic.

> ... according to Webster's Dictionary a narcotic is a drug that allays sensibility, relieves pain, and produces profound sleep; an intoxicant stupefies. According to March's Manual, the symptoms of drug addiction are increased tolerance and dependence. On the basis of our experience, we would say that peyote seems to have none of these effects. It does not excite, stupefy, or produce muscular incoordination; there is no hangover; and the habitual user does not develop any increased tolerance or dependence. (40)

It may be some time before the legal status of peyote is clearly established. In the meantime, another strong argument against its use is raised by those who claim peyote is substituted for medicine. Slotkin meets this argument by pointing out that most Indians who are introduced to peyote for medical purposes are coming to it after all else has failed. Of course, on civil rights grounds, the argument is futile. Peyote should no more be prohibited than the faith healing in certain Christian sects or in the Christian Science Church.

In summary, religious freedom of Indians must be guaranteed the same as any other American religion. If peyote is ever proved to be a harmful narcotic, then legislation against its use may not violate the First Amendment. However, any limitations on the use of the plant must be carefully watched. For a long time it was federal policy to ban all Indian rites. Although the policy was officially reversed under the Indian Reorganization Act, local Bureau officials and neighboring whites may still exert pressure to substitute their brand of Christianity for the religious practices of Indians, particularly the Native American Church.

It should now be obvious that Indian civil rights in education and religion resemble other of their rights - they require special attention because they are in many ways unique. Today, Indians are almost totally denied any determination in their education. If they are given equal opportunity in this area, it may be that their goals and purposes will differ from the larger society in order that they may preserve some of their different values. Americans have traditionally tolerated such cultural differences, but only to a degree. In the past, the majority has placed limits on how far Indians can differ. Hopefully, the tolerance can grow, and certainly it should be such that, at least, the civil rights due all citizens are never violated.

VII. CONCLUSIONS & RECOMMENDATIONS

A major theme of this report is that civil rights problems of American Indians are particularly complex because Indians can claim special rights. Their unique rights derive from historical circumstances. The fact that they were an indigenous people, treated as separate nations and eventually became a minority with special ties to the federal government makes them unlike any other group in the United States. Special legislation will be required to insure their civil rights as citizens. Of course, more than legislation will be needed. Social change both on the part of the minority and majority must also occur to protect Indians from now existing prejudice and discrimination.

Unfortunately, many people see the necessary social change as Indian assimilation into the larger societies. The experience of other minorities tends to justify this ideal of America as a "melting pot;" but it seems unlikely that assimilation will be the course for Indians. D'Arcy McNickle, a prominent Indian, has noted the persistence of Indian communities.

> In order to understand why Indian communities remain isolated from the main stream, we must remember that as white settlement spread to the interior, the Indian societies were like people caught in a flooding valley, moving to higher ground as the invading waters encroached upon them, until in time they were completely surrounded. Segregation was an act of self-preservation, the motivation being to keep what they had.
>
> This motivation persists. We may consider it unreasonable and self-limiting, but it is questionable whether human action is ever entirely rational and logical. Nor is it likely that human conduct can be changed merely by pointing out its irrationalities. (41)

McNickle's view has been given full support by most anthropologists.

At a special conference on the future of Indians a number of anthropologists arrived at the conclusion:

> Most Indian groups in the United States, after more than one hundred years of Euro-American contact and in spite of strong external pressures, both direct and fortuitous, have not yet become assimilated in the sense of a loss of community identity and the full acceptance of American habits of thought and conduct. No one can expect such group assimilation within any short, predictable time period, say one to four generations. The urge to retain tribal identity is strong and operated powerfully for many Indian groups. It finds support in some of the attitudes and behavior of the American public, and has been encouraged by Federal policy for the past twenty years. Group feeling and group integrity among the American Indians are as likely to gain strength in the decades ahead as they are to lose it.
>
> ... The conference agreed that despite external pressures, and internal change, most of the present identifiable Indian groups residing on reservations (areas long known to them as homelands) will continue indefinitely as distinct social units, preserving their basic values, personality, and Indian way of life, while making continual adjustments, often superficial in nature, to the economic and political demands of the larger society. (42)

The issue of special rights is neither a cause nor effect on the persistence of Indian culture. But unique rights and a different culture are closely linked. While different cultures within Indian communities remain (and this seems likely through the foreseeable future), special rights of Indians will have to be recognized. The problem of granting these rights is a knotty and complex one, but it in no way lessens the need for granting them.

A first step toward a solution is to clarify the issues; it is hoped this report is a move in that direction. The heart of the matter is the unique position of Indians as a minority and the persistence of a distinct culture among Indians regardless of the pressures upon them. These two facets of the situation must be recognized in any proposals made for improving the civil rights of American Indians. The basis of most problems lies in the historic relationship between the federal government and the Indian tribes. The relation accounts for their special rights and in I.R.A. times contributed to cultural differences.

A beginning in any effort to extend civil rights is a simultaneous attack on poverty and the lack of self-government. Congressional leaders, such as former Senator Humphrey, and Bureau officials, such as Phileo Nash, have hinted at the approach, but, as pointed out previously, they seem preoccupied with economic conditions. If the war on poverty in reservation communities involves large expenditures and intensive planning, then the opportunity for Indians to learn responsibility for their own affairs is ideal. Of course, Indians must be convinced that important economic change is possible and they are the ones who must undertake it. Persuasion will be no easy matter because they have been long accustomed to rely on outside direction. Furthermore, they are aware of the many past shifts in Indian policy, and any change will first be seen as simply one more capricious act of the white man.

Assuming Indians can be convinced they will be responsible, a positive approach will require provision of necessary money for community services while giving up control over it. Policy should not be directed at saving money either to the detriment of Indians or in violation of treaty or moral obligations. Until reservations are developed economically, it will be necessary to finance from the outside. The process is likely to be a long one, but Indians must be assured of adequate economic aid.

Furthermore, a basic change is essential. Indian communities must be allowed to manage their own affairs, to administer their own social services in the same way as any other American community. As the undesirable results of outside management become more and more apparent, this approach should be obvious. Unfortunately, under termination policy of the 1950's, first thought was to transfer the Indian problem into the hands of the states.

Such a transfer would have solved nothing; state governments would have become the paternalistic agent. If the Indian communities are to develop, both socially and economically, they must be given the power to manage their own affairs. Outside help in learning this management is not only desirable but essential; yet, the "help" must clearly be assistance in learning, not management itself which is presently the case. The argument has been advanced in clear terms by Sol Tax. (43)

> Congress does not like the idea of Indian communities being controlled by a government bureau. Neither do the Indians. At the same time, if Indians cannot pay for their own social services, someone has to - whether State or Federal governments. But why, if we want to get rid of the over-control of Indian communities, must we, also, cut off needed subsidies? In some manner the administration and the subsidy of Indian community services, like health and education, must be separated. Just as farmers who receive large subsidies from the federal government are still permitted to run their farms and make their own mistakes, so could it be with Indian communities.

If then, finally, we (1) stop frightening Indians by threatening to dissolve the symbolic relationship so important in Indian eyes between the federal government and them-

> selves; (2) continue federal subsidies where necessary but (3) remove the traditional over-administration and control of Indian affairs (even if this takes drastic revision of federal Indian laws) and allow Indian communities to decide their own destinies, it seems to us certain that there will occur an Indian development and adjustment of a kind we have never seen. Should it surprise us that the right way turns out to be the way that fits American values of freedom and local-determination?

The policy of developing true self-government, coupled with economic assistance, is at the heart of the "Indian problem." Of course, not all civil rights issues will be fully solved even if such policy is adopted eventually. Although the policy would likely make tribal jurisdiction clear and distinct, tribal courts need to be strengthened. Most law codes and tribal constitutions need revisions; in the process provisions for full civil rights guaranteed by the Constitution could be included. It may be necessary to allow for a transition from present systems to improved ones, but such a step is feasible. The greatest necessity is simply to recognize the need for new courtroom procedures and the fact that customs, such as due process, cannot be introduced immediately. Nor do the systems which eventually evolve have to be identical with neighboring white communities.

Social control in any small community is going to vary at points from American ideals. Indian communities cannot be expected to achieve the ideal any better than people of Plainville or Homestead. Certainly, American ideals of toleration and appreciation of differences should allow Indians to evolve their own procedures and standards of justice within the framework of reference provided by the Constitution and applicable legislation. Likewise, special areas such as education and religion may require clarifying legislation and judicial review, but surely the American value of self-determination should allow Indian communities to differ from other Americans on these points. Congressional and state action will help in insuring rights to self-determination, but an interested, informed and sympathetic public also would be a major aid. The latter is a necessity not only to insure passage of appropriate legislation but also to reduce to a minimum still existing prejudices and discrimination which prevents Indians from achieving equality with other citizens.

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EXHIBIT 7

mele copy

CHAMBERS OF
OBERT L. WINSLOW
JUDGE

COUNTY OF MENDOCINO
SUPERIOR COURT
P. O. BOX 630
UKIAH, CALIFORNIA 95482

January 3, 1968

MEMO

I have been asked for some comments on discrimination against Indians in the public schools in Mendocino County. It seems to be clear that there are two types of discrimination which exist: 1, Distrimination by peers of the Indian students; and, 2, Discrimination by teachers and administration.

The most obvious and overt discrimination apparently occurs at the hands of the peer group, where snide remarks about Indian ancestry may occur, and where a more subtle social discrimination may exist. It seems clear to me that when the Indian children reach junior high school age they immediately become segregated from the rest of the children. This is probably caused by parents fearing that their daughter will date an Indian boy, and conveying this fear either expressly or subtly to the child. While there may be some peer group discrimination prior to the 7th grade, it is in the 7th grade that I have noticed the Indian children becoming isolated from the rest of the student body.

Probably the most serious discrimination, however, is that which comes from teachers and persons in authority. I think it clear that within this community there is a common feeling that Indians are inferior to non-Indians. I am sure that the teachers do not feel that they show any partiality or that they discriminate in any way, but would rather rationalize their handling of Indians as a realistic recognition of their capabilities. The subtle discriminations which exist are, therefore, the most pervasive prevalent discriminations. First, one seldom sees a member of a minority race employed in schools in Mendocino County.

I suggest that this is a subtle form of discrimination against not only Indians, but people of other minority races. It subtly and by indirection suggests to them that there is no place in the authority structure for minority people. Second, the so-called "tracking" systems which exist in many of the school districts in Mendocino County tend to put the low achievers in an isolated group. Unfortunately, many of the Indians who come from deprived backgrounds are unable to achieve at the same level as those who come from more affluent backgrounds, but by being separated from peers from more affluent backgrounds are hurt and discriminated against. They are deprived of the opportunity of learning from classmates who have not had the unfortunate problems of poverty which are the lot of many Indian families.

3. The next discrimination which I feel is rather obvious is a discrimination which the Indians feel in common with others who are poor. The public school's conduct of school functions for a price is particularly hard on those who do not have the funds with which to participate in the school activity. In this category of subtle types of discrimination we find the requirement that gym uniforms be purchased

by girls or boys. We find charges for school dances, school athletic events, and other school sponsored and oriented activities for which a price is charged. The inability to participate in events by reason of lack of funds causes a further alienation of the poor (many Indians falling in this group) from the rest of the school society.

4. The last discrimination that I would like to comment on is that caused by a lack of sensitivity on the part of the teacher or school attendance person. It seems to me clear that many truancies and behavioral problems in the classroom are caused by peer group pressures, which make the Indian student feel extremely uncomfortable in the school setting. If the teacher does not fully understand this, he may attribute non-attendance or behavioral problems to a hostility to the school itself, not realizing that the child is so uncomfortable in the environment that he seeks a refuge elsewhere. For this reason sensitivity training of teachers in the problems faced by the minority, and in this area the Indian population, is a must if we are to eliminate all forms of subtle discrimination. Hostility towards the Indian truant, because of his truancy, without an attempt to understand the dynamics of the truancy, is, in effect, a discrimination against the Indian child, since the motivating factors in his truancy may be far different from those which cause truancy in children from more advantaged cultures.

5. Lastly, and perhaps one of the hardest to illustrate forms of discrimination, is that caused by the condescending attitude of a small number of teachers. This is the attitude

evidenced by the teacher who says he has no prejudice against the Indians, but must recognize their inherent inability to function in the school setting and can't permit them to hold back the rest of the group.

I suppose the real problem here, again, is the lack of empathy and understanding of the problems, as seen by the individu Indian child. It is the kind of problem that is evidenced by counselors stating to an Indian child that "You should quit associating with children X, Y and Z, because they will only get you into trouble"--children X, Y and Z also being Indian children.

EXHIBIT 8

A JOHNSON-O'MALLEY EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM FOR CALIFORNIA INDIANS

State Advisory Commission
on Indian Affairs

Anthony D. Brown
Staff Analyst

June 1967

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A JOHNSON-O'MALLEY EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM FOR CALIFORNIA INDIANS

For the past two years the State Advisory Commission on Indian Affairs has been receiving statements from the Indians of California indicating that they have educational needs that are not being met. At five hearings held throughout the state the majority of Indians in attendance voiced approval of the Commission's recommendation calling for a reimplementation of the Johnson-O'Malley program in the State of California. This brief report then, is an attempt to summarize the past use of Johnson-O'Malley funds in California; to point out the problems and deficiences in the current education of Indian students; and, to show how a reinstatement of the Johnson-O'Malley program could be handled so as to bring about a more successful education of California Indian students.

The Johnson-O'Malley Act of April 16, 1934 (48 Stat. 596), as amended by the Act of June 4, 1936 (49 Stat. 1458), provides for financial aid to States for implementing their educational programs to Indians residing on or near trust land. In 1935 California became the first state to enter into a contract with the Bureau of Indian Affairs for financial assistance under this act. Since the program's inception, there have been as many as twenty states participating in this Federal subsity.

However at present, with the withdrawal of Oregon and California, there are only eighteen states still receiving funds.

The total amount funded for all states for the current fiscal year is $9,452,000. The states receiving this aid are: Nebraska ($125,000); North Dakota ($225,000); South Dakota ($630,000); Minnesota ($250,000); Wisconsin ($160,000); Iowa ($35,000); Montana ($107,000); Wyoming ($15,000); New Mexico ($1,401,000); Colorado ($109,000); Alaska ($1,010,802); Oklahoma ($500,000); Kansas ($15,000); Arizona ($3,004,000); Nevada ($86,000); Idaho ($139,000); Washington ($102,751); Florda ($10,000).

For years California received $318,500 a year as its share of the funds. In 1953 an annual reduction of $50,000 a year was started until the program was completely discontinued in 1958. The apparent reasons for this withdrawal are found in the combination of circumstances that existed in California and the Nation at that time.

During the late 1940's and early 1950's the Bureau of Indian Affairs began to come under an increasing attack on its alleged lack of success with nationwide Indian problems. Congress, acting through the Interior Appropriations Committee, began to express this dissatisfaction by applying pressure on the Bureau of Indian Affairs to withdraw services to American Indians. House Concurrent Resolution 108, which specifically names California Indians, was an official statement of that desire. Thus the Bureau of Indian Affairs was in the unhappy position of having to cut back its services to American Indians at a time when those services were badly in need of expansion. Naturally they decided to cut back where they felt the need for their services was the least---among California Indians.

A publication brought out in 1952 entitled Report Pursuant to House Resolution 698 (82nd. Congress), stated that California Indians had the third highest median income per family among the hundreds of Indian groups in America. The figures given for California Indians in the above named report are: agriculture =$2,750; other occupations = $3,250. It is interesting to note that fifteen years later the economic condition of California Indians seems to have become worse, rather than improving. In a survey of economic conditions of rural California Indians published in 1966 by the State Advisory Commission on Indian Affairs, the following information was presented: yearly income = $2,268 per family. The Commission report also quotes a figure compiled by the BIA in 1963 on California reservation Indians as being $2,866 per family. The U.S. Census in 1960 does not provide a figure for median family income among California Indians; however, a median income for Indian individuals is given as $2,694 per year. Since in many Indian families only one person works, the Census figure can be taken as reasonably close to the family median. If the imformation given in the 1952 report is correct, then it can be seen that in spite of the great increase in cost of living the annual income of California Indians has either remained the same or slipped back.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs also gave additional justifications for their withdrawal of services from California Indians. The California Superior Court decision, Acosta vs. County of San Diego, has frequently been mentioned as an important basis for permiting the BIA in California to phase out its aid to the Indians of the state. Leonard Hill, Area Director of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in California, testified in 1959 before the State Subcommittee on Indian Affairs (Senate Committee on Rules; Resolution No. 8) that it was in line with this decision that the program was to be withdrawn from the state:

"__Mr. Hill:__ No, I think that's correct. Well, you asked a question about education. Now as I started to mention that when I came here we had a program for paying the state a total of about $318,000. Well again, in line with the Attorney General's Opinion in the Acosta case we negotiated with the Department of Education and gradually reduced that subsidy."

Report No. 314 (83rd Congress, 1st Session, House of Representatives, Interior Department Appropriation Bill) again mentions the Acosta case in justifing the withdrawal of Johnson-O'Malley funds from California Indians.

"A recent superior court decision with respect to eligibility of Indians for participation in this program, and the responsibility of the State to them, recites the fact that the Indians of California are citizens of the State and of the United States and entitled to enjoy all rights and privileges of any other citizens. In view of these facts, the committee questions the need for continuing the State educational contract which now exists to cover the costs to the State of California for the education of Mission Indian children. Therefore, none of the funds appropriated for fiscal year 1954 are to be used for payments under this contract."

The superior court decision referred to in the above paragraph, Acosta vs. County of San Diego, in actual fact has nothing to do with education or the Johnson-O'Malley program. West's California Reporter summarizes the Acosta case into nine areas. These are: "(1) ---Indians are residents of the state and county in which reservation is located, even though to a considerable extent still subject to jurisdiction of United States. (2) State's jurisdiction over Indian reservations extends to all matters not under control of U.S. (3) State has jurisdiction over Indian reservation in some matters. (4) State has jurisdiction over land in absence of limiting treaty provisions. (5) Indians are full citizens of State. (6) Establishes residence. (7) Establishes right to county relief.

(8) Establishes right to county relief. (9) Duty of county to provide relief."

Here it is important to remember that California is not unique among the fifty states in granting the American Indians within its borders the privileges and responsibilities of citizenship. This franchisement exists among all the states of the Union, and has so among many of them years before California recognized its responsibility. The mere reaffirmation of Indian citizenship rights by the courts cannot logically serve as a basis for denying that group certain privileges. One of those privileges being the right to receive Federal assistance in coping with their educational problems.

The decision to withdraw the Johnson-O'Malley program from California Indians was further influenced by testimony to the effect that Indians are already receiving an adequate education and no longer desire to receive funds through that program. An example of this testimony is contained in the hearings of the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, House of Representatives (Eightythird Congress, First Session; March 23, 1953):

"Mr. Jensen: All right; let me ask you this question: Is the State of California now ready and willing to forego this Federal contribution, and if they forego this contribution from the Federal Government will they continue to give free schooling to Indian children?

Mr. Willis: Mr. Chairman, advisedly I say yes."

And later on during the same testimony:

"Mr. Jensen: You are telling us that if this committee saw fit and the Congress saw fit to deny any appropriation for carrying out the provisions of the contract between the Federal Government and the State of California, the the Indian children of California would receive the same benefits and the same schooling and opportunities for schooling as they would if this item was not denied by the Congress of the United States?"

Mr. Willis: Absolutely, Mr. Chairman."

During the above mentioned hearing Mr. Purl Willis and an Indian named Adam Castillo purported to represent the wishes of both the State of California and the Indians within that state. This assertion is contradicted by a letter from Ernest L. Marshall, Jr., then chairman of the Hoopa Business Council, the legal and elected representatives of the Indians of that reservation. "We understand that partially due to these hearings the Committee on Appropriations has recommended funds to aid Indian Education in other states but recommended none for Indians in the State of California for the next fiscal year. We would like to offer the following facts for your consideration: The only elected legal representative of the Hoopa Indians living on the Reservation is the Hoopa Business Council. ---The Council has taken absolutely no action to empower Mr. Willis or Mr. Adam Castillo to represent them and has, in fact, found dispute with many of these gentlemen's statements and actions. ---We feel it is important that the Johnson-O'Malley Act be continued to provide funds for Indian Education in California so that Hoopa will receive funds and thus continue their educational program in Hoopa."

The presumption of Mr. Purl Willis to speak for the State of California at that hearing was further contradicted by remarks by Hon. Samuel Yorty in speaking before the House of Representatives on May 25, 1953: "The testimony of the hearings on H.R. 4828, the Interior appropriation bill for fiscal year 1954 shows that one, Purl Willis, who purports to represent the Mission Indians of California, but who is neither an Indian nor an attorney, presented certain opinions about the Indians of California and their status which he could not substantiate nor make pertinent to this situation. ---He does not represent any official opinion in the State government of California, and hence speaks as a private individual regarding the status of the California Indians. He moves about from hearing to hearing, constantly inveighing against the Indian Bureau in the name of the

Mission Indians of California; yet he has no proof of representing anyone except himself and his mysterious financial backers."

In light of the above testimony, and counter-testimony, it is easy to see how a combination of confusion as to the wishes of California Indians regarding the Johnson-O'Malley program, confusion as to the true economic condition of California Indians, and pressure brought to bear on the Bureau of Indian Affairs to terminate its activities within the State, all produced a climate which permitted the Johnson-O'Malley program to be phased out of the State of California.

A joint protest by California Legislators, State Indian leaders, and the State Department of Education, prevented California's share of the Federal program from being cut out of the budget for fiscal year 53-54. But this proved to be only a temporary setback in the drive to separate California Indians from benefits of the Johnson-O'Malley program. In 1953 the Sacramento Area Office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs informed the Superintendent of Public Instruction that fiscal year 1954 would be the last year of the Johnson-O'Malley contract for California. A meeting was held at this time between the representatives of the State Department of Education and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. At this meeting the Bureau of Indian Affairs representatives stated that California Indians would soon be terminated; consequently, the

Bureau of Indian Affairs in California would be closed down in five years. They also said that the possibility of placing California Indians under the Public Law 874 program might entirely limit any deleterious effects on the State Indian education program ensuing from the removal of Johnson-O'Malley funds.

It is interesting to note that a similar approach was used by the Bureau of Indian Affairs in convincing the State of Oregon to end their Johnson-O'Malley contract. A. W. Wright, Chairman of the Governor's Advisory Committee on Indian Affairs in Oregon, had this to say in a letter: "The State of Oregon elected to terminate the Johnson-O'Malley Program because Public Law 815 and Public Law 874 had been enacted. These laws presumedly would take care of the education of children whose parents lived on non-taxable land such as Indian Reservations. We were also led to believe that the Bureau of Indian Affairs intended to terminate all services to the Indian people within a very short time. --- I find out that the Bureau of Indian Affairs is now giving a lot more liberal interpretation to the Johnson-O'Malley Act. In fact, many states now include their pupils under Public Law 874 and 815 as well as being allowed special funds under the Johnson-O'Malley Act for special services to Indians for extra programs because they are socially, economically and culturally underprivileged."

The representatives of the California State Department of Education at the meeting protested that an immediate withdrawal of contract funds might prove harmful to certain school districts, and, suggested instead a gradual withdrawal of the Johnson-O'Malley program. This then, was agreed upon: a reduction of $50,000 a year until the program was completely phased out.

It is easy to understand how the State Department of Education let itself be parted from this federal program. First of all they had no real choice in the matter. The representatives of the Bureau of Indian Affairs made it clear that California Indians were definitely going to be excluded from this aid program. Secondly, the State Department of Education, like the Oregon State Department of Education, believed that Public Law 815 and Public Law 874 would adequately replace the Johnson-O'Malley program. Finally, the representatives completely accepted the belief that California Indians would all be terminated within five years.

On their part, the representatives of the Bureau of Indian Affairs also believed that the Indians of California would be terminated within five years. In line with this belief, other Bureau of Indian Affairs services to California Indians were withdrawn from the state. In 1952, welfare assistance, already of a very small nature, was discontinued. In 1955 the subsidy to the California State Department of Mental Hygiene was also dropped.

The fifteen years that have passed since Johnson-O'Malley funds first started to be reduced have proven everyone mistaken. All California Indians have not been terminated, nor have Public Law 874 funds adequately replaced the former program for Indian education. After termination finally got under way in 1958 it proceeded at a fairly rapid pace; then it faltered, and now has come almost to an end. The number of Indians terminated and the amount of trust acerage concerned have been only minor. Just thirty-three rancherias, comprising 4,261 acres, have been terminated. The majority of the Indians on the remaining 442,000 acres of trust land in California strongly oppose termination. Many of California's Indians had second thoughts about termination when they observed the sometimes disastrous effects that termination had on their neighbors. Even Congress and the Bureau of Indian Affairs are starting to wonder if termination as a policy is truely in the best interests of Indians.

Now that termination is starting to appear less and less inexorable, California Indians are questioning why they shouldn't also share in those benefits from the Johnson-O'Malley program that are now going to nearly every other western state with a sizeable Indian population. Utah, Oregon, and California, are the only eligible states west of the Mississippi that are not under a Johnson-O'Malley contract. Oregon's loss of this federal aid has already been mentioned. Utah's explanation for not participating in the program is found contained in a letter from Walter D. Talbot, Deputy Superintendent for Administration in the Utah State Board of Education: "According to our records, Johnson-O'Malley funds were phased out in Utah at the inception of P.L. 874 and 815. Districts receiving funds under the Johnson-O'Malley Act were able to receive more funds under P.L. 874 by counting Indian children for benefits under that program."

Utah was able to receive more money from Public Law 874 because the Indians in that state are mostly contained within one large reservation. California's Indians, on the other hand, are scattered about the state, with most of them living off trust land. This matter of use and eligibility of Public Law 874 funds will be taken up later on in this report.

Before the discontinuence of the Johnson-O'Malley program in California, both the Indians and the State Department of Education were well aware of the educational benefits accruing to Indian children from involvement in this federal contract. Roy E. Simpson, then Superintendent of Public Instruction, listed some of those benefits in a letter pro-

protesting the deletion of California's Johnson-O'Malley contract funds from the 1953 Interior Appropriations Bill:

"1. In one county, a public health nurse is working with public schools, rendering services on two Indian reservations. She is giving a great deal of special assistance in the development programs of health education in the schools, helping with immunization programs, preschool clinics, and rendering many other health services. This program is supported by contract funds.

2. In many isolated rural areas, contract funds supplementing other school funds, have made it possible to offer teachers salaries comparable with those paid in wealthier metropolitan areas. Only in this way have these schools been able to entice well-qualified teachers to these areas. If the funds are discontinued, the schools will no longer be able to compete with other schools for better teachers.

3. In many schools of the state, contract funds have supported the development of special vocational courses in rural schools. In one county these funds were used to initiate a mobile shop program which has become rather extensive in the county. Discontinuance of these funds would undoubtedly result in the curtailment or discontinuance of the program."

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR USE OF JOHNSON-O'MALLEY FUNDS

The preceding information in this report has been a brief history of the Johnson-O'Malley program in the State of California. Now it is appropriate to examine the present educational condition of California Indians to see where this withdrawal has left them. In the 1966 report by the State Advisory Commission on Indian Affairs entitled Indians in Rural and Reservation Areas, this imformation is found: Highschools with a relatively large Indian enrollment reported a dropout rate which is three times higher for Indians (21%) than for non-Indians (7%), with some schools reporting dropout rates for Indians that range from 30% to 75%. The U.S. census figures show an 8.9 median figure among Indians for school-years completed in the rural farm areas compared to 10.0 for non-Indians.

More detailed information about the attainments and deficiencys of California Indian education are not available at this time because of the many problems involved in collecting the pertinent facts. There is no large concentration of native Indians within California as there are in other states. As a result, California Indians are lost among the various large racial minorities of the state. Another impediment to accurately assesing the problem has been the long standing policy of the Department of Education to not identify students by race. Recently however, there have been indications that this policy has been sufficiently eased to permit ethnic surveys in the schools.

The very fact that California Indians are such a small minority and are so scattered about the state contributes to their educational problems. They have become lost in the "big picture" of education in California. The good, or inadequate, education that the small group of California Indian students receive has little effect on the total educational story in California.

The solution to the above stated problems and deficiences encountered in the education of California Indian students can be found in a reimplementation of the Johnson-O'Malley program into California. Seven possible ways that this might be accomplished are listed in the following recommendations. Along with each recommendation is an amplification.

1.) The financing of an annual conference for teachers whose classes contain a relatively large number of Indian students.

A paragraph found in Part IV of the report from the Conference on the Education of Teachers of California Indians held at Stanislaus State College supports this recommendation.

"Granted, special fields of study were believed to provide invaluable preparation for teaching Indian children. However, it was felt that preservice and in-service workshops during the summer and the school year dealing specifically with the problems of Indian children, and the development of of a sincere desire on the part of the teacher to work with these children were far more important in the preparation of teachers of Indian children than any particular college course or series of courses."

Here it is recognized that special training is needed to impart those attitudes, skills,techniques required in teaching the majority of Indian students. Other states with a sizeable Indian population (notable Arizona; Nevada; Oklahoma) have found that summer workshops involving trained specialists and teachers has been an efficeint way to provide this much needed training.

2.) Partial payment of the salary of counselors in schools enrolling substantial numbers of Indians so that these counselors can devote part of their time to dealing entirely with Indian student problems.

All indications point to the fact that large numbers of Indians are not completing high school. Those that do graduate are presented the difficult job of choosing a vocation. The average non-Indian chooses a career based on imformation from the parent or the parent's job, and from close association with occupations that are found in the surrounding society. The Indian student is generally denied this. He often lives on a reservation that does not contain many of the occupations found in society at large, and, far too frequently the parents of the Indian student are only seasonal laborers and can provide no occupational model to their children.

The school counselor is the normal person to deal with this problem; however, many times the school counselor does not have the time to devote to the problems of what is usually only a small number of his students. Partial payment, and in some cases total payment, of a counselor's salary through the use of Johnson-O'Malley contract funds would help meet this problem. The supplemental payment of a teacher's salary would enable that teacher to be released from some of her teaching load so that she could have free time for counseling Indian students with their problems.

The apparent worth of this recommendation is supported by the fact that a good percentage of those states receiving Johnson-O'Malley contract funds use a portion of that money to help finance school counselors.

3.) The hiring of an administrator to work from the State Department of Education headquarters in Sacramento whose main concern will be dealing with statewide problems in Indian education.

Nearly all the states that receive Johnson-O'Malley funds have an administrator at the state level who is in charge of the successful education of the state's Indians. This person is usually paid out of Johnson-O'Malley contract funds and is also the administrator of the program. An example of some of the duties of such an individual are found listed in the positic discription of the administrator of a Johnson-O'Malley contract in a neighboring state.

"a.) Develop and maintain a feasible and equitable Johnson-O'Malley Act program for the improvement of educational opportunity for Indian children in the state public schools.

b.) conduct surveys and testing programs for the purpose of evaluating Indian education programs in the state schools.

c.) Visit schools; meet with county superintendents and principals for the purpose of determining eligibility and need of school districts for Johnson-O'Malley funds.

d.) Initiate new programs, procedures or modification of programs to improve the quality of Indian education.

e.) Meet with Indian parents and tribal councils for the purpose of discussing educational problems of their children and securing family and community cooperation in effecting improvement in Indian parent-school relationships."

It can be seen that there are many ways that a state administrator for Indian education can serve a useful function. But the most important benefit may ultimately be in having one single person responsible for Indian education in California. As it stands now, it's everyones job. The record shows that the collective contributions of the many people concerned with Indian education within the state have brought only a second-class educational achievement to California Indians.

A classic example of the need for a state Indian education administrator is provided in the statement of an elementary school principal in speaking about Indians receiving federal funds to assist their education. "The various handouts these people get certainly does not help them to face life as they should. Many are content to sit back with their hand out, waiting for someone to take care of them and their children. They should have to work for aid they receive, except in rare cases." Such an attitude on the part of an educator is the height of naivete. One can only wonder what kind of education young Indian children are receiving in his school if this type of attitude filters down to the teachers. This elementary school principal is denouncing a few thousand dollars in federal aid to assist Indians with their educational problems at a time when California is receiving eighty million dollars for the current fiscal year under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act to aid other disadvantaged groups. It is easy to believe his thinking is directed by the emotion of racial prejudice. More probably he has simply taken as truth the common belief among non-Indian California people that all State Indians monthly receive a fat check from the Federal Government that permits them to live in idleness their entire lives.

A state administrator of Indian education would be able to talk with such a principal and point out to him that California Indians do not receive any special services from state and federal agencys because of their status as Indians. A small minority of California Indians do receive a tax exemption on their trust land, but this is no different from similar exemptions that groups of citizens, such as veterns and military personnel, receive. In addition, since the quality of much of California Indian trust land is very poor, the yearly benefit from tax exemption to any one Indian would be negligible.

The Conference on the Education of Teachers of California Indians held in March, 1967 at Stanislaus State College also called for an Indian educational specialist to work at the state level. Recommendation number two reads: "That within the California State Department of Education a person be employed as an Indian education resource specialist. This person should have a strong background in the behavioral sciences and a record of intimate experience in working with Indian people. His major responsibilities would be to direct a strong recruitment program for teachers in areas with significant Indian population, to provide more comprehensive data about special federal or state aid programs available to school districts with Indian children, to recommend local specialists to be employed through county offices and to cooperate in the organization of existing curriculum materials and in the production of needed additions about Indians in California."

4.) Financing a study of the dropout rate among California Indian students to be conducted every other year so that an adequate indication can be obtained of whether or not the problem is being met.

As mentioned earlier in this report, the high school dropout rate among Indians is heavy. For the past few years there have been few comprehensive studys done in this area, and none by the Department of Education or the Bureau of Indian Affairs. In reply to a letter requesting imformation about any dropout study done by the Bureau of Indian Affairs on California Indians in the past seven years, this reply was received from Paul W. Bramlet, Asst. Area Director (Education) at Phoneix: "We are not aware of a survey of Indian dropouts being made in California---."

A dropout study itself could be conducted every other year; the information obtained could be compiled by the administrator of the Indian education program. The importance of making this a continuing project is that it would enable comparisons to be made every two years in order to determine if any headway was being made in reducing the high school dropout rate among Indian students.

An example of the assistance Johnson-O'Malley contract funds might provide to California in combating the high dropout rate among Indian students is provided in a statement from the Minnesota State Department of Education: "Federal funds supplied the State of Minnesota under the Johnson-O'Malley Contract has (sic) resulted in better education and better attendance for the Indian children enrolled in the elementary and secondary public schools. Better education has reduced the number of dropouts and has enabled more eligible Indian students to attend colleges and area vocational schools."

5.) Financing the compilation and distribution of teaching aids and materials explaining the history and present conditions of California Indians.

This fifth recomendation is also one of the recommendations that came out of the Conference on the Education of Teachers of California Indians. The recommendation reads: "That a centralized curriculum laboratory and depository be organized cooperatively by Indian associations and the State Department of Education. Those responsible would first organize a task force to determine what curriculum materials are needed about Indians in order to identify local, regional and statewide cultural contributions."

It was frequently brought out by the Indian people attending the Conference at Stanislaus State that they wished that there was available a packet of material about Indians and their contributions to American life and culture. This packet would be made available to both teachers and Indian students; for the teachers it would be resource material for class instruction; for Indian students it would serve as a method for building pride in their cultural past. The cost of preparation of such a packet would be nominal, and once it was completed the only future costs would be for the additional printings. Once the packet itself was compiled it first would be submitted to the various Indian organizations in the state for their changes, recommendations, and approval.

6.) Financing supplemental payments of a teacher's salary to encourage getting qualified teachers to those remote areas where Indians are found.

Quite often rural school districts in which Indians are enrolled cannot afford to hire good quality teachers. Johnson-O'Malley funds could be used to supplement an increase in salary for such a teacher so that high quality teachers could be lured to the schools where Indians are found.

7.) Miscellaneous. Small scale programs to meet individual needs.

The great advantage of Johnson-O'Malley funds over money from Public Law 874 is that the Johnson-O'Malley program allows an allocation of funds on an individual need basis. In other states Johnson-O'Malley funds have been used in many different ways to enrich the education of Indian students. Nevada, for instance, has successfully used their Johnson-O'Malley contract to finance the following individual projects: A grant in the amount of $1,200 was made for a night supervised study hall; A grant of $500 was made for the purchase of band instruments to be loaned to needy Indian students who wished to participate in the school band. A grant of $600 was made to finance a field trip for Indian students living in remote areas who had neither the opportunity nor the money to promote such a trip. A grant of $121.95 was made for tuition for an Indian attending night school to earn a high school diploma.

A final use for Johnson-O'Malley contract funds would be to provide in lieu of taxes money to those school districts having substantial amounts of tax free trust land within the district, yet not enough to qualify them for Public Law 874 funds. The greater majority of contract money in other states goes for this purpose.

It has already been pointed out that the Indians of California and the State Department of Education both wish to receive benefits from Johnson-O'Malley funds. Now it is necessary to examine those arguments against participating in the Johnson-O'Malley program which helped cut off the federal aid in the first place and are currently helping to deter a reinstatement of the contract. The major objections, followed by a rebuttal, are listed in the following pages.

1.) The State of California has taken over sole responsibility for the education of Indians within the state.

It is rightfully true that the California State Department of Education has taken over the responsibility of educating Indian children within the state. This was estabilished through a court suit heard in the State Supreme Court June 2, 1924. The title of the case was Alice Piper v. Big Pine School District of Inyo County. In the decision handed down the court stated that the school district couldn't deny Alice Piper admittance merely because she happened to be a full blooded California Indian. This case served as a precedent for future court action and eventually the State School Code was changed so that not only were California Indians permitted to attend California public schools, but in fact, they were required to attend.

The important thing to understand here is that all the fifty states have assumed responsibility for the education of American Indians within the state. In the Oklahoma Public School Contract the state agrees: "to provide education for all Indian children, residing the State of Oklahoma under the same terms and conditions as for all other citizens of the state." In the Nevada State Plan for the distribution of Johnson-O'Malley funds the state agrees: "To provide education for all Indian children residing in the State of Nevada, except those enrolled in Federal schools, under the same terms and conditions as for all other citizens of the State." That all states equally share responsibility for Indian education is further brought out in a report on Johnson-O'Malley programs by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The opening paragraph begins this way: "Education of Indians in the United States is a State responsibility exactly the same as the 50 States of the Nation are obligated to provide educational opportunities for any other citizens of the State in which they reside."

"Although the legal responsibility for the education of children equally regardless of race, color or creed rests within the respective States and is so recognized in the basic laws of most States, the Federal Government also recognizes its responsibility for assisting States under certain circumstances." Later on the report goes on to quote: "Aid under the Johnson-O'Malley Act is on the basis of need. This basis was approved by the Congress in Senate Report 1941 (1951 Appropriation Bill), as follows:

'---The committee commends the position taken by the Indian Bureau that Indian children, by virtue of their citizenship in a State and residence in a State and district, are entitled to the same free public education as rendered to any other citizen children, without any legal obligation resting on the Federal Government to pay tuition for this service. However, the committee also recognizes that the presence of large blocks of nontaxable Indian property within a local district, or unusually large numbers of Indian children, may create a situation which local funds are inadequate to meet."

2.) California Indian students are already receiving an education that is equal to that received by non-Indians, as according to state law.

The fact that California Indians are receiving an education equal to that received by non-Indians is commendable, if true. But it has been demostrated that Indians present certain educational problems that require special attention. This special attention is no different in kind than that required for an emotionally or physically handicapped child.

In general, California Indians lag behind non-Indians in educational achievement. If they continue to receive their public education on an "equal" basis, they are likely to remain behind.

3.) The majority of California Indians live off trust land and thus would not be eligible for Johnson-O'Malley funds.

It is true that the majority of California Indians live off trust land; however, in at least three other states the

Indians living off trust land qualify the school district in which they reside for Johnson-O'Malley funds. One state has the qualifications required of a school district in order in receive Johnson-O'Malley funds stated in this way: "The term 'eligible Indian children' as used in this contract menas those children who possess one-fourth or more degree of Indian blood whose parents reside outside the corporate limits of towns having a population of 500 or more." This of course means that they could be living off trust land in a small town of 499 people and still be eligible for Johnson-O'Malley aid. Many California Indians are living in this very situation.

Even though California does not have a large reservation population, the state does have a considerable amount of Indian trust land. There are now approximately 442,000 alloted and reservation acres in California. In a report entitled A Review of California Indian Affairs (Subcommittee on Indian Affairs, May 1963) this imformation for fiscal year 1952 is mentioned: California's Indian trust land has an annual estimated tax return of $348,925. Since over the past 15 years land values in California have greatly increased, the tax potential of Indian trust land could be expected to show a corresponding increase. This increase would greatly offset the overall drop in total trust acres in the state in the past few years. Other states envolved in the Johnson-O'Malley program are justified funds on the basis of large areas of non-taxable Indian land. California should also receive this in lieu of taxes money.

4.) Public law 874 has replaced the need for Johnson-O'Malley funds in California.

An excerpt from the Hearings Before a Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Appropriations (1966-67) bears directly on this matter. Phileo Nash, then Commissioner of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, stated: "Prior to 1959 local public schools were ineligible for entitlement for Indian pupils under Public Law 874, 81st Congress (64 Stat. 1100) Asministered by the Health, Education, and Welfare Department. The Act of August 12, 1958 amended Public Law 874 so that school districts educating Indian children may now receive payments for Indian children on the same basis as for other federally affected children. ---Public Law 874 requires a 3 per cent impact and a minimum average daily attendance of 10 federally connected children to qualify. Some public schools enrolling Indian children do not qualify because of this provision." (emphasis added)

In 1953 when representatives of the Bureau of Indian Affairs told the State Department of Education that they were withdrawing the Johnson-O'Malley program from California it was stated that the Department could more than make up for this loss by using Public Law 874 funds. Yet at this time school districts were not allowed to count Indian students in order to qualify themselves for those monies. It was only after Public Law 874 was amended in 1958 that Indians could qualify the district for money.

In a survey carried out by the California Indian Commission in 1964, 37% of the respondents replied that Public Law 874 funds had not replaced the Johnson-O'Malley program; 37% did not know; and 26% replied that there had been an adequate replacement. There were 31 California school districts included in the survey. In a further survey conducted in February, 1967, there were still school districts indicating that they were receiving no funds to replace Johnson-O'Malley money. Out of 14 respondents, 5 replied that there had been no replacement, 2 said that Public Law 874 had adequately replaced the Johnson-O'Malley program in their school, and 7 stated that they were unsure or had no comment.

Mr. Officier, Assistant Commissioner of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, had this to say in a letter to the California Indian Commission dated October 15, 1964: "It is of interest to note that Public Law 874 was amended on August 12, 1958, to include aid to school districts on the basis of Indian children residing on reservations, and with money from this source available, California would no longer have qualified for Johnson-O'Malley funds even had no previous agreement to close out the program been made."

The best argument against this statement is the fact that all the states receiving Johnson-O'Malley aid also qualify for and receive Public Law 874 funds. In response to a survey question, "Have there been any conflict or overlap between Public Law 874 and the funds from the Johnson-O'Malley program?" the State Department of Education in Wisconsin replied: "There has been no conflict between P. L. 874 funds and Johnson-O'Malley funds. JOM contracts are computed for each local district having eligible Indian students. If the district qualifies, and files an application under P. L. 874, it receives the P.L. 874 Entitlement. In the event that the JOM payment is greater, a supplementary JOM payment is made to the district in an amount equal to the difference between P. L. 874 Entitlement and the computed total JOM eligibility." The reply from Wisconsin regarding any possible conflict between Public Law 874 and the Johnson-O'Malley program was typical of the responses from the states (see appendices, page 37).

The problem with a school district replacing Johnson-O'Malley funds with Public Law 874 aid is that there is no guarantee that any of the new money will benefit Indian students within the school district. Public Law 874 money goes to the school district itself, any benefit that the Indian child receives would have to be of an indirect nature and proportional to that received by any non-Indian child in the school. Johnson-O'Malley funds, on the other hand, are generally allocated only to aid Indian children. Another deficiency in the replacement of Johnson-O'Malley money by Public Law 874 aid is found stated in the Summary Report, January 1961, of A Program for Indian Citizens: "The policy for years has been to have Indians attend public schools. Recently, however, Congress appropriated money to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, to be paid school districts where Federal activities have an impact (Public Laws 815 and 874). These enactments, however, prohibit direction or control over the personnel, curriculum, or program of the public schools. Consequently, when this money is used for the education of Indian children, the Federal Government is barred from setting standards or supplying the additional classes often needed by Indians."

Finally, the most important reason that Johnson-O'Malley funds have not been replaced by Public Law 874 aid is that an eligibility requirement under Public Law 874 states that the Indian child must be living on trust land. It has already been pointed out that this is not the case in the Johnson-O'Malley porgram. Since a majority of California Indians do not live on trust land, their presence in the school would not serve to qualify that particular district for Public Law 874 aid.

Since fiscal year 1953-54 the State of California and its Indian citizens have lost $3,500,000 dollars because of the withdrawal of the Johnson-O'Malley program. In retrospect, it is easy to believe that the picture of California Indian education would be much brighter if it were not for the loss of this sum.

In 1953 California's percentage share of the nationwide Johnson-O'Malley contract (then $2,582,645) was 12 per cent. With the total nationwide Johnson-O'Malley program for the states now standing at nearly $8,000,000 dollars, a 12 per cent share would come to $960,000,000 dollars a year. Such a great sum would in all probability not have been appropriated to help California Indians. Yet there must be a figure somewhere between the zero amount they have been receiving for years and the nearly million dollars they are entitled to---a figure that will satisfy the demands of need, moral obligation, and economy.

This report has thus far presented the case for California's participation in the Johnson-O'Malley Act. A need has been shown; an answer to this need has been given. There remains only this important question: Are the Indians of California going to continue to be discriminated against in this matter?

STATES RECEIVING JOHNSON-O'MALLEY AID RANKED BY INDIAN POPULATION

1.	Arizona ($3,004,000)	83,387
2.	Oklahoma ($500,000)	64,689
3.	New Mexico ($1,401,925)	56,255
	CALIFORNIA ($000,000)	39,047
4.	South Dakota ($630,000)	25,794
5.	Montana ($107,000)	21,181
6.	Washington ($102,751)	21,076
7.	Minnesota ($250,000)	15,496
8.	Alaska ($1,010,802)	14,444
9.	Wisconsin ($160,000)	14,297
10.	North Dakota ($225,000)	11,736
11.	Nevada ($86,000)	6,681
12.	Nebraska ($125,000)	5,545
13.	Idaho ($139,000)	5,231
14.	Kansas ($15,000)	5,069
15.	Colorado ($109,000)	4,288
16.	Wyoming ($15,000)	4,020
17.	Florda ($10,000)	2,504
18.	Iowa ($35,000)	1,708

STATES RECEIVING JOHNSON-O'MALLEY FUNDS RANKED BY TRUST ACERAGE

1.	Arizona ($3,004,000)	21,491,414
2.	New Mexico ($1,401,925)	6,464,857
3.	Montana ($107,000)	5,278,779
4.	South Dakota ($630,000)	4,878,073
5.	Washington ($102,751)	2,566,601
6.	Wyoming ($15,000)	1,888,062
7.	Oklahoma ($500,000)	1,760,000
8.	Nevada ($86,000)	1,142,586
9.	North Dakota ($225,000)	870,082
10.	Idaho ($139,000)	792,777
11.	Colorado ($109,000)	751,551
12.	Minnesota ($250,000)	726,257
	CALIFORNIA ($000,000)	442,000
13.	Wisconsin ($160,000)	147,286
14.	Alaska ($1,010,802)	96,788
15.	Florda ($10,000)	78,947
16.	Nebraska ($125,000)	67,288
17.	Kansas ($15,000)	28,321
18.	Iowa ($35,000)	4,105

Comments from western states concerning a possible conflict between the Johnson-O'Malley program and P.L. 874 funds:

"There has been no conflict between P.L. 874 funds and JOM funds. JOM contracts are computed for each local district having eligible Indian students. If the district qualifies, and files an application under P.L. 874, it receives the P.L. 874 Entitlement. In the event that the JOM payment is greater, a supplementary JOM payment is made to the district in an amount equal to the difference between the P.L. 874 Entitlement and the computed total JOM eligibility." - Wisconsin

"-districts are required (by JOM act) to file for P.L. 874 first (if elgible) before JOM is to be applied for--JOM is supplemental support." - Washington State

"Schools on Public Law 874 are not eligilbe for Equalization enrichment funds. They are eligible for only special services (lunch reimbursement)"--Oklahoma

"Funds received by school districts under Public Law 874 for Indian students are subtracted from funds which might be available to school districts under the Johnson-O'Malley program." - Idaho

In summary, all nine states contacted receiving Johnson-O'Malley funds reported that there was no conflict with Public Law 874 money. Most of the states pointed out that the JOM program merely supplemented P.L. 874.

Comments from Teachers Regarding a Johnson-O'Malley Program for California

"We are currently trying to enhance the learning opportunity of our Indian students by attention to their individual learning nee Any available monies to further enrich this program would, in my opinion, be utilized most profitably." - Superintendent at Point Arena Joint Union High School District

"We would be receptive to the use of Johnson-O'Malley funds if these funds could be used to promote a strong educational program in every California school where Indian student were enrolled." -Fall River High School Principal

"Also, my Indian students are noticeably failing students. I don't know what help to give them but in this changing world thei ability to support themselves in ten years will be hampered. Thi is true of graduates of ten years ago--now on relief--you figure it out." Forks Elementary School Principal

In speaking on the possibility of financing teacher workshops wit Johnson-O'Malley funds: "Yes, this is badly needed. There are many problems inherent in educating Indian students of a delicate nature which need this kind of attention." -Hoopa High School Principal.
In speaking on the possibility of financing a survey on the dropout rate for Indians in California schools through Johnson-O'Mall funds: "This is an excellent idea. The rate is heavy." -Hoopa High School Principal

SUMMARY OF SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSE

1. Have Johnson-O'Malley funds been adequately replaced by P. L. 874 funds?

Yes = 2 No = 5 Other = 7

2. Did the former use of Johnson-O'Malley funds substantially assist the educational process of your Indian students?

Yes = 5 No = 1 Other = 8

3. Would you be receptive to the use of Johnson-O'Malley funds in the following contexts:

(a) Financing of workshops for teachers for large numbers of Indian students in the class?

Yes = 5 No = 2 Other = 7

(b) Hiring of full-time counselors trained in dealing with the special problems Indians present for schools with a large Indian enrollment?

Yet = 7 No = 1 Other = 6

(c) Financing of a survey on the dropout rate for Indians in California schools?

Yes = 4 No = 3 Other = 8

(d) Hiring of a full-time educationist at the state level to coordinate and encourage the successful education of California Indian students?

Yes = 6 No = 2 Other = 6

*Questionnaire sent out to school districts in California enrolling a substantial number of California Indians.

Senator Kennedy of New York. Ladies and gentlemen, that terminates our hearing here today at the American Indian Center. I appreciate the courtesy of the members of the audience.

(Whereupon the hearing recessed at 11:50 a.m. subject to the call of the Chair.)

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